HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

TO THE

ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF

DR. HENRY'S HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

AND WRITTEN ON THE SAME PLAN.

BY JAMES PETTIT ANDREWS, F. S. A.

VOL. I.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

THAT preſumption which may be laid to the author's charge, on his undertaking the continuation of a work ſo highly and deſervedly eſteemed as 'Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain,' would be in great meaſure done away, were he to bring forward the names of thoſe friends by whoſe encouragement he was led to engage in the arduous taſk.

In the enſuing volume, each track of the reſpectable hiſtorian above-mentioned has been followed with meaſured ſteps. The titles of his books, ſections, and chapters, and even moſt of his marginal references, have been copied with preciſion. One page in the Section of Commerce, dedicated to 'inventions and improvements,' is the only addition which the continuator has preſumed to make; except, indeed, that of a copious index, a neceſſary appendage to hiſtory, although often neglected by the hiſtorian as too mechanical a taſk.

During

During the courſe of his work the author has owned his obligations to thoſe printed works of his cotemporaries from which he has received aſſiſtance. There only remain to be paid returns of gratitude for particular favours. Among theſe are the many lights thrown on the commerce and manners of Scotland. For theſe he is indebted to the benevolent communications of Sir John Sinclair, Dr. Geddes, Dr. Gillies, and Mr. Chalmers, who either lent or recommended to his peruſal treatiſes (and particularly the Collection of Scottiſh Acts of Parliament, the moſt compendious and beſt-expreſſed of codes) which in great meaſure ſupplied that vacancy which had been left by the hiſtorians of the North; who, eager to recount the proweſs of their countrymen in the field, and their progreſs in reformation and church-diſcipline, have neglected, as beneath their notice, to paint the ſtate of the arts, of trade, of manufactures, and the increaſing civilization of domeſtic life; which form the moſt intereſting features of modern hiſtory.

His ſincere and grateful acknowledgements are likewiſe due to Mr. Steevens and Mr. Seward for their judicious advice, and for the ſcarce books with which they have kindly aſſiſted him; to Mr. Ayſcough, who has with the utmoſt readineſs permitted him to profit by the extenſive library at the Muſeum; to Mr. Pye, for his valuable aid in the poetical department; and to him and Mr. Wrangham for their counſel and aſſiſtance during the progreſs of the hiſtory.

Each

Each book, before its publication, has been ſubmitted to the peruſal of perſons on whoſe judgment the author has a ſteady reliance; a precaution which has in great meaſure leſſened that anxiety which he muſt have felt had his work encountered the keen eye of public criticiſm ſupported only by his own partial and fallible judgment.

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ERRATA:

P. 22, N. 27, l. 10, for *guitheſs* read *guiltleſs*.
P. 27, in the Engliſh epigram a comma after *name*; change the ſemi-colon for a comma after *ſcourge*.
P. 31, l. 12, for 1360 read 1560.
Ibid. margin, for 1561 read 1560.
P. 38, N. 43, for *numan* read *numam*.
P. 58, l. 7, for *ſpeedy* read *ſteady*.
P. 66, l. 18, for *intreat* read *entreat*.
P. 69, N. 69, l. 3, for *Archbiſhop Harry* read *Ap Harry*.
P. 70, l. 18, for 1785 read 1585.
Ibid. N. 70, *Idem*.
P. 73, l. 27, read, after *inveſtigator* a colon; after *Maud* a comma.
P. 84, l. 14, for *event* read *eſcape*.
P. 100, l. 1, for *it* read *its*.
P. 118. N. 117. l. 8, for *hew* read *her*.
P. 121 and all after, at the head of the page, for Book VIII. read Book VII.
P. 140, l. 19, for *a rival* read *as a rival*.
P. 282, l. 25, for *his* read *their*,
P. 418. N. 10, for *Vertue* read *Vertu*.
P. 429, margin, for 1688 read 1588.
P. 445, l. 20, for *Sapphie* read *Sapphic*.
P. 448, l. 7, for 183,248l. read 733,248l.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I. — PART I.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF BRITAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII. A. D. 1547, TO THE FLIGHT OF MARY STUART INTO ENGLAND, A. D. 1569.

SECTION I.

NOTHING could exceed the expectations which were formed of the new king, although unfortunately he had but lately attained to his ninth year. By the will of Henry, ſixteen guardians and twelve counſellors had been appointed to regulate his proceedings, and the majority were empowered 'to govern the kingdom as they thought fit.' But theſe in general having been more uſed to obey than to rule, and being moſt of them well inclined to the Reformation, willingly ſurrendered their authority to the Lord Hertford, the maternal uncle of Edward: a well-meaning man and a ſteady Proteſtant, but totally devoid of that firmneſs of character which the delicacy of the preſent conjuncture demanded in a ruler. Peers were then created, in conſequence of the late king's intention; to prove which * a regular enquiry was made, and witneſſes examined: among theſe Hertford became duke of Somerſet, and ſoon after obtained from his royal nephew a patent, appointing him Protector of the realm, with greatly

A. D. 1547. Acceſſion of Edward VI.

Hertford made duke of Somerſet and Protector.

* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 6, 7.

A. D. 1547. extended powers. Wriothesly and Lisle became Earls of Southampton and of Warwick; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, took titles from their names.

Somerset was closely attached to the Reformation, and its bittereſt oppoſers ſoon felt the weight of his reſentment. The Chancellor Wriothesly, accuſed of having illegally put the great ſeal in commiſſion, loſt his office; and Gardiner, who had diſtinguiſhed his zeal for even the minutiæ of Popery, was committed to the Fleet.

Invaſion of Scotland.

Eager to purſue the late king's darling ſcheme, an union of the iſland-realms by marriage, the Protector marched (as ſoon as the affairs of England were brought into order) with 18,000 men, into the heart of Scotland. As he really meant well, he committed no ravages on his journey, and by his manifeſtos he explained his intentions to be amicable to both kingdoms. Unhappily the Scots, having muſtered an army of double his force *, looked on his moderation as the effect of fear †, and forced him to a battle at Muſſelburgh or Pinkie, where they were defeated with uncommon ſlaughter: yet they had fought gallantly, but were overmatched by the ſuperior diſcipline of the Engliſh, and by the active valour of Dudley Earl of Warwick; who, before the fight, had offered himſelf to anſwer a defiance ſent by the Lord Huntley to Somerſet, and had promiſed the herald a large reward, if he could bring the combat to bear.

Battle of Muſſelburgh.

The ſlaughter of the routed army was dreadful. 10,000 are ſaid to have fallen [1]; but among theſe were ſeveral hundreds of fanatic monks, who by their bigotry had prevented an agreement between the ſiſter-nations. The Engliſh ſhewed them no quarter, and none ever fell leſs pitied.

NOTES.

[1] More than 30,000 jackes and ſwords were taken as the ſpoils of the field. [PATTEN, &c.

In this fight Edward, a ſon of Somerſet by his firſt wife (the daughter of William Fillol), who had been long in diſgrace with his father, diſtinguiſhed his valour ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was taken into favor, and an eſtate ſettled on him and his heirs, who, towards the end of the 17th century, ſucceeded to the ducal title, by failure of the *younger* branch.

The reaſon of Somerſet's diſlike to his eldeſt offspring (which has been little known, but was not unreaſonable) may be found in the Herald's office.

* King Edward's Journal, p. 5. † Holingſhed, p. 985.

Intelligence

Intelligence which the Protector had received of the machinations forming againſt him by the admiral [2], his brother, prevented his purſuing the advantage he had gained in the north. He contented himſelf with receiving the homage of the ſouthern part of Scotland, and leaving garriſons in places of ſtrength *. He had a good excuſe for leaving the army, as the regent of Scotland had deſired an armiſtice, that he might ſend commiſſioners in order to treat of peace. But this was only a feint for the purpoſe of gaining time, and no ſuch commiſſioners ever appeared. A. D. 1547.

On his return to the ſouth, after gratifying his vanity by obtaining from the king a patent of precedence as to rank, the prudent duke influenced the Parliament to repeal the moſt obnoxious and tyrannic ſtatutes of Henry VIII; particularly that which gave to the king's proclamation the force of a law †. An amneſty too was publiſhed; but Norfolk and three more were excepted. Tyrannic laws repealed.

It was about this time that the demiſe of Francis I. of France [3] (which brought the bigot houſe of Guiſe into power), and the total ſubverſion of Affairs on the continent.

NOTES.

[2] The accompliſhments joined to the turbulent ambition of the Lord Seymour of Sudley, brother to the Protector, made him no contemptible enemy. He had even preſumed to aim at the heart and hand of the Princeſs Elizabeth. Diſappointed there, he wooed and won the Dowager Queen, Catharine Parr, who wedded him ſo haſtily after the death of Henry, that, had ſhe been pregnant ſoon after her nuptials, the father of the child might have been doubted. So fortunate, indeed, was this enterpriſing nobleman in his deſigns on the fair ſex, that, in that credulous age, his ſucceſs was univerſally aſcribed to philtres and ſpells.

It has been ſaid that a diſpute concerning precedency between the wives of Somerſet and the admiral, firſt kindled that fire which deſtroyed the Seymours. But there is no good foundation for this tale. The artful Earl of Warwick, probably, blew up the coals.

[HIST. OF REFORMATION.

[3] Francis I. was elegant, both in perſon and mind; he was generous and perſonally brave; this he evinced at the battle of Pavia, where he ſlew in ſingle combat the heir of Scanderbeg's houſe. He loved and patronized the arts.

There was a real friendſhip, as well as ſome ſimilitude of character, between him and Henry VIII. of England; and the death of the latter is ſaid to have haſtened that of Francis. He had however languiſhed many years, in conſequence of a diſorder (for which no certain cure was then known) which had been communicated to him by conjugal vengeance. Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, are ſtill monuments of his taſte in architecture.

[DE THOU, DANIEL, &c.

* Holingſhed, p. 992.

† J. Edw. VI. cap. 2.

A. D. 1547. the Proteſtants in Germany, by the power of the Emperor Charles V. and the treachery of Maurice of Saxony to his relation the elector, had deprived England of her ſureſt friends, and had rendered the tenure of her poſſeſſions on the continent exceedingly precarious.

1548. Progreſs of the Reformation.

Many regulations concerning religion, all favorable to reformation, were made in 1548 *. Shewy proceſſions were aboliſhed, the marriage of prieſts permitted, the uſe of images interdicted, and a new ſervice ordered to be received in every church. The Protector was naturally mild; and, as he followed the advice of Cranmer, no harſh meaſures were adopted, even with recuſants. It was at this period that the good archbiſhop, the bulwark of Proteſtantiſm, was ſeen at the head of the Roman Catholic prelates and peers, ſtriving againſt a bill which gave collegiate and chauntry lands to a vaſt amount, into the power of the Protector. He knew that they would all be ſwallowed by rapacious courtiers, and wiſhed them to remain as they were until better times ſhould come; but his integrity could not ſtruggle ſucceſsfully with avarice and rapine †.

In Scotland all went ill. The Engliſh propoſal of a ten year's truce, and that the young queen ſhould be left to her own choice at the end of that term, was rejected, chiefly by eccleſiaſtical influence. A corps of French, under Deſſé ‡ (amounting to 6000 men, with many good officers and a fine train of artillery, enough to perpetuate, not to end, the calamities of the north), were ſent by the new king, Henry II; the Engliſh were wearied out of the places they poſſeſſed in the heart of Scotland; and, finally,

Mary of Scots carried to France.

Mary, then ſix years of age, was conveyed by the enterpriſing Villegagnon (who with four galleys had found a paſſage round the Orkneys to the port of Dunbarton), in ſpite of the Engliſh fleet which guarded the ſeas, to France, much againſt the will of the moſt diſcerning among the Scottiſh nobility, who foreſaw thenceforward perpetual dependence on France and war with England. The dukedom of Chatelherault and a penſion to the regent Arran, and plenty of French gold ſcattered among the popular leaders, had brought about this imprudent meaſure.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 149. Strype, vol. ii. p. 55.

† Journals of Parliament. ‡ Buchanan, l. 15.

Towards

Towards the end of 1548, the turbulent Lord Seymour, having loſt his royal ſpouſe Catharine [4], formed anew * deſigns on the Princeſs Elizabeth [5]. He had had the addreſs to gain the favour of the young king, who had actually requeſted, by a letter to the Protector, that the Lord Admiral ſhould be appointed to be his governor. A. D. 1548.

Gentle as the diſpoſition of Somerſet naturally was, he could not longer avoid reſenting the conduct of an ambitious rival, who, at this period, madly refuſed every offer of reconciliation; fixed to ruin his brother or himſelf. The Protector was, therefore, obliged to deprive him of his poſt as admiral, and to ſend him to the Tower. He even ſummoned a Parliament, and proceeded againſt his brother by bill of attainder †; a way more certain (as the members had not forgot to be ſupple) than the more open trial which Lord Seymour loudly demanded. The crafty Warwick, who meant the deſtruction of both the brothers, puſhed on the illegal meaſure. The Admiral attainted.

This wicked and artful ſtateſman, on whoſe deep machinations the fate of religion and government in England was ſoon brought to depend, merits particular notice. John Dudley, Lord Liſle and Earl of Warwick, was the moſt

NOTES.

[4] Catharine Parr was remarkably learned, and publiſhed, during her life, many works which did credit to her piety and abilities. The accompliſhments and arts of the admiral ſeduced her into an injudicious marriage, and ſhe paid dearly for that imprudence which alone diſgraced a life of virtue and diſcretion. She fell by poiſon, as is believed, given by her profligate huſband, who had once again formed criminal projects on the Engliſh throne. She lies buried in the chapel of Sudley Caſtle, Glouceſterſhire; and her leaden coffin having been opened in 1782, her face, and even her eyes, appeared in a ſtate of uncommon preſervation. [ARCHÆOLOGIA, VOL. IX.

[5] Elizabeth had no averſion to Lord Seymour. It appears that Queen Catharine had been made uneaſy by the romping freedoms which her huſband took with the princeſs, and even at times condeſcended to watch their motions. Very curious ſpecimens of Elizabeth's ſkittiſh coquetry may be found in Burghley's ſtate-papers. Sometimes, knowing that this preſumptuous lover was coming in, ſhe 'ran out of hir bed to hir maydens and then went behynd the curteyn of hir bed.' 'At Hanworth, in the garden, he wrated (romped, or wreſtled) with hir, and cut hir gowne in an hundred pieces (or places) beyng black clothes.' Mr. Aſhley 'did fere that the Lady Elizabeth did ber ſome affection to the admiral; for ſometyme ſhe wolde bluſh if he were ſpoken of.'

[BURGHLEY'S PAPERS, BY HAINES.

* Stowe, p. 596. Strype's Notes on Hayward, p. 301.

† Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.

dangerous

A. D. 1548. dangerous of men. He had been reſtored to thoſe eſtates which his father (the notorious inſtrument of Henry the Seventh's oppreſſion) had been deprived of deſervedly, but not legally. At the battle of Muſſelburgh he diſtinguiſhed his perſonal courage, and even determined the fortune of that important day. His talents were equally fitted for peace or war; and he had been uniformly ſucceſsful wherever employed. But he was inſatiably avaricious, and his ambition knew no bounds. To ſum up his character, he merited to be the ſon of Empſon's colleague, and the father of Leiceſter, the future favourite of Elizabeth.

1549. The month of March, in 1549, ſaw the condemnation of the Protector's ambitious brother. Some objections were brought againſt the method of his trial, in the lower houſe; but a meſſage which the young king was perſuaded to ſend, ſmoothed every difficulty, and Lord Seymour loſt his head

Executed. on Tower-Hill [6]. This ſevere meaſure it is very difficult to reconcile with the general irreſolution and placability of Somerſet's character. It muſt be imputed to the inſtigations of the artful Warwick, who dreaded the activity and ſpirit of the admiral's character, it was too much like his own.

Reformers perſecute. The taſte for perſecution now reached the Reformers, and two wretched Anabaptiſts *, the inoffenſive ſpawn of the Munſter fanatics, periſhed at the

NOTES.

[6] The following lines, written by Sir John Harrington under a portrait of the admiral, ſpeak more in his favor than any other document, and indeed ſeem to favor rather of blind amity than of diſcernment.

Of perſon rare, ſtrong lymbes, and manly ſhape,
By nature fram'd to ſerve on ſea or lande;
In friendſhip firme, in good ſtate or ill hap,
In peace, head-wiſe; in war, great ſkill, bold hande.
On horſe or foote, in peril or in plaie,
None could exceed, though many did aſſaie.
A ſubject true to Kynge, a ſervante grate,
Friend to God's truth, and foe to Rome's deceite.
Sumptuous abroade, for honor of the lande,
Temp'rate at home, yet kept great ſtate with ſtate,
And noble houſe, that fed more mouthes with meate
Than ſome advanc'd on higher ſteppes to ſtande.
Yet, againſt nature, reaſon, and juſt lawes,
His blood was ſpilt, guiltleſs, without juſt cauſe. J. H.

[HARRINGTON'S NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 2. Burnet's Ref. vol. ii. p. 112.

ſtake

ſtake in Smithfield. Edward was with difficulty perſuaded by Archbiſhop Cranmer to ſign their condemnation. A. D. 1549.

This was a year of commotion throughout England. The poor complained with ſome reaſon of the riſe of rents, of new incloſures for paſture, and of the decreaſe of agriculture. The monaſteries which had ſupported the idle by ill-judged hoſpitality, now turned out numbers of indigent friars, who ſhared the work and the bread of the labourer. Calm reaſoning quieted moſt of theſe riſings. The men of Devon were more obſtinate. They began with complaints of increaſing paſturage, and they proceeded to a demand of their old religion. Humphrey Arundel, a veteran ſoldier, governor of St. Michael's Mount, led ten thouſand of them to the ſiege of Exeter [7], and that loyal city was * but juſt relieved in time by the Lord Ruſſel, who ſoon reduced the rebels to ſubmiſſion. A revolt in Oxfordſhire was not quelled without bloodſhed. But in Norfolk affairs wore a ſtill more ſerious aſpect: a tanner named Kett, and Coniers a ſeditious prieſt, ſupported by an abſurd prophecy [8], under the ſhade of a tree, which they ſtyled the Oak of Reformation, gave out orders to 16,000 reſolute clowns, in warlike array. Parr, marquis of Northampton, after ſome ſucceſs againſt them, was put to the rout, and Lord Sheffield ſlain [9] by this hardy mob;

Devonſhire rebels beſiege Exeter.

Revolt in Norfolk.

NOTES.

[7] The men of Exeter were forced to eat their horſes, and make ſtrange ſhifts for bread. A gallant old citizen encouraged them by declaring, 'That he would eat one arm and fight with the other, ere he would agree to a ſurrender.' [HAYWARD.

Mrs. Frances Duffield, a young unmarried gentlewoman, ſtruck the mayor over the face; on which he ordered the alarum-bell to be rung out, and a broil, dangerous to the city, enſued. After the ſiege, the prieſt of St. Thomas was hanged from the tower of his church in chains, with his full attire, his bell, his beads, and his holy-water bucket. [HOLINGSHED.

[8] The following lines compoſed the prophecy which led theſe hapleſs ruſtics to rebellion:

'The country knuffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs, and clouted ſhoon,
'Shall fill up Duffendale, with ſlaughtered bodies, ſoon.' [IBID.

[9] He fell into a ditch, and a butcher ſlew him with a club. [DUGDALE.

Mr. Walpole admits Lord Sheffield among his noble writers, on the credit of Anthony à Wood, who imputes to him a book of ſonnets.

* Hayward, p. 295.

but

A. D. 1549. but the active Earl of Warwick, at the head of 6000 old troops (ſome of them foreigners), quaſhed this tremendous riſing, and the Oak of Reformation was hung round with the aſſociates in rebellion. Some blood ſpilt in quelling a Yorkſhire commotion, was the laſt which this ſeries of tumults demanded; and an amneſty, proclaimed by order of the humane Somerſet, dropped the curtain on each ſcene of ſlaughter [10].

From the epoch of theſe numerous riſings, we are to date the appointment of Lord Lieutenants to each county in the kingdom *.

The Protector ſent to the Tower.

And now the Protector himſelf was doomed to experience a cruel reverſe of fortune. The old nobles hated him for his ſudden riſe, and ſtill more for his having endeavored to interfere on behalf of the oppreſſed poor. It was, indeed, entirely to hear their complaints, and to relieve their diſtreſſes, that he had held 'a Court of Requeſts' in his own houſe. An illegal meaſure, which, when maliciouſly repreſented, ſpoke bitterly againſt him. Nor had it made him popular; his ill-judged and greedy attempt to demoliſh churches and chapels for the embelliſhment of his palace, had given univerſal diſguſt. At Weſtminſter [11] the people had defended their temples by dint of blows. The ambitious Warwick headed the malcontents; and Somerſet, being accuſed of having propoſed to deliver Boulogne to the French and of other miſdemeanors, was ſent to the Tower, while Warwick, at the head of a new council, obtained from the young and unexperienced Edward leave to govern the kingdom †.

NOTES.

[10] There was much cruelty uſed after the rebellion was quelled. Sir Anthony Kingſton, the Provoſt-Marſhal, went to dine with Boyer, mayor of Bodmyn, walked out with him to view the gallows, aſked him if it were ſtrong enough? and, on his anſwering in the affirmative, hanged him upon it. At another place, the ſervant of a rebellious miller appearing for his maſter, Sir Anthony made him be led to execution, not heeding his proteſtation of the deception: 'For,' ſaid the taunting judge, 'if it be as you ſay, can you do to your maſter a better ſervice than to hang for him?' [CAMDEN'S REMAINS.

[11] In other places he was unhappily more ſucceſsful, particularly in the demolition of St. Mary's church, and of a fine chapel connected with St. Paul's. [WEAVER, BURNET.

Theſe, with the materials of the epiſcopal palaces belonging to Worceſter, Litchfield, and Llandaff, formed the ſacrilegious maſs called Somerſet Houſe; which, toward the cloſe of the 18th century, gave way to the Royal Academy.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 178. † King Edward's Journal, p. 9.

The

The extreme irreſolution of Somerſet having led him to confeſs every article brought againſt him, to be true; he was no longer an object of dread. His poſts indeed were taken from him; but he was releaſed, was re-admitted to the council early in 1550, and a ſevere fine laid upon him was annulled. A. D. 1550. Confeſſes himſelf guilty and is releaſed.

A peace, which included Scotland, was now ſettled with France. Boulogne was given up for a large ſum of money *: and ſoon after a marriage between Edward VI. and Elizabeth of France was concluded on †, but this unpopular project never took effect. Boulogne reſtored to France.

Even the hardened Warwick had felt ſhame at propoſing the ceſſion of Boulogne, a circumſtance which he had urged as treaſon againſt Somerſet. He feigned ſickneſs, and endeavored to avoid ſetting his name to the treaty. The peace was, however, abſolutely neceſſary; and the government was ſo weak, and the people ſo tumultuous in England, that no tax to carry on a war could with ſafety have been levied. The tribute paid for ſo many years by France to England, under various names and pretences, was abandoned by this treaty, at leaſt for a time. As the young king's zeal for the Reformation roſe nearly to bigotry, Warwick, to gain his favor, treated the Roman Catholic prelates with ſome degree of harſhneſs, ejecting even thoſe who were willing to be ſilent on points of controverſy. Gardiner, Day, Heathe, and Voyſey, loſt their ſees, which were inſtantly filled by active reformers. Romam Catholic biſhops ejected.

To pleaſe the people, Warwick now began a ſtrict enquiry concerning thoſe who had miſmanaged the royal revenues, and fined them without mercy, although many of the defaulters were his own partizans. The Lord Arundel, in particular, was amerced 12,000l. Sir John Thynne 6,000l. and four others 3,000l. each ‡. Great officers fined.

It is generally believed, that few periods in England have produced more murthers [12], and other atrocious crimes, than that we now treat of. Warwick,

NOTES.

[12] Sir Peter Gamboa, and Filicirga, two diſtinguiſhed foreign officers, were, about this time, murthered near St. Sepulchre's church, by Carlo Gavaro, and three other Spaniards, who

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 214. † Hayward, p. 318.

‡ Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 149.

A. D. 1550. Warwick, conſcious of the trembling ground on which he ſtood, dreaded, by any exertion of the powers of government, to give ſome pretence for his numerous foes to riſe and deſtroy his authority and himſelf.

1551. The Princeſs Mary diſguſted.

The Princeſs Mary, whoſe adherence to the old religion could not be ſhaken, having had her chaplains impriſoned, and her faith weakly aſſaulted by a letter from the council, couched in diſguſting language, endeavored to eſcape to her kinſman the Emperor *. She was prevented; but the remonſtrances of Charles procured for her a more tender treatment.

Warwick made Duke of Northumberland.

Plan in favour of Lady Jane Gray.

And now Warwick (newly created Duke of Northumberland, and poſſeſſed of the vaſt northern eſtates of the Piercy family) purſued, with zeal, his darling project, for excluding both the ſiſters of Edward from the throne, and for introducing a ſon of his own, whom he meant to wed the Lady Jane Gray, grand-daughter to Mary, Queen of France [13]. Humbled to the duſt as Somerſet had been, he might ſtill be an obſtacle to this criminal plan. A ſpy (Sir Thomas Palmer) had been ſet on his actions and his words; he was charged with a deſign to ſlay Northumberland, to proclaim himſelf king †, and with other treaſonable intentions; and, with ſeveral of his moſt intimate friends, was ſent a ſecond time to the Tower.

NOTES.

who were ſoon after executed on a gallows in Smithfield; Carlo having his right hand firſt ſtricken off, on the wheel of the cart which conveyed him. Holingſhed records alſo a more complicated aſſaſſination, perpetrated at Feverſham, in Kent, on a gentleman named Arden. He had a handſome wife, who was unfortunately attached to an inferior, one Moſby; by his perſuaſions, ſhe was ſeduced to join in the plot againſt her ſpouſe. The deſign failed many times, by ſtrange and almoſt præternatural incidents. At length, by the help of two diſbanded ſoldiers, 'Black Will, and George Shakebag,' it was completed. Such was the cool blood of the wife, that ſhe made an entertainment 'for two Londoners,' and made 'hir daughter to plaie on the virginalls' to them, while the mangled corpſe of Arden was carrying out of her houſe. This wicked woman, and moſt of the criminals, were deſervedly put to death, and one innocent man, Bradſhaw, having unknowingly delivered a note relative to the murther, was unhappily involved in their puniſhment. The tale, as delivered by Holingſhed at full length, is ſo affecting and intereſting, that it has produced two tragedies, one of them by Lillo.

[13] She was the daughter of the Marquis of Dorſet, now created Duke of Suffolk, on the death of the two heirs of Brandon; both of theſe had been carried off by the Sweating ſickneſs.

* Hayward, p. 315. † Ibid. p. 320.

Some

A. D. 1551.

Some attention was paid, about this period, to the much-neglected commerce of England. An advantageous treaty was concluded with Sweden, and ſome alteration made in the privileges of the Steel-yard Company; by which natives were encouraged to enter into the mercantile line, and to trade in Engliſh bottoms. Uſeful and ingenious foreigners were ſucceſsfully invited to the ſhores of Britain, and the circumſtances of the day were ſingularly favorable to this humane and politic ſyſtem; for the diſputes on the continent about religion, had driven from their homes ſeveral ſmall colonies of manufacturers, who met at this period with protection and encouragement in England. A whole induſtrious congregation migrated from the continent with their teacher, John Alaſco, a Pole of conſiderable diſtinction *. Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other men of ſcience, ſought alſo the protection of Edward.

Manufactures encouraged.

1552. Somerſet executed.

Early in 1552, the fate of Somerſet was determined. Acquitted of treaſon, he was condemned by a cruel ſtatute † of Henry VII. which makes it felony to imagine the death of a privy-counſellor. The people, who now knew his value, and the profligacy of his rival, wept loudly at his execution. The late Protector fell with ſingular calmneſs. His fortitude was ſeverely tried a few minutes before his death. A loud and ruſhing noiſe was heard, and the people obſerving an officer of the court approaching, ſhouted with one voice, A pardon! But the duke waving his cap, intreated them to be ſilent and reſpectful. Soon after the cataſtrophe of Somerſet, there were led to execution four knights, his moſt intimate friends, Partridge, Stanhope, Arundel, and Vane. The laſt was a veteran officer who had diſtinguiſhed his bravery at Muſſelburgh, and on other ſervices. He met death with firmneſs (as did his comrades), but remarked ſternly, 'that 'time was, when he was held in ſome eſteem; but that now, the brave 'man and the coward were treated alike [14].'

NOTES.

[14] The malice of Warwick ſpared none of Somerſet's friends. The Lord Rich was diſmiſſed from the Treaſury, and Sir William Paget degraded from the order of the Garter, 'becauſe of his low extraction,' beſides being amerced 6,000l. [STOWE.

He was reſtored by Mary, in the firſt year of her reign, to all his honours. [COLLINS.

Others to whom Somerſet had given grants of Chantry lands, &c. were obliged to yield the eſtates up to the king.

* Rym. Fœd. l. xv. p. 170, 192, 193.

† Stowe, p. 606.

A. D. 1552.

A new parliament corrupt and pliable.

The Parliament, which had ſat during the whole of Edward's reign, was now diſſolved, as not pliant enough to the humors of Northumberland *. It had refuſed to paſs a bill againſt treaſons, without inſiſting on the neceſſity of there being two witneſſes; nor would it agree to deprive the decent and modeſt Tonſtal, unheard, of his ſee. Theſe ſcruples were new and uncommon; the lords had none of them.

The moſt groſs court-influence was uſed in convening the new ſenate [15]; and nothing, indeed, could exceed its docility. It granted two ſubſidies, and two fifteenths, and divided the ſee of Durham (whence Biſhop Tonſtall had been arbitrarily ejected †) into two diſtricts, at the deſire of the court, leaving to the Duke of Northumberland the palatinate of the county.

The ſum of the king's debts being now riſen to the amount of 251,179l. ſterling, a part of the forfeited Chantry lands were directed to be ſold by commiſſioners, in order to pay the creditors.

1553. And now a ſanguine cloud prepared to overcaſt the horizon of England. Edward, whoſe good ſenſe and virtue ſeemed to promiſe to his people a redreſs of thoſe evils which his minority had occaſioned, began viſibly to droop. An ill-cured ſmall-pox ‡ had left a complaint on his lungs, which

The king falls ill.

had brought on a fatal conſumptive diſorder. He knew his danger, but felt no anguiſh except for his people; whoſe newly-eſtabliſhed form of religion, he was conſcious, would be utterly overturned by the next heir, the Lady Mary; whoſe attachment to the Roman Catholic faith had been nouriſhed by an indelicate, harſh oppoſition.

Sets aſide Mary and Elizabeth.

The artful Northumberland taking advantage of this turn in the King's mind, found means to perſuade him, that he might exclude Mary from the throne, provided that Elizabeth, who lay under the ſame charge of illegitimacy, was alſo ſet aſide.

Edward loved the Lady Elizabeth, whom he uſed affectionately to ſtile, 'his ſweet ſiſter Temperance;' but his extreme zeal for the Reformation

NOTES.

[15] There are in Strype's collections letters from the king, recommending Sir Richard Cotton to Hants, Sir William Fitzwilliams, and Sir Henry Nevil, to Berks, &c. &c. [Eccles: Memorials.

* Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 190. † Parl. Journal. Strype, vol. ii. p. 367.
‡ King Edward's Journal, p. 49.

over-

overpowered the dictates of fraternal love and of juſtice; and he directed a patent to be drawn up, which might ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown * on Lady Jane Gray; who had been juſt married to Lord Guildford Dudley, a younger ſon of Northumberland, and to whom her mother the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, daughter to Mary of France, had formally reſigned her own prior right. A. D. 1553.

At firſt the judges refuſed to be concerned in this iniquitous tranſaction; but the entreaties of the dying King, and the menaces of his impetuous miniſter, Northumberland, prevailed on them all (except Sir James Hales), and on all the council, to ſign the deed; Cranmer, however, afterwards called on the judges † to witneſs his reluctance and oppoſition. Inſtantly almoſt, the ſtate of Edward's health grew worſe. A female empiric was then truſted to preſcribe [16]; but, as his ſickneſs encreaſed under her care, ſhe was diſmiſſed, and the phyſicians retook their ſtation. They however could do him no farther ſervice, and on the 6th of July, 1553, this amiable prince expired in the ſixteenth year of his age. He dies.

The accompliſhments of Edward were greatly beyond his years. Beſides being maſter of ſeveral languages, he underſtood theology, muſic, and natural philoſophy; and the celebrated Jerome Cardan, who had an opportunity of converſing with him, bears a noble and public teſtimony to his literary merit [17]. A letter from Dr. Cox, one of Edward's tutors, is alſo ſtill extant; in which he quaintly avers, that the King 'diſcovered great 'towardneſs and all honeſt qualities; that he ſhould be taken as a ſingular 'gift of God; that he read Cato, Vives, and Æſop, and that he conned 'very pleaſantly.' What Eraſmus writes of this amiable prince, appears to be an elegant and eaſy way of ſaying nothing more than what any diſcreet His character.

NOTES.

[16] She had been recommended by the Dudley family, and the king's pains encreaſing by her medicines, great ſuſpicions were entertained as to her patrons, eſpecially as it had been obſerved that his health had viſibly declined ever ſince the Lord Robert Dudley had been near his perſon. [BURNET, STRYPE.

[17] A few days before his death, Edward completed the endowment of Chriſt's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hoſpitals, with 600l. per annum from the Savoy. [HOLINGSHED.

The coſt of his houſhold was, the 1ſt year, 49,187l.—2d, 46,902l.—3d, 46,100l.—4th, 100,578.—5th, 62,863l.—6th, 65,923l. [STRYPE.

* Holingſhed, p. 1083. † Hiſt. of Reformation, tom. ii. p. 257.

lad

A. D. 1553. lad might have claimed. 'Senex, juvenis convictu, factus ſum melior; 'ac, ſobrietatem, temperentiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, mo- 'deſtiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a ſene diſcere debuerat, 'a juvene ſenex didici.'

A journal written by the pen of the young King, and tranſcribed by Biſhop Burnet, exhibits a clear proof of his ſenſe, knowledge, and goodneſs. Beſides this, ſeveral ſmall treatiſes in his own hand, on ſubjects political and controverſial, are extant; and Holland ſays, that he wrote a play, entitled, 'The Whore of Babylon,' the non-exiſtence of which Mr. Walpole laments not.

Notwithſtanding the attainments and excellent diſpoſition of Edward, it muſt have been obſerved, that the people were unhappy, oppreſſed, and in conſequence turbulent, during the whole of his ſhort reign. Yet to the ſovereign himſelf none of theſe evils ſhould be imputed. His affectionate duty to his maternal uncles, and his attachment to the plauſible Warwick, blinded his eyes to their ſucceſſive failings; while the narrowneſs of thinking as to religious matters, which in the 16th century every party had adopted, had clouded his mind with a ſhade of bigotry; which, however, as well as his want of reſolution, had Providence granted him a longer life, muſt have been ſoon cleared away by the benignity of his diſpoſition, and the brightneſs of his intellects.

Every ſtep was now taken by the deceaſed King's miniſtry to ſeize the princeſſes, and fix the crown on the fair uſurper's head; and the ladies Mary and Elizabeth were actually on the road to the court, allured thither by a feigned meſſage from the King, when the news of his approaching end gave them warning of the deceit *; and Mary, flying to Suffolk, found every one eager to arm in her cauſe. The deteſtation, indeed, in which the Duke of Northumberland was held, rendered every project in favor of his family fruitleſs; and the unfortunate, though amiable Jane, who after a ſincere reſiſtance †, had been hardly prevailed on by her father and huſband to accept the crown [18], reſigned it with real and unaffected pleaſure, after a

Lady Jane Gray crowned.

NOTES.

[18] At the proclamation of Jane, no joy had been ſhewn by the people, and Gilbert Pot, a vintner's lad, loſt his ears, for diſreſpectful words concerning the innocent uſurper. His maſter and others, returning from ſeeing his puniſhment in the Tower, were drowned, paſſing under London Bridge. [HOLINGSHED.

* Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 233. † Ibid. p. 234.

joyleſs

joyleſs reign of ten days. Mary, at the head of a numerous troop (1000 of which had been levied by the Lady Elizabeth), entered London, and aſcended the throne. Nor did the mean conduct of Northumberland ſave his life; although, on finding himſelf deſerted by his army, he had caſt up his cap for Mary, and had fallen on his knees * to the Lord Arundel, who apprehended him; while, at that humiliating moment, a woman held up to the daſtardly ſuppliant's face a handkerchief, dipped, as ſhe ſaid, in the innocent blood of Somerſet, whom he had murthered.

A. D. 1553. Expelled by Queen Mary.

He was tried and condemned by his Peers for treaſon, and beheaded on Tower-hill [19], with Palmer and Gates, his intimate aſſociates; conſiſtent to the laſt in inconſiſtency, his laſt words declared him to be, and ever to have been, a Roman Catholic †.

Northumberland beheaded.

As Mary wiſhed to acquire popularity [20], ſhe ſhed no more blood on the preſent occaſion: the Lady Jane, together with her huſband, and his brothers, were indeed tried and condemned for treaſon, but their ſentences were reſpited.

After the new Queen had releaſed the venerable Norfolk, and the other priſoners in the Tower, ſhe wiſhed to celebrate the funeral obſequies of her brother with the ceremonies of the Papal church; but Cranmer, meek as he was by nature, ſtoutly oppoſed this innovation, and ſheltering himſelf under

NOTES.

[19] 'The executioner,' writes a French prieſt, who was an eye witneſs, 'wore a white apron, like a butcher; and there you might ſee,' he adds, 'little children gathering up the blood which had fallen through the ſlits of the ſcaffold. [VOYAGES DE PERLIN.

[20] It may be worth obſerving, that Mary rode through the city of London in pomp, crowned by a circle of gold and precious ſtones, ſo heavy, that ſhe was forced to ſupport her head with her hand, and that behind her there came in a chariot 'the Ladie Elizabeth and the Ladie Anne of Cleves.' [HOLINGSHED.

Prodigies were not wanting to grace the acceſſion of the ill-favored ſovereign; for we are alſo told by Holingſhed, 'a compleat double female child was born at Midlenton near Oxford, and lived 18 days; and that at Queenborow three, and at Blackwall ſix huge Dolphins' (or more probably Porpoiſes) 'were taken at this period. The leaſt was bigger than any horſe.' Far more ominous was the loſs of the Great Harry, a royal ſhip of war, vaſt in its bulk, which was burnt by accident at Woolwich.

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 13. Stowe, p. 612. † Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 243.

acts

A. D. 1553. acts of Parliament ſtill in force, he interred the remains of Edward in the chapel of Henry VII. after the rites of the reformed church. If he officiated in perſon, it was probably his laſt act of office, as he was almoſt immediately confined to his houſe and treated as a criminal. Mary had a ſervice performed for her deceaſed brother in her own chapel *.

Strong meaſures taken in favor of the Roman Catholic faith.

And now the natural bigotry of Mary took its full ſcope. A Parliament was formed which would ſecond her in any meaſure, except the reſtoration of church-lands. The Proteſtant Biſhops were ejected and impriſoned; their ſees filled with zealous Catholics, and Cardinal de la Pole was ſent for haſtily to aſſiſt as Nuncio, in cleanſing the polluted land. But the policy of Gardiner, who ſuſpected that the Queen meant Pole for her huſband, or at leaſt for her primate, found means to check the too impetuous zeal of Mary, by the intervention of the Emperor †.

Ingratitude of Mary.

The Queen at this time tried to pleaſe the people by remitting the ſubſidy granted to Edward, but not levied. The acts of her Parliament were not in general popular. Her own illegitimacy was reverſed, but that of Elizabeth was ungratefully confirmed; and Mary, by aſſigning to her fairer ſiſter a low rank, even beneath the counteſſes, drove from the court one who had already been her ſucceſsful rival. Religion was placed on the footing of the laſt part of Henry VIII's reign, and all preaching, except by licence, ſtopped. The Proteſtants were now ſeverely treated, their favourite preachers impriſoned, and even the men of Suffolk, to whoſe early loyalty Mary owed her crown, were brow-beaten, and one of them pilloried ‡ for demanding that liberty of conſcience, with the promiſe of which ſhe had engaged their aſſiſtance.

1554. Spaniſh match ſettled.

Mary now received with pleaſure the overtures made by her couſin, Charles V. for a match between her and his ſon Philip, a handſome prince, ten years younger than herſelf. The nation, however, ſaw the propoſal in a light ſo different, that a dangerous revolt enſued, headed by Sir Thomas Wiat, a Kentiſh knight; who, although a ſteady Roman Catholic §, had imbibed, by travelling in Spain ‖, an utter deteſtation of that country's ſevere manners. Followed by a ſtrong party he marched from Rocheſter to London; having been joined on the road by a band of citizens, at the

* Holingſhed, p. 1089. † Hiſt. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 242.

‡ Strype, vol. iii. p. 52. § Holingſhed, p. 1104. ‖ Hiſt. of Reform. vol. ii. p. 224.

head

head of whom that venerable warrior [21], the Duke of Norfolk (now relieved from his attainder), meant to have oppoſed him *. Wiat, however, finding the bridge of the metropolis well defended, loſt ſo much time in marching round by Kingſton, and in repairing the broken carriages of his artillery, that when he entered London through Hyde-Park (which was then the weſtern avenue) a ſtrong force had been collected by which he was overpowered and taken. He expiated his fault on Tower-hill, where he ſolemnly avowed the innocence of the Lady Elizabeth and of Courtney, who both had been charged as favoring his revolt [22]. Much blood was ſhed on this occaſion. Suffolk †, with the Lady Jane [23] and her huſband, were beheaded; and the Lord Thomas Gray, a tried and gallant commander, with hundreds of inferior rank, ſuffered death in the ſame cauſe. The unfortunate Jane was highly accompliſhed, and well verſed in the antient as well as the modern tongues. To her laſt moments ſhe lamented her having accepted the crown; laid the blame on her own blind, filial affection; and told the people from the ſcaffold that ſhe ſuffered deſervedly, ſince her innocence was no excuſe for the trouble which ſhe had occaſioned to the realm. She would not ſee her huſband, leſt the inter-

A. D. 1554. Wiat's revolt.

Lady Jane Gray beheaded.

NOTES.

[21] This gallant veteran died a few months after, poſſeſſed of more than fifty manors, beſides hundreds, rectories, ſites of abbeys, &c. 'Good and ſtately gear,' indeed, as he juſtly called them, when he intreated Henry VIII. 'not to ſcatter them among his courtiers, but to ſettle them on the Prince of Wales;' knowing that if they were not diſperſed, his family might have a chance of regaining them by favor of ſome future prince. Norfolk had lived about eighty-ſeven years and under eight ſovereigns. [COLLINS's PEERAGE.

[22] Neither this declaration, nor the proteſtation of the poor princeſs, who prayed 'that God might confound her eternally if ſhe were guilty,' could ſave her from being dragged from her bed, though really ſick, and ſent to the Tower through Traitor's-gate. She made ſome reſiſtance againſt paſſing through that ominous defile, but in vain. Soon after ſhe aſked, with viſible anxiety, 'whether Lady Jane Gray's ſcaffold was yet taken down?' [CAMDEN, HOLINGSHED.

[23] After her huſband had been beheaded, Gates, the Lieutenant of the Tower, aſking her for ſome token of remembrance, ſhe gave him her pocket-book with three ſentences, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in Engliſh, which ſhe had written on ſeeing the headleſs trunk paſs beneath her window. The purport was meek and forgiving. [HEYLYN:

* Godwin, p. 341. † Stowe, p. 624.

A. D. 1554. view ſhould be too affecting; and, with inimitable meekneſs, thanked Dr. Fecknam with her laſt words, for the pains he had ineffectually taken in endeavoring to convert her to his own faith. She was only ſixteen years of age when ſhe ſuffered.

Mary now gave orders, that the church ſhould be purged of all married prieſts, and ſome thouſands of the clergy, in conſequence, loſt their benefices.

Prince Philip of Spain weds queen Mary.

In July 1554, Prince Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton. Diſpleaſed, perhaps, at the ſtern commander of his convoy (who had fired at the Spaniſh ſhips to make them ſalute the Engliſh flag), he landed with his ſword drawn, and made no return to the compliments which attended his approach to the town. The Engliſh were diſguſted by a continuation of this impolitic conduct, but Mary made up by her fondneſs for the indifference of her ſubjects. The articles of the union had been drawn with proper caution; and Philip gained little by the wedding (which was celebrated at Weſtminſter), except a homely, ill-tempered, jealous wife. The gold which he brought with him (which filled twenty-ſeven cheſts, beſides ninety-nine horſe-loads and two cart-loads of coin) ſmoothed his way; and he gained ſome credit with the Engliſh by interfering with Mary in behalf of her ſiſter Elizabeth, of Courtney, Dudley, Harrington, and others who were confined, and in great danger *.

Conference at Oxford.

Mary ſuppoſed pregnant.

A conference on religion held at Oxford having ended, as the Roman Catholics declared, in favor of the old faith, Mary (who now gave it out that ſhe was pregnant †) no longer deferred the ſolemn re-union of England to the Holy See, and with ſincere tranſport quitted that heretical title 'The Supreme Head of the Church;' and was ſo much affected at the ſpeech which Cardinal Pole made on this occaſion before both Houſes of Parliament, that 'ſhe felt the child ſtir in her womb [24].'

A ſcene

NOTES.

[24] Inſtantly the Roman Catholics affirmed that it would be a male; and Bonner, Biſhop of London, ordered prayers throughout his dioceſe, 'that he might be beautiful, vigorous and witty.'

The prieſt of Alderſgate went farther, and, by a ſpirit of prophecy, deſcribed the ſex and features of the embryo.

* Holingſhed, p. 1129. Stowe, p. 626. † Holingſhed, p. 1123, 1126.

On

A. D. 1555.

The Proteſtants perſecuted.

A ſcene of the moſt bloody perſecution now came forward. The Parliament had revived the moſt ſanguinary laws againſt heretics, and the mild ſyſtem of Pole gave way to the atrocious counſels of Gardiner. Rogers, the moſt popular of Proteſtant preachers, led the way to the ſtake. Hooper, late Biſhop of Glouceſter, followed; nor were the horrors of bigotry long checked even by the declaration of Alphonſo, Almoner to Philip, who, before the council, bitterly reproached the Engliſh Biſhops for their impolitic inhumanity.

The Biſhops Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, and Latimer burnt.

After a very ſlight pauſe, the perſecution raged with more fury than ever. Ferrars, Biſhop of St. David's, was burnt in his own dioceſe; and the venerable Latimer, with Ridley, late Biſhop of London, ſuffered the ſame cruel death at Oxford *. The fate of Gardiner, who was awfully ſtruck † with death while exulting in the tortures of the laſt-mentioned ſufferer, did no ſervice to the cauſe of humanity. Bonner, who ſucceeded him in carrying on the infernal work, added brutal buffoonery to the moſt refined cruelty. Yet, even he, fatigued with the work of blood, was ſometimes reprimanded for indolence ‡.

To finiſh at once this diſgraceful and deteſtable ſubject, during the three remaining years of Mary's ill-ſtared reign, there periſhed at the ſtake two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons; among whom were reckoned, five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children The temper of Mary grew more turbid from repeated diſappointments. That pregnancy on which both ſhe and Philip ſo much depended, cloſed in worſe

NOTES.

On the Proteſtant ſide, all kind of ſuſpicions were encouraged againſt the actual pregnancy of Mary. There was even a report, that an enquiry had been made in a myſterious manner after a new-born infant. [FOX, BURNET'S REFORMATION.

The following paſquinade was poſted on the palace gate: 'Serons nous ſi betes; O nobles Anglois! Que de croire notre reyne enceinte? Et de quoi le ſeroit elle, ſi non d'une marmot, ou d'une dogue?' [EMBASSADES DE NOAILLES.

* Fox, vol. iii. Godwin, p. 349. † Fox, vol. iii. Godwin, p. 351.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii, p. 335.

A. D. 1555. than nothing; the ſpouſe on whom ſhe ſo fondly doated [25], left her with cool, contemptuous indifference, and ſailed to Spain; and even her packed ſenate, when ſhe wanted money to gratify her fugitive, reproached her for having given back to the church thoſe domains * which ought to have ſupplied her with what ſhe now demanded. In this they referred to her

NOTES.

[25] After the departure of Philip, the neglected Queen ſpent her days in ſolitude, and her nights in ſighs and tears. She wrote perpetual letters to her wanderer, to which he ſeldom vouchſafed any anſwer. [NOAILLES.

The only part of government to which ſhe attended, was that of extorting from her people illegal loans, and arbitrarily taxing the goods of Engliſh and of foreign merchants. [BURNET, COWPER, CARTE, &c.

In one of her epiſtles, ſhe profeſſes herſelf more bounden to Philip, than any other wife to her huſband, notwithſtanding his ill-treatment of her: 'Dont' ſays ſhe, 'j'ay commencée desja, de taſter trop, a mon grand regret.' [STRYPE.

Mary, however, ſometimes did ſhew a degree of ſpirit; as once, when, in a fit of rage or jealouſy, ſhe tore in pieces the portrait of this adored huſband. [LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.

Another time ſhe was highly incenſed at an engraving which repreſented her ſhrivelled, wrinkled, and lean, with many Spaniards hanging on her, and ſucking her to the bone. [IBID.

Philip was certainly a very handſome man; and Elizabeth, who was a good judge, although ſhe refuſed his addreſſes, kept his picture always by her bed-ſide. [BALLARD'S MEM.

The perſon of the Spaniſh prince is thus deſcribed by John Elder: 'Of viſage he is well-favored, with a broad fore-head and grey eyes, ſtreight noſed, and a manly countenance. From the forehead to the chin his face groweth ſmall, his pace is princely, &c.; he is ſo well proportioned of bodi, arme, legge, and every other limme to the ſame, as nature cannot worke a more parfit paterne,' &c. &c. [GRAINGER.

Philip wedded Mary with a view to rule in England, and when the Queen was ſuppoſed to be pregnant, he applied to Parliament that he might be Regent during the minority of any child which might appear, offering to give bond to ſurrender the government to ſuch child when of age to rule. The debate grew warm, but Lord Paget aſking, 'who ſhould ſue the King's bond?' the whole was ſuddenly concluded in the negative. [HOWELL'S LETTERS.

Once Philip wiſhed to have united Elizabeth to Philibert of Savoy, but Mary and her ſiſter both diſliked the ſcheme; and when he ſent the Dutcheſſes of Parma and Lorrain to fetch the Princeſs to Flanders, the Queen would not permit them to viſit her at Hatfield. The latter of theſe ladies was ſuppoſed to be the favorite miſtreſs of Philip. [CARTE.

* Stowe, p. 627.

having,

having, through dread of papal excommunication, given up to the church the firſt-fruits, and all the church-lands veſted in the crown. She now exerted herſelf in diſcovering and fining ſuch as had ſhared the moveables, books, &c. of monaſteries, and by her orders, towards the cloſe of 1555, Archbiſhop Cranmer was tried by three commiſſioners for hereſy, and condemned to be degraded, and to be burnt alive. A. D. 1555. Archbiſhop Cranmer tried and condemned.

It was at this awful period that the frailty of human nature, and the importunity of Engliſh and foreign divines, perſuaded Archbiſhop Cranmer to forſake that religion, of which he had hitherto been the chief ſupport*. His apoſtacy was ſhort. Mary, who deteſted him for his ſhare in her mother's divorce, not chuſing to loſe her revenge, privately ordered his execution. But Cranmer had already repented of his weakneſs, and when he was brought to church to abjure Proteſtantiſm publicly, he diſappointed the auditors by bemoaning his own folly, and affirming his determination to die in his former opinions. At the ſtake, to which he ſoon was conducted, he held that hand which had ſigned his recantation in the flame until it was utterly conſumed, crying inceſſantly, 'it was *this* hand which offended.' Cardinal Pole ſucceeded Cranmer in the ſee of Canterbury. 1556. He recants, but repents, and is burned. Cardinal Pole becomes Primate.

Meanwhile the fires at Smithfield blazed fiercely for inferior heretics, and the zealous Mary was only prevented from burning larger numbers of her ſubjects by the remiſſneſs of the county magiſtrates, whom the council were forced perpetually to remind of their duty.

The Lady Elizabeth, during the heat of perſecution, was in no pleaſant ſtate [26]. Since her releaſe from the Tower, ſhe had been in ſuch ill-omened cuſtody, that ſhe had often reaſon to think her life in danger. Once Gardiner had actually procured a warrant for her death, ſigned by ſome of the privy-council; but the Queen, being told of it, was obliged to forbid the execution.

NOTES.

[26] Being once urged to explain her ſentiments concerning the real preſence, ſhe happily thus expreſſed herſelf extempore:

'Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
'He took the bread and brake it,
'And what the word did make it,
'I do believe and take it.'

She was, however, obliged to hear maſs and ſubmit to confeſſion. [BAKER's CHRON.

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 233.

At

A. D. 1556. The Lady Elizabeth ſeverely treated.

At Woodſtock ſhe was perpetually teazed by Gardiner, to own her misdoings towards Mary, all which ſhe ſteadily denied. Philip (as is believed), at length, obtained leave for her to live at Hatfield; and even there ſhe had to her knowledge, in her own houſhold, two ſpies upon her conduct *. To calm the anxiety which ſuch ſituations muſt occaſion, the princeſs had recourſe to literature, and ſoothed her fears by peruſing the elegant productions of the antients in their native tongues [27].

During this period, the weakneſs and bigotry of the government, its want of money, and unwillingneſs to exaſperate by taxation a people who deteſted its meaſures, rendered the ſtate of England contemptible in the eyes of foreign nations. A war with Scotland was with difficulty avoided, by the firmneſs of the Lords Shrewſbury and Wharton; who, with a ſmall force, ill-paid, kept the borderers (who began every war) in peace with each other.

The extreme diſcontent of the people occaſioned more than one riſing in various parts of England. One of theſe at Dis, in Norfolk, though tri-

NOTES.

[27] The muſe, too, condeſcended to ſoften her cares; although the following lines, written (as we are aſſured, by Paul Hentzner) with charcoal on a window-ſhutter at Woodſtock, breathe a ſtern ſpirit of revenge, mingled with much philoſophy:

Oh fortune! how thy reſtleſs wavering ſtate
Has fraught with cares my troubled wit!
Witneſs this preſent priſon, whither fate
Has borne me, and the joys I quit.
Thou cauſedeſt the guilty to be looſed
From bands, wherein are innocents incloſed.
Cauſing the guitleſs to be † ſtrait reſerved,
And freeing thoſe that death had well-deſerved.
But by her envy, nothing can be wrought;
So God ſend to my foes all they have thought!

A.D. MDLV. ELIZABETH, *Priſoner.*

A part of the palace of Woodſtock, above mentioned, was ſtanding in the reign of Anne, and Sir John Vanbrugh had taſte enough to ſpend 2000l. in ſupporting the ruins. But the Lord Godolphin not liking the view of them from Blenheim, the Dutcheſs of Marlborough made them be taken down. [LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.

* Godwin, p. 349. † Severely confined.

fling

fling in itſelf, and headed only by a poor ſchool-maſter named Cleber, occaſioned ſeveral perſons to ſuffer the death of traitors at Bury, in Suffolk [28]. A. D. 1556.

It was not until 1557 that Philip deigned to viſit his neglected ſpouſe; but, more actuated by intereſt than love, he made her declaration of war againſt France the price of all future endearments.

Mary could hardly have brought this about, ſince the marriage articles, drawn by the cautious Gardiner, expreſsly guarded againſt this contingency *, had not an inſurrection in the North, under one Stafford, given her a pretence to accuſe the French councils of diſturbing the peace of her realm. This ill-adviſed revolter, with a few French adventurers (who forſook him at the firſt onſet), pompouſly propoſed himſelf as Protector of England againſt the Spaniards. He was ſeized in Scarborough by the Lord Weſtmoreland, brought to London, and with three accomplices executed. War with France.

To raiſe money from a turbulent people, to a weak Queen and a timid miniſtry, was no eaſy taſk; and various were the expedients to which recourſe was had by Mary. One time ſhe forced ſixty gentlemen to lend her one thouſand pounds a-piece [29]. They did it; but with Money illegally raiſed.

NOTES.

[28] In the Britiſh Muſeum is a MS. entitled, 'How one Cleber, in 1556, proclaimed the Ladie Elizabeth Quene, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtneye, Kynge.' [LIFE OF SIR T. POPE.

[29] As theſe ſeverities fell chiefly on the Proteſtant families, the Roman Catholics preſumed much on their favor at court, but ſometimes preſumed too far, as in the caſe of the Lord Stourton, a Roman Catholic Baron of Wilts, who, on this principle, had bitterly oppreſſed his neighbor, a gentleman named Hartgill. The council-book of Edward's reign had been full of their quarrels. Once Stourton, in conſequence of this broil, had oppoſed the Sheriff and the *poſſe comitatûs*. At length, in 1557, truſting to his intereſt with the Council of Mary, he nearly murthered the younger Hartgill, who was on a reconciliatory viſit at his houſe. Being fined and impriſoned for this attempt, he got leave to return to Wilts, that he might pay the fine to the Hartgills. He then decoyed the whole family into Kilmington church-yard, where he made his ſervants bind the father and ſon, and carry them by force to his houſe at Stourhead, after having wounded the wife of the younger Hartgill, who implored for her huſband on her knees. When he had them in his houſe, he made them be beaten with clubs, and then held the candle while his ſervants cut their

* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 337, 393, 403.

A. D. 1557. with ſuch difficulty, that they were forced to retrench and leſſen the number of their ſervants. The diſcharged domeſtics taking to robbery for their ſubſiſtence, the conſiderate Queen forced their maſters by a proclamation to receive them again. Beſides uſing theſe forcible loans, the conſcientious Mary, another time, ſeized the corn of Suffolk and Norfolk for the uſe of her fleet and army, without repaying the owners.

With ſums thus acquired by extortions little ſhort of robberies, ſhe levied a body of 8000 men, whom ſhe ſent under the Lord Pembroke to join the army of Philip in Flanders, where they arrived in time to ſhare in the honor of the battle fought at St. Quintin. Meanwhile Mary fought the battles of bigotry at home; and forming an eccleſiaſtical council of twenty-one, which had as near a reſemblance to the Inquiſition as ſhe dared to give it, ſhe placed ſpies on the country juſtices, ſummoned them to appear in London, and harraſſed them into meaſures which afforded new fuel for the Smithfield fires.

1558. Calais retaken by the French. A ſevere diſgrace now impended over England. Calais, which ſhe had held two hundred years, and had been *eleven* months in ſubduing, was loſt in almoſt as few *days*. Archbiſhop Heath was chancellor and miniſter; and his royal miſtreſs and himſelf thought more of burning heretics, than of ſecuring the poſſeſſions of the crown. Calais, therefore, and its dependencies, deſtitute of men, money, and ſtores, fell eaſily to a ſpirited attack, commanded by the great Duke of Guiſe, and ſeconded by the brother of the equally great Admiral de Coligny [30]. This fortreſs, of more conſequence to the honor than the profit of the Engliſh nation, had been long

NOTES.

their throats. No intereſt could protect the Lord Stourton after this execrable act. He was tried, found guilty, and hanged in the market-place of Saliſbury, as were his four ſervants at Stourhead. [HOLINGSHED, GENT. MAG. 1760, &c.

[30] Francis, brother to Gaſpar, the celebrated head of the French Proteſtants, was in a high poſt in the French army; yet, when his king demanded an explanation of his ſentiments as to religion, he had the firmneſs to anſwer: 'I muſt not diſſemble on a point of ſuch importance. Your majeſty may diſpoſe of my life, my goods, and my employments, but my Creator alone can control my belief. In a word, I would chuſe death rather than the maſs.' Theſe bold expreſſions coſt him his favor at court.

[LE LABOUREUR, ANQUETIL.

menaced,

menaced, and Philip of Spain had given notice of its danger to the improvident Mary. She, however, took no attention to the preſervation of ſo intereſting a poſt, but permitted a large part of the garriſon*, as had been uſual, from motives of an ill-judged parſimony, to quit the duty during the winter-months [31]. Lord Gray, the governor, a man of honor, in A. D. 1558.

NOTES.

[31] There were traitors within the town. Fontenay, Lord of Britteville, who in 1545 took refuge in Calais becauſe he had ſlain a man, is named as one. [ANT. DE CARN.

Mary, unfeeling as ſhe was, felt this diſgrace, and ſaid, 'that when ſhe ſhould die, Calais would be found engraven on her heart.' [GODWIN, &c.

The French turned all the inhabitants out of the place after plundering them. A number of Scots who ſerved on the ſide of France behaved with great kindneſs to the diſtreſſed Engliſh. The exultation of the French muſt have been great, for Holingſhed ſays, 'Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could ſenſiblie and ſignificantlie ſet foorth the inſolent triumphs and immoderate rejoiſings of the French, for the recovery of Calais,' &c. Beneath is a ſpecimen of a poetical ovation, by way of dialogue between a Meſſenger and a Traveller:

Nuncius. Clamate Galli, nunc ter, Io! Io!
Viator. Quæ læta Gallis inſtat ovatio?
N. Capti Caletes. *V.* Multa paucis
Digna novo memoras triumpho.
N. Vicêre Galli, ſed duci Guiſio,
V. Io triumphe! nunc ter, Io! Io!
N. Vicêre victores Britannos.
Annos ducentos, ſerva Britanniæ
Urbs liberata eſt. *V.* Nunc ter, Io! Io!
N. Migrate nunc priſci coloni, &c.

Imitated.

Meſſenger. Huzza! my lads of France, huzza!
Traveller. And why ſo joyous, friend, I pray?
M. Calais is our's! *Tr.* Ay, that's a ſaying
Enough to ſet us all huzzaing.
M. The French have conquer'd. Hail the Guiſe,
'Tis he has gain'd this glorious prize.
Tr. With lôud huzzas we'll rend the ſkies.
M. The Britons, erſt our conqu'rors, he
Has baffled—Calais now is free.

Calais,

* Stowe, p. 632.

A. D. 1558. in vain preſaged * the fatal conſequence of this neglect. Mary's eccleſiaſtical miniſters mocked his fears, and ſaid that, during winter, their white ſtaves would be garriſon enough to defend the place.

A Parliament now met, and though in a very ill-humor, granted to Mary a ſupply, which enabled her to ſend a fleet under the Lord Clinton which ravaged part of the French coaſt, with little advantage or honor. Ten Engliſh ſhips of war were more fortunate †. Hearing the noiſe of a battle when cruizing off Gravelines, they ſailed up an arm of the ſea, and by cannonading one wing of the French army, they enabled the Spaniards to give their foes a ſignal overthrow.

And now, on the 17th of November 1558, Mary, worn out with unrequited love, with conſciouſneſs of the deſerved hate of her ſubjects, and with dread of that complete change which her ſucceſſor would make in matters of religion, gave way to a dropſical complaint, and expired utterly unregretted, unleſs by thoſe whoſe power and maintenance depended on her exiſtence.

Mary dies.

Her character.

To delineate the character of this inglorious ſovereign, is nearly as unpleaſant a taſk, as to write the memoirs of her reign. Her perſon was mean, as her mind was narrow; from her mother ſhe inherited pride; from her father, obſtinacy and cruelty; but neither of her parents bequeathed to her any ſhare of their abilities. Yet, ſays a great writer, 'many ſalutary

NOTES.

Calais, two hundred years the ſlave
Of yon curſt Iſle, is freed. *Tr.* O brave!
Huzza! huzza! *M.* To crown the whole,
The Britiſh townſmen, every ſoul,
Far from our land are doom'd to ſtroll, &c. I. P. A.

There is extant a letter written by the Engliſh council to Philip (who had propoſed to attempt the re-taking of Calais), in a ſtile ſo dejected, that it diſgraces the national ſpirit.

The caſtle of Guiſnes reſiſted longer than Calais, but ſoon fell, and that of Hammes was abandoned. Thus melted away the faſt hold which England vaunted that ſhe kept in France. [HOLINGSHED, CAMPB. ADMIRALS.

When Francis I. was made priſoner at Pavia, it was propoſed by Henry VIII's council, to give up to France Calais, and all its dependencies. 'A meaſure' ſaid ſome 'highly honorable at this period, and greatly profitable to the realm.' The motion was over-ruled. [IB.

The yearly coſt of Calais to Mary was, at an average, 4030l. [STRYPE's MEMO.

* Stowe, p. 638. Holingſhed, p. 1136. † Holingſhed, p. 1150.

and

and popular laws, in civil matters, were made under her adminiſtration; A. D. 1559.
perhaps the better to reconcile the people to the bloody meaſures which ſhe was induced to purſue, for the re-eſtabliſhment of religious ſlavery *.'

She was buried, with the Roman Catholic ceremonies, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII. Her relation, the primate Pole, ſurvived Mary only ſixteen hours †.

The ſevere Buchanan embalmed her Memory by the following Epitaph:—

Sum Marie, male grata patri, male grata marito,
Cœlo inviſa, meæ peſtis atrox patriæ,
Nulla aberat labes, niſi quod fuit addita cuſtos
Fida pudicitiæ, forma maligna meæ.

Imitated.

Mary, by heaven and earth abhorr'd, my name
My country's ſcourge; my ſire's, my huſband's ſhame.
From one offence alone by heaven enſur'd,
My odious form my chaſtity ſecur'd. P.

From a priſon, and from almoſt daily apprehenſion [32] of a violent death, the daughter of Anne Boleyn was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of Lords and Commons. She found the nation depreſſed by an unſucceſsful war, the treaſury exhauſted, and the minds of the people totally unſettled about religion. Actuated by that prudence which ſhe had learnt in the ſchool of affliction, ſhe took her meaſures with moderation [33]. Moderation of Elizabeth.

NOTES.

[32] Elizabeth compared her own deliverance to that of Daniel from the Lion's den. [BURNET, &c.

'No marvel' (ſays Holingſhed) 'if ſhe hearing upon a time a certain milk-mayde ſinging pleaſantlie near her garden at Woodſtocke, wiſhed herſelf to be a milk-mayde as ſhe was; ſaying that her caſe was better and life merrier.'

[33] Truly magnanimous was the Queen's conduct to Sir H. Bedingfield, the moſt brutally ſevere of her ſucceſſive keepers. He preſented himſelf at her court; 'Begone from my preſence,' ſaid the offended ſovereign, 'and when I have a priſoner whom I wiſh to be treated with uncommon cruelty, I will ſend for you again.' She took no other revenge on this unmanly knight. Mr. Warton even intimates, that ſhe viſited him once or twice on a progreſs. [LIFE OF SIR T. POPE, HOLINGSHED.

* Blackſtone's Com. † Holingſhed, p. 1162.

A. D. 1558. She added to the late Queen's council [34], the Lords Northampton and Bedford *, and ſeveral others (Bacon and Cecil among them), friends to the reformation; ſhe endeavored to retain the amity of Philip, although ſhe refuſed his offered hand; rationally arguing that, ſhould ſhe marry her late ſiſter's huſband by a diſpenſation, it would then be ſaid, that her father Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, by the ſame authority, was equally legal, and of conſequence her own birth illegitimate; and ſhe ſent her moſt able ſtateſmen as ambaſſadors to the Emperor, and other foreign princes. It ſeems probable, that ſhe would even have kept meaſures with

Menaced by the Pope.

the Pope; but the hot-headed Paul ſcorned her advances, and would hear of nothing but her abdication †. This abſurd and ill-timed inſolence ſeems to have determined Elizabeth to follow the advice of Cecil, and declare in

Embraces the Proteſtant intereſt.

favor of that religion which her heart approved. But, although ſhe recalled the exiles, allowed the ſervice to be read in Engliſh, and forbad the elevation of the Hoſt, yet, cautious of offending her only ally and a large number of her people, ſhe prohibited controverſial preaching, and ſought by gentle means to unite the minds of all. The Biſhops, however, took the alarm, and refuſed, in general, to aſſiſt at the coronation; and Oglethorpe, who held the ſee of Carliſle, was hardly perſuaded to ſet the crown on the moſt accompliſhed head that ever wore that ornament; and even *he* inſiſted that the elevation of the Hoſt ſhould be performed. For this he was deprived of his biſhoprick, a loſs which broke his heart.

Many changes among the Biſhops.

Among the prelates who loſt their ſees as recuſants, the fate of none were ſo much regretted, as that of the mild and moderate Cuthbert Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham; who, although his principles kept him ſteady to the Roman Catholic faith, had never walked in any paths of perſecution; but, at his own imminent hazard, had prevented the ſtain of ſanguine bigotry

NOTES.

[34] The thirteen Lords that were left of Mary's council were no bigots, but had changed with the times, namely, Wincheſter, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewſbury, Derby, Clinton, Howard, &c. 'They ſang,' as Sir J. Harrington wittily ſays of the Biſhops, 'Cantate Domino, canticum novum,' four times in fourteen yeares, and yet never ſang out of tune.' It was one of theſe (Wincheſter) who, on being aſked how he had contrived to keep his intereſt at court in ſuch jarring ſeaſons, made anſwer, 'by being a willow, not an oak.' A ſentiment leaning more to convenience than honor.

* Strype's Annals, p. 5. † Father Paul, lib. v.

from

from infecting his dioceſe. In conſequence, though contumacious, he was gently treated, and permitted to ſpend the ſmall remainder of his days with his friend, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Far leſs laudable was the conduct of White, Biſhop of Wincheſter; who, in the funeral ſermon of Mary, after enlarging on her patience, her piety, and her knees hardened by inceſſant kneeling, added, 'We have, however, her ſiſter left, a lady of great virtue, whom we are bound to obey; for you know, "a living dog is better than a dead lion." This equally diſloyal and vulgar ſentiment gave great offence; Dr. White was, however, only puniſhed by being deprived, with the other recuſant prelates, and ſuffering a ſhort impriſonment. A. D. 1558.

Early in 1559 a Parliament was ſummoned; its members ſeemed heartily diſpoſed to loyalty and reformation. They firſt confirmed the title of Elizabeth, which, from delicate regard to the memory of Henry and of Anne Boleyn, was permitted to reſt only on the laſt diſpoſition of that King; and then addreſſed her to marry: 'As you have not pointed out *whom* you would have me wed,' ſaid the Queen, 'your addreſs is dutiful, but my realm is my huſband, my ſubjects are my children, and I only wiſh to have it inſcribed on my tomb, that I lived and died a Maiden Queen *.' The Parliament then proceeded to allot to Elizabeth the ſupremacy of the church, and to diſcourage the ſervice of the maſs, by reviving the laws of Edward VI. reſpecting religion †. A conference and diſputation between advocates for each contending faith, held in preſence of the Lord Bacon, and ending, as uſual, with triumph to that ſyſtem which royalty eſpouſed, finiſhed the conteſt. Thus was the ill-conſtructed fabric raiſed by Mary, and cemented with ſo much innocent blood, utterly and irrevocably overturned in almoſt an inſtant of time. 1559. Parliament addreſs the Queen to wed.

The Commons, after a liberal grant of money, retired to their reſpective homes, and left to their ſovereign the arduous taſk of ſettling a peace (neceſſary to her finances) with France. Philip, although from punctilio he ſupported her demand of Calais, was now little inclined to exert himſelf farther in favor of a confirmed heretic and a ſcornful miſtreſs; ſhe therefore (after ſecuring her honor, by obtaining a conditional reſtoration [35] Treaty with France.

NOTES.

[35] Calais was to be reſtored to England at the end of eight years, provided no hoſtility was committed either towards France or Scotland during that period. And even ſhould ſuch an improbable continuation of peace exiſt, France had the alternative of paying a large ſum of money. [PUB. ACTS.

* Holingſhed, p. 1181. † Ibid. p. 1183.

of

A. D. 1559. of the diſputed town), conſented to a treaty in which Scotland was included.

Scarcely had this agreement been ſigned, ere the foundation was laid of a new feud, productive of events more than uſually intereſting. Francis II. having juſt mounted the French throne, aſſumed, in right of his wife, Mary of Scotland, the royal title and arms of England, as well as its ſiſter-kingdom; nor gave any ſatisfactory anſwer to the ſharp remonſtrances of the Engliſh ambaſſador.

Elizabeth aſſiſts the Scottiſh Lords.

Fortunately for Elizabeth, the Lords of Scotland, headed by the Duke de Chatelherault (late Arran), had, at this juncture, applied to her for help againſt the Queen-regent, Mary of Guiſe, and her French adherents. Encouraged by her diſcerning counſellors, the Engliſh Queen promiſed them her aid; and actually ordered in the dead of winter a ſtrong body of troops to march towards the north, under the Lord Gray [36]; which, in conjunction with the mal-content Scots, might form the ſiege of Leith, while a fleet under Sir William Winter * had directions to guard the Forth, and prevent the arrival of French ſuccors.

1560. Leith taken, and the Scottiſh war ended.

The enterprizes of Elizabeth were generally prudent, and almoſt always ſucceſsful. Her troops † were joined by 5000 Scots, and Leith, though garriſoned by a numerous band of French veterans, enured to the defence of fortreſſes, after a gallant reſiſtance, ſubmitted to her arms. A fleet, deſtined to retrieve the affairs of the Regent, was diſperſed by a ſtorm; and, to complete the good fortune of the Engliſh, the civil diſſentions of France prevented her from attending with any vigor to a foreign war. Readily, indeed, would the French have reſtored Calais to England to have withdrawn Elizabeth from her Scottiſh alliance, but ſhe ſpurned the propoſal. 'What!'

NOTES.

[36] At this period, Sir Francis Anderſon was mayor of Newcaſtle. Standing on the bridge, probably to ſee the troops paſs by, he chanced to drop his ring into the Tyne. Some time after, one of his ſervants accidentally bought a fiſh in the market, in the body of which was found the identical ring which had been dropped. Mr. Brand, from whoſe hiſtory of Newcaſtle this ſtory is taken, affirms, that he has ſeen this ring in the poſſeſſion of a deſcendant of the family; and adds, that Mr. Anderſon has a family deed, prior in date to the above-told event, with the impreſſion of the ſame ſeal on it. The engraving on the ſignet appears to be a Roman antique.

* Holingſhed, p. 1187.

† Haynes, vol. i. p. 256, 259.

ſaid

ſaid ſhe with politic integrity, 'abandon my friends for a paltry fiſhing-town!' The death of the Queen-regent, Mary of Guiſe, ſtill more embarraſſed the ſcene; and the French monarch found himſelf at length obliged to embrace a humiliating treaty, ſtyled that of Edinburgh, by which, for himſelf and Mary, he abandoned the title and arms of Engliſh royalty, withdrew his forces from Scotland, and promiſed no more to interfere in its government. A. D. 1561.

Theſe great points being gained, Elizabeth ordered her troops to quit Scotland, without requiring from the party whom ſhe had ſaved from ruin any other return, than their grateful recollection of her conduct; in conſequence of this moderation *, ſhe acquired more influence in Scotland than Mary, its natural ſovereign, could ever attain; and before the year 1360 was ended, ambaſſadors were ſent from the Scottiſh ſtates, who had gone violent lengths in reformation, to expreſs their hearty gratitude †, and intreat the continuance of her protection [37].

The ſituation of Elizabeth was ſtill very critical. She had not a ſingle ally; the Guiſes, whoſe counſels governed France, wiſhed to dethrone her in favor of their niece Mary; Philip of Spain had ſent back the inſignia of the garter, and avowed his enmity; and Pius IV. (who had ſucceeded the inſolent Paul on the Papal throne), diſguſted at her cool reception of a condeſcending meſſage, prepared anathemas, which, among the Roman Catholic Engliſh, were ſure to have conſiderable weight. Elizabeth menaced by Spain and France.

The advice of Nicholas Bacon and of William Cecil, two of the beſt ſtateſmen in Europe, joined to the more than maſculine ſteadineſs of Elizabeth, ſteered the ſtate-veſſel clear of theſe and all other perils.

NOTES.

[37] The Scots Lords (then ſtyled 'Lords of the Congregation') ſtrongly recommended to Elizabeth a marriage with the Earl of Arran. This accompliſhed young nobleman, the ſon of Hamilton Duke of Chatelherault, had quitted the ſervice of France on account of his religion. Diſappointed of his view on Elizabeth, he courted Mary of Scotland; there too he was unſucceſsful. Theſe royal aims in Arran were not the offspring of mere vanity. He had in himſelf the next claim to the crown of Scotland, on failure of Mary's heirs. The cloſe of his life was melancholy; he loſt his ſenſes, and lived many years in confinement; happy only in not having ſenſe enough to diſcern his titles and eſtates in the poſſeſſion of the moſt worthleſs of men, Captain Stuart of Ochiltree. [SPOTISWOOD.

* Forbes, vol. i. p. 354, 372. † Keith, p. 154.

In

A. D. 1560. Robert Dudley in favor with Elizabeth.

In her choice of favorites, the Queen was leſs judicious than in that of miniſters. Robert Dudley, ſon to the ambitious Warwick, whoſe great perſonal accompliſhments were, like thoſe of his father, ſullied by the moſt odious vices, poſſeſſed the higheſt place in her regard. He was, however, at firſt only the amuſement of her idle hours, and was not entruſted with the ſecrets of the cabinet.

1561. The Iriſh pacified

That leiſure which the diſturbances in France and Scotland had allowed to Elizabeth, ſhe employed in regulating her finances, and ſtrengthening her frontiers. She reformed the royal houſhold, and paid the crown debts; ſhe drove from her ſhores all foreign fanatics, and prohibited hot-headed zealots from defacing churches [38] and monuments; ſhe armed her militia, ſhe fortified her coaſts by caſtles, and ſtill more by ſtout veſſels fit for war; ſome of which ſhe built, and others ſhe encouraged the merchants to fit out.

By perſiſting in this ſagacious plan, ſhe became, as ſhe then was ſtyled, 'Queen of the Northern Seas *.' The Iriſh, who under Shan O'Neal, the moſt popular and ſavage of their chiefs, had revolted, ſhe ſoon brought to reaſon. She improved her coin which had been much debaſed; and encouraged commerce and manufactures by the moſt ſage regulations.

In 1561, the death of the young King of France, and the ſlights which Catherine di Medicis, the new regent, delighted to caſt on his widow Mary, incited in that blooming princeſs [39], now juſt nineteen years of age, a wiſh to take poſſeſſion of her native throne. With this view ſhe applied to Elizabeth, whoſe fleets rode triumphant in the Channel †, for a

NOTES.

[38] Juſt at this time, the beautiful ſpire of St. Paul's church, 520 feet high from the ground, and 260 from the tower, being made with wood and caſed with lead, took fire by lightning, as ſuppoſed, and was conſumed. The tower was ſoon repaired; but the ſpire was never rebuilt. It appeared afterwards, by the confeſſion of a plumber on his death-bed, that a pan of coals, careleſsly left in the ſteeple, had occaſioned the conflagration. [STOWE, HEYLYN.

[39] When Mary, in her fulleſt blaze of beauty, was walking in a proceſſion through Paris, a woman forced her way through the crowd and touched her. Her excuſe for this rudeneſs was extreme curioſity, which prompted her to feel if ſo angelic a creature were formed of fleſh and blood. [GRAINGER.

* Camden, p. 388. Strype, vol. i. p. 330, 336, 337. † Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

ſafe

safe conduct. But she met a refusal which indeed might have been expected, as she herself had never yet, though often applied to, consented to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh *. She sailed, however; and escaping in a fog the English navy, landed safely at Leith. Her arrival was strangely announced to Elizabeth by an ill-timed request, that the Queen of Scots might be acknowleged as heiress of the English crown. This was rejected with more temper than might have been expected, and a literary intercourse succeeded between the rival queens, in which the epistles were equally affectionate and equally insincere.

A. D. 1561.

Mary of Scots leaves France, and lands at Leith.

It is possible that a demand, which suggested to Elizabeth the humiliating idea of dying childless, inspired her with a transient spirit of coquetry; for it is at this period that she is said to have smiled on many adorers. Besides Lord Robert Dudley, the Earl of Arundel presumed on the antiquity of his family; Sir William Pickering on his person; and the Earl of Arran on his relation to the crown: Several foreign princes too, among whom were Eric, King of Sweden [40], and Adolphus, Duke of Holstein, paid their tribute of admiration, and none met with a positive refusal.

Suitors to Elizabeth.

The attention of Elizabeth was, in 1562, attracted towards France; where the Huguenot party, cruelly oppressed by the princes of the house of Guise, earnestly implored her assistance, as the protectress of the Protestant interest throughout Europe. Tempted by the hope of embarrassing the affairs of the most inveterate enemies to her rights, she first sent Sir Edward Poynings with 3000 men, and then the Lord Warwick with 3000 more to Normandy, where Havre-de-Grace was delivered up by the malcontents then in arms, as a cautionary town; Diep, which place Sir Edward Poynings had garrisoned, having been abandoned as not defensible.

NOTES.

[40] Elizabeth, during the reign of Mary, had refused the offer of this son of Gustavus Vasa, in so prudent a manner as to extort praise even from the lips of her ill-disposed sister. This princely wooer had paved his way to the fair queen, by sending to her 'a royal present of eighteen large pyed horses, and two ships laden with riches.' [STRYPE.

There was a diverting perplexity as to the method of receiving this prince at court, from the prudish idea of 'the Queenes Majestie being still a mayde.'

[WARTON FROM BURGHLEY.

The costly method in which Eric carried on his suit, was a matter of serious concern to the senate of Sweden. [RAYMOND'S LIFE OF GUSTAVUS VASA.

* Vie de Marie Steuard, par Brantome.

A. D. 1561. At home, the Queen was harraſſed by conſpiracies. The Earl and Counteſs of Lenox having engaged in a ſuſpicious correſpondence with Mary of Scots, were ſent to the Tower; there were alſo two weak young men, nephews to the late Cardinal Pole, who formed a chimerical plan (founded on aſtrological predictions) to excite a rebellion in Wales, and ſupport their cauſe by ſuccours from France. The abſurdity of theſe plotters probably ſaved their lives. But Elizabeth extended not the ſame indulgence to Lady Catharine Gray: more unfortunate even than her ill-ſtar'd ſiſter, Jane. Catharine had been in 1553 united to the Lord Herbert; who, as he had married her merely from ambitious views, had the baſeneſs to deſert her, when he found her family delivered over to the axe. After this ſeparation, ſhe privately married the Lord Hertford, ſon to the late protector Somerſet. By him ſhe had one child; a circumſtance which alarmed Elizabeth, who dreaded every one that ſhared the royal blood. Both huſband and wife were ſent to ſeparate confinement in the Tower, and their marriage was annulled by ſentence in the Archbiſhop's court. The appearance of a ſecond offſpring enraged the Queen beyond due bounds. Hertford was enormouſly amerced for corrupting a princeſs of the blood; the treatment of each was more ſevere than ever; and it was not until the hapleſs Catharine had died, after pining nine years in ſolitary confinement, that the perſecuted Earl was permitted to enjoy his liberty.

Aid ſent to the Huguenots.

In the interim the Huguenots, led by Condè, received a ſevere defeat from the royaliſts under Montmorency at Dreux, where, by a ſtrange caprice of fortune, each party left its general a priſoner. The admiral eſcaped from the field, rallied the ſhattered remnants of his army, and received from Elizabeth 100,000 * crowns, which helped his active ſpirit to raiſe a new force againſt the Roman Catholic troops.

1562. The imminent danger to which Elizabeth had in the winter of 1562 been expoſed by the ſmall-pox, ſo much alarmed a Parliament which ſhe ſummoned early in the next year, that ſhe was again earneſtly addreſſed by the members † to marry, or to ſettle the ſucceſſion; a requeſt, each branch of which ſhe dextrouſly evaded. Marriage ſhe liked not for herſelf or others; and as to the ſucceſſion, ſhe had too much penetration not to know, that when ſhe named an heir, ſhe created a rival. The Parliament, after having

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322, 347.

† D'Ewes's Journal, p. 81.

granted

granted a liberal ſupply, and after having paſſed a rigorous act againſt thoſe who acknowleged not the royal ſupremacy, another againſt fooliſh and rebellious prophecies, and a third againſt witches and ſorcerers, was prorogued. A. D. 1562.

Beyond the Channel, affairs went ill for England. The factions which had deſolated France being reconciled by a ſudden and ſhort-lived peace, united to expel the Earl of Warwick from Havre-de-Grace. They could not have accompliſhed this, had not a dreadful peſtilence reduced his gallant band to a handful *. The capitulation had hardly been ſigned, before the Lord Clinton appeared at the mouth of the harbor with a fleet and 3000 ſoldiers. They were too late; and, to add to the miſhaps of this diſaſtrous campaign, the diſeaſe which had thinned the ranks, accompanied the poor remains of the garriſon to London, where it ſwept away near 30,000 ſouls. 1563. Havre-de-Grace loſt.

The affairs of the north were too important, and too nearly connected with the ſecurity of the Engliſh Queen, to be neglected by ſo keen a politician. The youth and beauty of the Scottiſh Mary, and ſtill more her powerful, though ill-regulated ſovereignty, made her a deſirable object to every unmarried prince in Europe. Among others who ſtood candidates for ſo valuable a prize, we find that at this time, Charles, Archduke of Auſtria, endeavoured to gain poſſeſſion of her hand. But this connection Elizabeth took great pains to prevent, by cauſing intimations to be given to her, that ſuch a marriage might endanger her claim to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. On the other hand the Guiſes, uncles to Mary, indelicately offered her hand to almoſt every Roman Catholic prince in Europe; ſo much did they dread her marrying a Proteſtant, or connecting herſelf in cloſe amity with Elizabeth †.

Early in 1564, a peace was made between Elizabeth and Charles IX. of France. A large ſum of money was paid to England by the French, and the Calais hoſtages were reſtored; the right to the place remaining as before. 1564. Peace with France.

A general tranquillity now taking place throughout Europe, Mary of Scotland thought ſeriouſly of being married, and Elizabeth, with greater earneſtneſs, how to prevent her nuptials. She had propoſed to the Scottiſh Queen her favorite Robert Dudley ‡, lately created Earl of Leiceſter,

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 450, 458. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 287. ‡ Melvill, p. 47.

A. D. 1564. and Mary ſeemed not diſinclined to the match, provided her right to the Engliſh ſucceſſion might at the ſame time be ſettled. But the Queen of England, who never meant that things ſhould go ſo far, now permitted another candidate for the heart of Mary to appear on the ſtage. This was the Lord Darnley, ſon to the Earl and Counteſs of Lenox, who, as grandſon to Henry VII. by his daughter Margaret of Scotland, divided with Mary the claim to the crown of England. Darnley engaged in the purſuit of the fair Queen [41], with the full leave of Elizabeth, who imagined, that as the large eſtates of his family were in her power, ſhe could at any time ſtop the marriage. The event proved that ſhe was much miſtaken. The extremely elegant * perſon of the ſuitor, irrevocably engaged the heart of Mary. It inſpired her with courage as well as love, and ſhe mounted her horſe and headed her troops againſt the oppoſers of the marriage †.

It was at this time, that, pained by the viſible diſingenuity of Elizabeth's conduct, Mary had written a reſentful letter, which, on conſideration, ſhe repented of, and ſent Sir James Melvill, a ſprightly courtier, to make her peace. The Engliſh princeſs, ſtill more jealous of Mary's charms than of her claim, ſifted the ſubtle miniſter even as to the colour of her hair. At laſt, ſhe aſked him plainly, which of the two he thought the faireſt? To this the cautious Melvill anſwered, that her Majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. During their interviews, Elizabeth ſhewed herſelf to him in the dreſſes of various countries, and contrived to let him hear her perform on the virginals, an inſtrument which ſhe underſtood to perfection; all the time endeavoring, with incredible dexterity, to allure the envoy into compariſons diſadvantageous to his lovely miſtreſs.

During the courſe of 1564, Frances, Dutcheſs of Suffolk (daughter to Mary of France, ſiſter to Henry VIII.) ended in priſon a life, which, for variety of wretchedneſs, had had few parallels ſince that of the Trojan Hecuba. She had ſeen her daughter, the Lady Jane, beheaded. Her own

NOTES.

[41] David Rizzio, afterwards ſlain by Darnley, was the perſon who introduced that young nobleman to the company and good graces of the then amiable and gentle Mary. [MELVILL.

* Melvill, p. 101. † App. to Keith, p. 164.

and

and her daughter's huſbands had ſhared the ſame fate. Her daughter Catharine, after having been repudiated by the Earl of Pembroke, was now confined in the Tower, and her youngeſt daughter, Mary, moſt unequally matched to an inferior officer of the houſehold. The old Dutcheſs herſelf had wedded Adrian Stokes, 'a meane gentylman,' more, as is ſuppoſed, for her ſecurity than from paſſion; the ſame motive had, perhaps, weighed with her daughter Mary [42]. A. D. 1564.

About this time the good correſpondence between the Engliſh and the Flemings was for a ſhort ſpace interrupted, by the contrivance of Philip's miniſter in Flanders, the Cardinal Granvelle; but their mutual intereſt as to commerce, ſoon brought about a reconciliation. Diſpute with the Flemings.

With great apparent ſurprize and indignation did Elizabeth hear, in 1565, of the union between Mary of Scotland and the Lord Darnley. She ſeized the lands of Lenox, complained loudly of ill-treatment, and even incited * the Proteſtant Lords to revolt againſt the new king as a Roman Catholic. They flew to arms, but were ſoon routed and forced to take refuge in England, where the policy of the Queen inſtigated her to give them a reception †, painful to them and diſgraceful to herſelf: for, after having by indirect means prevailed on the deluded Lords, before the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, to acknowledge that ſhe had no ſhare in their revolt, Elizabeth had the audacity to drive them from her preſence as 'rebels and traytors.' Throgmorton, who had had her own authority to encourage their riſing, would not join in this odious farce, but avowed the part ſhe had taken. The queen, however, provided for their ſubſiſtence in England, until Darnley's jealouſy of Rizzio reſtored them to their country. 1565. Mary of Scots weds Darnley. Elizabeth's ungenerous conduct to the Scottiſh Lords.

NOTES.

[42] It is ſaid, that on Elizabeth's exclaiming 'What! has ſhe married her horſe-keeper?' 'Yes, Madam,' replied Lord Burghley, 'and ſhe ſays your Majeſty would like to do ſo too.' Leiceſter was then maſter of the horſe. [WALPOLE'S ANEC.

Her grace's chaplain, John Pulleyne, was probably more remarkable for his orthodoxy than for his ſkill in poetry; at leaſt, if we are to judge by a ſtanza from his tranſlation of Solomon's Song;

She is ſo young in Chriſte's truth,
That yet ſhe has no teates;
She wanteth breſtes to feed her youth,
With ſound and perfect meates. [WARTON.

* Melvil, p. 57. † Ibid. p. ibid.

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A. D. 1566. A Scottiſh prince born.

An account which Elizabeth now received of the birth of a prince to Mary of Scots, affected her with a ſevere momentary pang; ſhe retired from a ſplendid entertainment at which ſhe had preſided, and even, as is ſaid, bitterly lamented 'her own virgin ſtate, and the ſuperior felicity of her ſiſter-queen * in having a male offspring.' This was, however, only the lapſe of a moment; ſhe ſoon recovered her native firmneſs, and ſent the Earl of Bedford to Mary with a golden font, which ſhe preſented as god-mother. At the ſame time, to keep up the farce of her reſentment againſt the Lenox family, Bedford was ordered not to ſtyle the ſpouſe of Mary, king. The Lords, as well as the Commons of England, took this occaſion to renew their batteries againſt the queen's reluctance to marry, or to ſettle the ſucceſſion. On this attack, the great officers were ſent to ſtop the diſcuſſion, and to declare, that it would be dangerous at this period to appoint an heir. This, however, gave no ſatisfaction; and Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, ſpoke largely on the privileges of Parliament, and on the illegality of the check which had been given to freedom of debate. On finding an unuſual increaſe of warmth in the ſenate, Elizabeth wiſely reſtored the liberty of ſpeech, and Parliament in return ſupplied her ſo liberally, that the moderate ſovereign, conſcious that the grant was meant to incline her to ſettle the ſucceſſion, contented herſelf with two-thirds of what it had allotted; and nobly aſſerted, that 'ſhe thought the money in her ſubjects purſes was as ready to ſerve the ſtate, as if in her Exchequer.' The Univerſities of Oxford [43] and Cambridge were, in the ſame year, honored with a viſit from the queen, who ſignified to each of them, in an elegant Latin ſpeech, her approbation of their attention to literature.

The Engliſh Parliament irritated.

A circumſtance in the behavior of Mary Stuart, is ſuppoſed to have given Elizabeth great diſguſt at this period; the Earl of Bedford, who had attended her with congratulations on the birth of James, was inſtructed to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, whereby the arms of England were to be expunged from her eſcutcheon. Mary heſitated, but offered an engagement, that ſhe would not uſe either the title or the arms

Mary of Scots cautious.

NOTES.

[43] The letter written to Elizabeth from the Univerſity of Oxford, on her arrival at her palace after this viſit, partakes of the punning turn of the age: 'Ergo tuam celſitudinem, non dicam ut numen, dicam certè ut numam veneramur.' [PHILIPS's LIFE OF POLE.

* Melvill, p. 70.

during

during the life of Elizabeth. Yet the caution might be right. Elizabeth hated her as a rival, the Engliſh dreaded her as a Papiſt; perhaps an unqualified reſignation of title and arms might have been uſed to deprive her line of the ſucceſſion. A. D. 1566.

About this time, the jealouſy of Darnley tempted him to excite a number of Scottiſh Lords to aſſaſſinate David Rizzio, and in a manner ſo indelicate and cruel, that it appeared as if he had had an intention to terrify his wife Mary, then pregnant, into ſome diſeaſe, which might deſtroy both her and her offspring *. Murther of Rizzio.

In no placid humor did the Engliſh Queen diſmiſs her Parliament in February 1567. Her parting ſpeech was a mixture of tenderneſs and ſeverity. She hinted at her 'knowing the deſigns of many among them in favor of Mary;' and proteſted, 'that by checking their debates, ſhe meant not to infringe their liberties, but merely to warn them of a precipice;' or, to uſe her own homely but expreſſive words, 'to ſtay them before they fell † into a ditch.' 1567.

If Sir James Melvil is to be credited, Elizabeth was by no means too cautious. By his intrigues, and thoſe of the Roman Catholic party, there were bands of armed men ‡ ready to riſe in many counties to ſupport the cauſe of Mary, as to her ſucceſſion at leaſt, if not as to ſomewhat farther. Beſides this, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, and, except Cecil, all the great and leading men in England, ſeemed earneſt for a declaration of a ſucceſſor; and the moderation in religious matters which Mary had hitherto maintained §, had gained many voices in her favor [44]. But the imprudence (to give it the tendereſt name) of the Scottiſh Queen, ſaved her rival from perhaps the greateſt peril of thoſe which attended her long reign. Mary had been with reaſon diſguſted at the inſolence and cruelty of the man, to whom ſhe had fondly given her perſon and her kingdom. He had murthered in her preſence Plots againſt Elizabeth.

NOTES.

[44] Some zealous Proteſtants adhered to the claims of deſcendants from the houſe of Brandon, and there were among the Engliſh a ſufficient difference of opinion as to the ſucceſſion, to make cautious perſons dread a civil war, if Elizabeth ſhould die before that point ſhould be ſettled. [HUME.

* Melvill's Relation, p. 22, 23.
† D'Ewe's, p. 116, 117.
‡ Haynes, p. 446, 448.
§ Melvill, p. 53, 61, 74.

A. D. 1567. fence her favorite ſervant, of whom he had conceived a jealouſy, and this at a period when the queen was far advanced in pregnancy. Not long after,

The King of Scots murthered. this worthleſs and ungrateful prince was aſſaſſinated; and thoſe who at the time acquitted Mary of any concern in this foul deed, could hardly avoid changing their ſentiments, when the fair widow, within three months after the cataſtrophe of Darnley, gave * her hand to the profligate Lord Bothwell, whom Scotland's united voice had pointed out as the murtherer of her huſband. The ſea of troubles into which this unhappy ſtep plunged the lovely, but indiſcreet princeſs, prevented her from embroiling the affairs of her neighbor, and at length totally overwhelmed her. Elizabeth at firſt, in ſome degree interfered in her favor, by ſending Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to the Lords who held her in confinement; but, at that time, even *her* remonſtrances were not liſtened to, ſo fully were the Scots perſuaded of their ſovereign's guilt.

It was about this time that Ireland was freed, for a ſhort time, from the ravages of civil war, in which the ambition of Shan (or John) O'Neil, and the tyrannical inconſiſtency of the Engliſh government, had involved it.

Account of Shan O'Neil. Shan O'Neil was a valiant, licentious ſavage, of extenſive popularity in his country. He abhorred the Engliſh cuſtoms, becauſe they led to civilization, and is ſaid to have ſlain ſome of his followers merely for attempting to introduce to his diſtrict the uſe of bread; yet, though ſo violent an enemy to luxury, he indulged himſelf in the moſt beaſtly exceſs; and was uſed to allay the fever which his intemperance had cauſed, by plunging into pools of mire. This ſtern barbarian ſcorned the Earldom of Tyrone, which Elizabeth would have given to him, and called himſelf King of Ulſter. 'The Queen,' he would often ſay, 'was his ſovereign lady; but yet he never made peace with her, but at her ſeeking.' The activity of Sir Henry Sidney having driven this haughty cacique from his lurking places, he choſe, rather than ſubmit to England, to truſt the faith of a Scottiſh roving ſea-captain; who, from ſome old grudge, ſlew him at an entertainment.

Theſe tranſactions, with a fruitleſs, becauſe formal, demand on France for the reſtitution of Calais, cloſed the ſtory of 1567. Calais was, indeed, only to have been reſtored, on condition that England ſhould commit no hoſtilities againſt France; and the French now plauſibly produced the aſſiſt-

* Spotiſwood, p. 203, &c.

ance

ance given to the Huguenots, and the taking poſſeſſion of Havre, as breaches of the contract. A. D. 1567.

To amuſe her people, whoſe wiſhes to ſee their queen married were unanimous, Elizabeth apparently liſtened, in 1568, to the addreſſes of the Archduke Charles; but, by propoſing harſh conditions, delayed the negotiation ſo long, that the diſguſted wooer, finding his addreſs ſlighted and himſelf denied the public exerciſe of his religion, flew off, courted the daughter of the Bavarian Albert (a leſs capricious miſtreſs), and married her. 1568. Elizabeth courted by the Arch-Duke.

A more important ſubject ſoon took up all the queen's attention. Mary of Scots, after having made a forced reſignation of her crown to her infant ſon James, had eſcaped from the hands of her foes *. She had raiſed a new army, had been utterly defeated, and forced to take ſhelter in the dominions of the Engliſh queen, whoſe generoſity and policy were at war concerning the manner of her reception. The latter, however, aided by the ſuggeſtions of Cecil, gained the day; and the royal fugitive, inſtead of being received with open arms by Elizabeth, was conſigned to the care of the family of Scrope, nearly connected with that of Howard. Advantage having been taken of a wiſh which Mary had expreſſed of clearing her character to the Engliſh queen †, commiſſioners were appointed to hear her accuſation and defence [44], and York was the place ſettled for the enquiry. Murray, regent of Scotland, together with the Earl of Morton, the Biſhop of Orkney, Lord Lindſay, and others attended, beſides the Earl and Counteſs of Lenox, who loudly accuſed Mary of Darnley's murther. Beſides theſe, Maitland of Lethington and Buchanan attended as aſſiſtants. At firſt, the regent was cautious of provoking her, who might again become his queen, by too harſh an expoſition of her faults; but when the hearing was transferred to London, when the Duke of Norfolk was no longer a commiſſioner, and, above all, when the ſentiments of Elizabeth were underſtood, he no longer heſitated to produce the moſt bitter charges againſt the unhappy princeſs. Mary of Scots takes refuge in England. Accuſed of her huſband's murther.

NOTES.

[44] Theſe were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadlier.

* Camden, p. 410. † Spotiſwood, p. 219.

A. D. 1568. Her defence ill conducted.

Whether or not they were well founded, Mary certainly took an improper method of defence. The Biſhop of Roſs and her other commiſſioners proteſted, that they had orders not to concern themſelves with any accuſation againſt her, ſince 'as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, ſhe would juſtify herſelf to none but her ſiſter-queen, Elizabeth.' They likewiſe laid the charge of Darnley's murther at the door of the regent, but advanced no proofs whatever to ſupport the accuſation.

In the mean time, the whole proceedings, charges, and evidence, as to the conduct of the Scottiſh queen, having been ſolemnly laid before the privy-council of England, the regent was permitted to return to Edinburgh, and had 5,000l. allowed him by Elizabeth for his expences. She then tried to perſuade the hapleſs Mary to reſign her crown to the infant James, or to divide, at leaſt, her authority with him; but that high-ſpirited princeſs would accept of no compromiſe; and firmly demanded either an interview with the Queen of England, or licence to depart in ſearch of ſome potentate more diſpoſed to befriend her.

1569. Plots againſt Elizabeth.

The enmity which Philip of Spain bore to Elizabeth, had hitherto only diſcovered itſelf by inſults offered to her ſhips and merchants; theſe ſhe had retaliated by ſeizures, and by letters of repriſal; no open war had yet appeared. In 1569, the Spaniard played a deeper game. By means of the Duke of Alva, who commanded in the Netherlands, a correſpondence was begun with the Roman Catholic friends of Mary, an invaſion of England was projected, and Chiapini Vitelli, an experienced ſoldier, was ſent to London on a plauſible pretence, that he might be at hand to head the revolters. At the ſame time the royal priſoner was engaged in a much more

Norfolk impriſoned.

juſtifiable negotiation. The Duke of Norfolk, a Proteſtant, ſuitable to Mary in age and perſonal accompliſhments, aſpired to her hand. His influence with the Engliſh nobility was ſo extenſive, that not leſs than nine * of the firſt rank, with the favored Leiceſter at their head, declared themſelves ſatisfied with the match. To complete the plan, however, it was neceſſary for Mary to be divorced from the odious Bothwell; nor could this be brought about without the aid of Murray. He, therefore, was unavoidably entruſted with the ſecret, and, probably by his means, Elizabeth gained intelligence of

* Leſlie, p. 55.

the

the whole deſign [45]. Not wiſhing to proceed to extremities with ſo potent a peer as Norfolk, ſhe warned him of his danger; ſhe even hinted to him 'to heed on what pillow he laid his head.' Theſe intimations were unhappily of no uſe, for the Duke affected to ſcorn the idea of aiming to rule over a wild people torn in pieces by factions. 'At his tennis-court at Norwich, ſurrounded by his tenants,' he ſaid, 'he was already a little prince.' In conſequence, he was ſeized and ſent to the Tower, and Mary was removed to a place of ſecurity*; a precaution taken juſt in time, for the Roman Catholics of the north, headed by the bigoted Earls of Northumberland [46] and Weſtmoreland, now no longer kept in awe by the loyal and well-meaning Duke, flew to arms; and at the head of 18,000 men of their friends and thoſe of the old religion, took poſſeſſion of Durham; where, after publicly aſſerting their loyalty to Elizabeth, they profeſſed a determination to reſtore the Roman Catholic faith, and after tearing in pieces, in the market-place, the Engliſh Bible and Common Prayer-book, they erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and celebrated a pompous maſs. But the Lord Suſſex, preſident of the north, who had watched their motions, ſoon collected troops ſufficient to march againſt them; and theſe unhappy peers, as weak in conducting as they had been raſh in undertaking their revolt, avoided the conteſt, fled to Scotland, and left their deluded followers to the unmerciful diſcretion of the provoſt-martial, Sir W. Bowes; who is ſaid to have executed on a gallows ſixty-ſix petty conſtables, and ſome hundreds of others.

A. D. 1569.

Two northern earls revolt, and are routed.

Leonard, brother to the Lord Dacres, who, at the head of 3,000 inſurgents, attempted to ſupport the ſame cauſe, met a ſimilar fate. He, as well as the Earl of Weſtmoreland, found means to quit the iſland; but the leſs fortunate Northumberland was ſeized in Scotland by order of the regent, and thrown into priſon.

Another riſing in the north ſuppreſſed.

The conduct of Norfolk had been ſo blameleſs during theſe troubles, and his endeavors to ſerve Elizabeth, by ordering his tenants to join her troops,

NOTES.

[45.] The letters relating to this plot were, for ſecrecy, conveyed in ale bottles. [CAMDEN.

[46] A copper mine, unjuſtly as he thought wreſted from him, had urged Northumberland to this revolt.

* Leſlie, p. 80.

A. D. 1569. ſo hearty, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and permitted him to live at his own houſe, on parole and bond, that he would proceed no farther as to his projected marriage *.

In the mean time profeſſions of regard, equally deceitful on each ſide, paſſed between the rival queens; who, although nearly equal in activity, capacity, and ſpirit, were ill matched as to prudence and power. In theſe, the advantage reſted clearly † with Elizabeth [47].

NOTES.

[47] At this period died in priſon Edmund Bonner, the deprived Biſhop of London. He had been chaplain to Henry VIII. The gratitude of Cromwell, whom he had befriended, procured him an embaſſy to the pope, and to other princes. He loſt his ſee in the reign of Edward VI. for not preaching heartily in favor of the king's ſupremacy. Mary reſtored him, and he became a ſingularly brutal perſecutor of the Proteſtants. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth, he was a ſecond time degraded and thrown into the Marſhalſea, where he ended his days. It has been hinted before, that he was a kind of buffoon, and in his misfortunes he retained a pertneſs not diſſimilar to wit. A contemporary bard thought two of his bon mots worth reciting in an epigram as follows:

Bonner, that once had biſhop been of London,
Was bid by one 'Goodmorrow, biſhop *Quondam*;'
He, with the ſcoff no whit put out of temper,
Reply'd incontinent, 'Adieu, knave *Semper!*'
Another, in ſuch kind of ſcoffing joke,
Begg'd his furr'd tippet for to line his cloke.
'No! no!' quoth he, 'content thee with thy hap,
'Who haſt a fooliſh head, to line thy cap.'

It may perhaps be worth obſervation, that, on the 11th of January 1569, a kind of lottery was drawn at the weſt door of St. Paul's cathedral, and continued inceſſantly till the 6th of May following. It had 40,000 lots at 10s. each lot, and the profits were to go towards repairing the havens of the kingdom. The prizes were plate.

Some account of this, or of a ſimilar lottery, was given to the Antiquarian Society, in 1748, by Dr. Rawlinſon.

* Leſlie, p. 98. † Hume's Tudors, vol. ii. p. 516.

SECTION

A. D. 1570.

SECTION II.

THE assassination of Murray, regent of Scotland *, early in 1570, threw the government into confusion, and wouldhave given great advantage to the partisans of Mary, who instantly took up arms, and endeavored to engage the sister-nations in a war †; had not the Earl of Sussex, at the head of an army, entered the country, ravaged the lands of those adherents of Mary who had plundered the borderers, and compelled the divided realm to appoint the Earl of Lenox to the vacant regency. Soon after this, a most ill-concerted scheme in favor of the Duke of Norfolk, in which the family of Stanley were the leaders, was discovered, and the plotters imprisoned.

1570. Murray assassinated.

Lenox succeeds to the Regency.

Negotiations, intricate as fruitless, concerning the fate of Mary, filled up the rest of 1570. At this period, Elizabeth seemed willing to have promoted the queen's restoration to the restrained exercise of royalty; but the Lords of Scotland, headed by the Earl of Morton, a man of the most bitter inveteracy against Mary and her friends, under pretence of duty to the young king, would agree to no plan in his mother's favor. Fretted by suspence, Mary fell dangerously ill, and the English queen not only sent her the best physicians of her train, but added the compliment of an elegant ring as a token of sisterly affection. She was not, in the mean while, unmindful of the state of Europe. Walsingham, one of her most subtle statesmen, watched over the approaching union of parties in France, while her fleet, commanded by a Howard, evinced at the same time her power and her courtesy, by convoying Anne of Austria to her bridegroom Philip of Spain, through the Channel. An incident at this time, added exceedingly to the jealousy which Elizabeth and all the Protestants of England already entertained of the Queen of Scots. Pope Pius, who had lately succeeded to the triple diadem, disgusted at the English queen for not receiving his overtures of amity with gratitude, and fearful lest her moderation might tempt many of her subjects to quit the Roman Catholic faith, promulgated a damnatory decree against her, and against all who should obey

The Pope anathematizes Elizabeth.

* Melvill, p. 102. † Spotiswood, p. 234.

her

A. D. 1570. her commands *. A wretched fanatic, named Felton, who dared to poſt this bull againſt the Biſhop of London's palace-gate, and who ſcorned to fly or deny the fact, received the fate he wiſhed for; and ſevere laws were made by Parliament againſt thoſe who ſhould either publiſh or obey the denunciations of a pope [49].

1571. The Queen of England now ſummoned a Parliament, after a receſs of five years. It met in April 1571. It denounced the publiſhing any bull, &c. from the pope, treaſon; it declared, that to call the queen 'heretic,' or to ſay that the ſtatutes might not regulate the ſucceſſion [50], &c. &c. was treaſon; it gave to Elizabeth what money ſhe wanted, which was but little; it tried its ſtrength in favor of a reformation of the Liturgy, and againſt a pernicious monopoly favored by the court, and was baffled.

Statutes againſt the pope, &c.

Account of what the Puritans were.

As the Parliament now abounded in men of ſtern morals and independent fortunes, who about this time began to be called Puritans, from the ſup-

NOTES.

[49] Dr. John Storie was executed for treaſon about this time, and fell unpitied. During the reign of Mary he had been active, even to wantonneſs, in deeds of perſecuting cruelty; and ſoon after the ſucceſſion of Elizabeth, in 1558, he owned that he had 'toſt a fagot at the face of a burning heretic, as he was ſinging pſalms, and ſet a buſhe of thornes under his feet, a little to pricke him.' Theſe words he ſaid in Parliament, and was a little while after thrown into priſon by order of the new queen. Thence eſcaping, he betook himſelf to Flanders, where he ſoon grew into favor with the mercileſs Alva, who, finding him formed after his own model, employed him in offices ſuited to his talents, in carrying on correſpondence with the Engliſh malcontents, and in ſearching houſes for books which might ſubject the inhabitants to the inquiſition. His alertneſs in this laſt department proved his ruin. A decoy was prepared for him, and he was told of a cargo of prohibited literature which an Engliſh ſloop at the mouth of the Schelde had brought, and meant to land at Antwerp. Storie darted incautious on his prey; but while he was eagerly ſearching the hold, the ſails were looſed, the anchor weighed, and the wretched traitor with horror found himſelf on his way for England: He lay ſome time in priſon, and at laſt, when executed, he parted from life moſt unwillingly; for after he had been hanged, cut down, and partly diſmembered, he ſprang up, and almoſt felled the executioner by a blow on the ear. [HOLINGSHED.

[50] It was enacted, that 'the *natural* iſſue of the queen's body, only, might ſucceed, &c. This expreſſion being rather uncommon, and uſed in lieu of 'lawful,' gave room to many whom Camden ſtiles, 'lewd catchers of words,' to fancy that it was meant to bring forward ſome illicit fruit of the ſuppoſed loves between Elizabeth and Leiceſter.

* Camden, p. 487.

poſed

posed purity of their lives and doctrines, it may not be amiss to describe in a few words a party which, although by no means to be defended in every point, had yet the merit, as Mr. Hume with a laudable candor owns, 'of kindling and preserving the precious spark of liberty.' And it was to this sect,' proceeds the liberal author, 'whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.' The cruelties of Mary's government had driven many ministers of Protestant principles to cross the sea. These, when on the death of their persecutrix they returned home, brought with them a double portion of bitterness against Popery; and, from their late familiarity with the Calvinistical teachers, an utter dislike to any ecclesiastical forms whatever. The proselytes of these refugees adopting principles of civil, as well as religious freedom, became, when in Parliament, the terror and detestation both of kings and bishops. A. D. 1571.

In May the sessions was ended, not without a severe reprimand from the Lord Keeper, for the 'audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly' of some of its members.

Elizabeth, at this juncture, thought it her interest to connect herself with France; and actually listened favorably to the matrimonial proposals of the Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX. Catharine di Medicis, who ruled the French cabinet, probably entered into the negotiation with as little sincerity as the English queen; who tacitly permitted Henry Champernon to lead a party of English soldiers to assist the Huguenots. Among these, Raleigh (afterwards Sir Walter) served his earliest campaign. Anjou courts Elizabeth.

Every passing year must have farther convinced Elizabeth of the perils to which the imprisonment of Mary exposed her. The friends of that princess, impatient at the procrastinations of the English court, had now formed a new conspiracy, in which Norfolk joined anew to deliver her, and to restore her to her throne. The intestine troubles of Scotland rendered this enterprize not difficult. Lenox the new regent had been slain, and although the Earl of Mar was appointed in his room, yet the party of Mary was not discouraged. Norfolk engages in a plot with Alva.

Norfolk, however, was too good an Englishman to enter heartily into a plan which comprehended a foreign invasion, and, perhaps, the dethronement of his sovereign. He hesitated, he shuddered at an union with the atrocious Duke of Alva; and while he doubted, the vigilant Cecil, now

Lord

A. D. 1571. Lord Burleigh, detected the whole conſpiracy, and Norfolk was ſent to the Tower. At the ſame time Leſlie, Biſhop of Roſs, the moſt active of Mary's agents, was confined, and ſo ſeverely threatened, that he confirmed the confeſſions and the evidence which others had given in *. Ridolphi, a Florentine banker, long reſident in London, appeared to be the ſoul of the conſpiracy, and was now travelling through Europe † to regulate the foreign ſuccors which were at hand to ſupport the cauſe of the Scottiſh princeſs.

A ſtrange event in Herefordſhire marked 1571. A piece of ground containing twenty-ſix acres, under Marlech-hill, burſt from its ſtation, and moved with a groaning noiſe, carrying with it cattle, ſheepcotes, trees, &c. full forty paces the firſt day. It ſtopped at the end of four days, forming a hill of ſeventy-two feet in height. Rynaſton chapel it had overturned in its progreſs. It left a hollow thirty feet in depth, and one hundred and ſixty yards wide, and four hundred in length ‡.

1572. Early in 1572, the honeſt but imprudent Duke of Norfolk was tried by a jury of twenty-five peers, and condemned to die for treaſonably plotting againſt Elizabeth. The trial was regular, except that the witneſſes were not confronted with the priſoner; ſuch was not then the cuſtom in caſes of high-treaſon. Some months paſſed before the ſentence was executed §, and the queen twice revoked the death-warrant ſhe had ſigned, although the miniſters preſſed and the Parliament demanded the cataſtrophe. On the ſcaffold the generous nobleman acknowleged the juſtice of his ſentence, but abſolutely denied his ever having given his conſent to the interference of foreign powers [51]. He died, praying for the welfare of Elizabeth ‖, and that ſhe may live and reign many years, 'even to the world's

Norfolk executed.

NOTES.

[51] Norfolk might probably have been ſaved had he made an open confeſſion, at leaſt Elizabeth declared that he would; but his ſervants had owned their being entruſted to carry money to the friends of Mary in Scotland, and the duke, ignorant of their confeſſion, perſiſted in denying the whole affair. [LESLIE.

Not very long after this event, the fugitive Earl of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent of Scotland, ſuffered in like manner.

* Leſlie's Negotiations, p. 197. † Ibid. p. 354.

‡ Stowe, Holingſhed, &c. § Carte, p. 527. Digges, p. 166.

‖ Camden, p. 440.

end,

end, which' (continued the Duke) 'I believe ſome one alive ſhall live to ſee.' A. D. 1572.

The ambaſſador of Spain had been deeply engaged in theſe dark negotiations. He had likewiſe exerted himſelf to prevent the propoſed match between Elizabeth and Anjou; and was even ſuſpected of attempting to aſſaſſinate the Lord Burleigh, whom he loudly declared to be the enemy of his maſter. For theſe unjuſtifiable meaſures he was ordered to quit the kingdom; a proceeding which Philip reſented, by ſeizing the goods of the Engliſh in his dominions. The Ambaſſador of Spain ſent away.

A treaty was now concluded between Elizabeth and Charles IX.* of France; a ſhort-lived treaty, whoſe articles were ſoon waſhed away by the torrents of Proteſtant blood ruſhing from the gates of Paris, from the very chambers of the royal palace! Fenelon, a man of honor enough to acknowlege himſelf aſhamed of wearing the name of a Frenchman, was ſent by Charles to the Engliſh queen, that he might extenuate the horrors of that execrable maſſacre. He was received by her, and her whole court, in the deepeſt mourning; and her anſwer to the futile excuſes of Charles was cold and even bitter. It was, however, not expreſſive of active reſentment; for the politic princeſs, ſurrounded as ſhe was by domeſtic as well as foreign enemies, and far from wiſhing to render France hoſtile, ſubmitted to hear new overtures of marriage from Alençon†, the younger brother of the Duke of Anjou; and even ſtood [52] as godmother to a princeſs of France, who was chriſtened Marie-Elizabeth. At the ſame time, as ſhe knew that the Guiſes (who now again ruled in France) longed for the ruin of her, the great and only bulwark of the Proteſtant cauſe, ſhe took every poſſible precaution againſt their dangerous deſigns. Peace with France.

NOTES.

[52] Brantome ſpeaks of a magnificent golden 'font' ſent by the queen to Charles of France on this occaſion. This embaſſy grievouſly alarmed the Huguenots, who thought that their only protectreſs meant to unite with their enemies. They did not fathom her deep policy, nor conſider that her intereſt would always oblige her to ſave their party from total deſtruction.

* Camden, p. 443. † Ibid. p. 447.

A. D. 1572.

The Puritans lead the Parliament.

In the mean time the Parliament, in which the puritan [53] intereſt preponderated, would have proceeded to great lengths againſt Mary, after ranſacking the Old Teſtament * for precedents, had not Elizabeth, to whom the French ambaſſador had recourſe, interfered, and checked with great mildneſs their over-care for her ſecurity.

The ſmall-pox, which about this period attacked Elizabeth, and even brought her life into danger, added to the alarms with which the very critical ſtate of Europe affected every well-wiſher to the Proteſtant intereſt [54].

1573.

Elizabeth encourages the Dutch rovers.

The impolitic cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands had, by this time, compelled the inhabitants, through deſpair, to reſiſtance. At ſea, the Dutch mariners ranged afar, and, without any ſhowy triumph, moſt ſeverely diſtreſſed the trade of Spain. Elizabeth received theſe rovers in her ports, and even permitted her ſubjects to purchaſe their prizes. In order, therefore, to prevent England from giving more effectual aſſiſtance to his revolted ſubjects, Philip condeſcended, in 1573, to repay to Elizabeth all the damages which he had occaſioned to her merchants, either at ſea or in his harbors.

The œconomy of this great queen deſerves, at this period, moſt particular praiſe. Beſides the expences of fortifying her coaſt, and improving her navy, ſhe found means, without any additional burthen on her ſubjects, to diſcharge the debts due to her people from Edward VI. from Mary her ſiſter, and from herſelf, and not without due intereſt.

Her policy as to France.

Her conduct towards the Huguenots of France, who, after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's day, had fled to Rochelle, was exquiſitely political-

NOTES.

[53] The plundering and conſequent deſtruction of churches, chapels, &c. was grown to ſuch a height, that Elizabeth found it neceſſary to iſſue a proclamation againſt ſuch as might take away lead, bells, &c. [HOLINGSHED.

[54] In this year the trial by combat was demanded, concerning an eſtate in Kent, by Simon Lowe and John Kime, againſt Thomas Paramore. The affair was however made up, but nevertheleſs the champions appeared in form before the judges, in liſts, appointed for the purpoſe. Nailer, champion for Lowe, challenged Thorne, his antagoniſt, 'to plaie with him half a ſcore blowes for paſtime to the judges;' but Thorne ſullenly refuſed, ſaying, 'he came to fight and not to plaie.' [IBID.

* D'Ewe's, p 207, 208.

She

She received their deputies with affection, ſupplied their wants, and protected their perſons; but when the Earl of Eſſex and the Biſhop of London propoſed to raiſe an army for their relief by a voluntary contribution, ſhe forbad any ſuch proceeding, as it muſt have engaged her in an immediate war with a powerful neighbor. Yet ſhe gave no encouragement to the complaints of the perſecutors of the Proteſtants; and when the French ambaſſador recounted to her the ſums of money lent by the Londoners to thoſe of Rochelle, ſhe ſmiled, and ſaid, 'that ſhe did not believe that her ſubjects were ſo rich;' and when he demanded that Montgomeri, the admiral of the Proteſtants, and other Huguenots, ſhould be delivered up, 'Receive,' ſaid Elizabeth calmly, 'the words of your own king Henry II. to my ſiſter Mary, in anſwer to a like requeſt, "I will be no foreign prince's executioner."' A. D. 1573.

With much leſs caution did Elizabeth proceed as to the affairs of the north. The ſupport which ſhe gave to the party which maintained the cauſe of the young James, enabled it completely to over-power the friends of Mary: Unhappily Morton, the regent, a man of a harſh as well as greedy diſpoſition, made a ſanguinary uſe of the advantages which the Engliſh forces under Sir W. Drury, by taking the Caſtle of Edinburgh, had aſſiſted him to procure. He had the cruelty to execute ſhamefully, in ſpite of Drury's remonſtrances, the gallant Kirkaldie of Grange, who commanded the party *. Aſſiſts the Scottiſh regent.

The death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574, eaſed the mind of Elizabeth from half its anxiety. Henry III. who ſucceeded to the throne, both hated and dreaded the houſe of Guiſe, and conſequently cared little for the intereſt of the unfortunate Mary of Scotland. That kingdom enjoyed at this period a kind of tranquillity under the government of Morton, whoſe entire † dependence on the Engliſh queen, at the ſame time that it confirmed his power, prevented his gratifying his natural and evil propenſities to the extent of his wiſhes. 1574. Charles IX. of France dies.

Ireland had been ſtrangely convulſed; but the care of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, had reſtored at leaſt the appearance of ſubmiſſion among the revolted chiefs ‡.

* Melvill, p. 118, 120, &c. † Spotiſwood, p. 273, 274, 275.

‡ Camden, Ann. 1574.

A. D. 1574.

State of Ireland.

Little more, indeed, could be expected on a fair ſtatement of that unhappy country's condition: greedineſs, inhumanity, and bad policy, united to keep the inhabitants in a ſtate of barbariſm. The laws of England, we have already ſeen, were denied to them, although eagerly requeſted; and the wretched natives, neither ſecure in property nor life, fled to the woods and bogs for ſhelter; and looking on mankind in general, and the Engliſh in particular, as their enemies, made repriſals on every ſtranger who fell into their hands.

The people ill treated.

Beſides the total neglect of their morals, the Engliſh gave another incitement to this ill-fated people to continue uncivilized. The conqueſt of diſtricts was delegated to private perſons. Theſe raiſed ſoldiers at their own coſt; and, where they ſucceeded, turned their acquiſitions to their own profit: to this they frequently found the Iriſh cuſtoms more conducive than the Engliſh laws; and, in conſequence, embracing the ſyſtem which indulged moſt their deſpotiſm and rapine, inſtead of improving the natives, they became as mere barbarians as the beings whom they had ſubdued [55].

Revenue of Ireland, &c.

The whole annual revenue of Ireland was barely ſix thouſand pounds. To this Elizabeth moſt unwillingly added twenty thouſand more. One thouſand ſoldiers (and ſometimes in need two thouſand) compoſed the whole military power. A force perfectly incapable of ſubduing a numerous and warlike race; but rather ſerving to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections which kept up and inflamed the animoſity between the two nations. That Elizabeth ſhould never have exerted the ſtrength of England to end theſe troubles, appears ſo ſtrange to a learned prelate of our own age, that he thinks the weak meaſure muſt have proceeded from the dictates of a crooked policy *.

NOTES.

[55] The ſons of the Earl of Clanricard, an originally Engliſh houſe, entered ſo far into the ſpirit of this ſyſtem, that they put to death all the inhabitants of Athenry, although Iriſh, becauſe they had begun to conform to Engliſh cuſtoms, and had a more civilized method of living than had been practiſed by their anceſtors. [Camden, Hume.

Out of all the Engliſh families ſettled in Ireland, that of Butler (whence the Earls and Duke of Ormond) ſeems to have been the only one which was uniformly and faithfully attached to the intereſt of the mother country.

* Hurd's Dialogue on the reign of Elizabeth.

Although

Although the Engliſh queen privately ſupported the Proteſtant intereſt in France, and ſupplied the Huguenots with large ſums to levy German troops, ſhe nevertheleſs ſent, in 1575, to congratulate the new French monarch, and to inveſt him with the order of the garter. Her embaſſy was received with great reſpect. A. D. 1575.

Elizabeth had at this epoch, indeed, attained to that importance in the political balance of the continent, which her father had miſſed through his own intemperate levity; her brother, through his youth and inexperience; and her ſiſter through blindneſs and bigotry. Elizabeth holds the balance of power.

Some writers ſpeak of a plan formed by this politic princeſs to get the young king of Scots into her hands, which they ſay was diſappointed by the firmneſs of his governor, Alexander Erſkine. Had ſhe not found enough anxiety from having Mary to take care of?

A tumult on the northern border, in which the Engliſh were both aggreſſors and ſufferers, gave Elizabeth an opportunity about this time of ſhewing her magnanimity. Morton, devoted to her will, ſent Carmichael, the leader of the Scots (although the injured party), to await her pleaſure in London. But the daughter of Henry VIII. commended his ſpirited conduct, and diſmiſſed him loaded with preſents *. Her magnanimity.

It was during the year 1575, that the queen bitterly complained to her Parliament of the great remiſſneſs among magiſtrates in general, as to the execution of the laws: Inſomuch, that if no remedy were found, ſhe ſhould be obliged to appoint in her commiſſions needy and indigent perſons, who, for their own intereſt, would attend to the diſtribution of juſtice.

In 1576, the Hollanders, diſtreſſed beyond meaſure by the power of Spain, which they had long and gallantly reſiſted, intreated Elizabeth, as heireſs of Philippa, queen of Edward III. to accept their ſovereignty and undertake their protection. 1576. The Dutch offer their ſovereignty to Elizabeth.

Tempting as was this offer, the Engliſh queen declined it; ſhe interpoſed however her good offices with Philip, although in vain; and afterwards advanced 20,000l. to the diſtreſſed revolters.

The Commons met and gave a liberal ſubſidy; but in one point they went beyond what the ſovereign thought their limits. They attempted to

* Camden, p. 454.

meddle

A. D. 1576. meddle with religion, and even propoſed a bill for the reformation of the church; one puritan member, Peter Wentworth, ſpoke his ſentiments in a bolder manner than his age had been accuſtomed to; the powerful frown of the court, however, chilled theſe dawnings of a regular ſyſtem of freedom, and the bill of reformation dwindled into a petition, which Elizabeth anſwered, by promiſing that ſhe would direct the biſhops to amend the alleged grievances.

Dawnings of a free ſpirit in Parliament.

Before the cloſe of 1576, Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, who, by the contrivance of Leiceſter, had been ſent to Ireland in a highly reſponſible ſituation, and yet unſupplied with proper authority, ſuddenly died at Dublin. The Earl of Leiceſter (who almoſt inſtantly wooed and married the widow of Eſſex, and to whom the honeſt but too ingenuous Devereux was known to be an open enemy), was more than ſuſpected of having removed his rival by poiſon.

1577. The appearance of Don John of Auſtria in the Netherlands, as governor, diſconcerted, in 1577, the œconomical reſerve of Elizabeth. She dreaded that prince; ſhe knew that it was his avowed wiſh to wed Mary of Scotland, and to aſſert her pretenſions to the whole iſland; ſhe determined now to ſupport the revolters with vigor; ſhe advanced to them one hundred thouſand pounds by way of loan; and, before it was long, ſhe conſented by treaty to ſupply them with 5,000 foot and 1,000 horſe *. At the ſame time ſhe wrote to the king of Spain a moſt artful apology for her conduct, profeſſing that ſhe had only undertaken the protection of the Netherlanders, to prevent their throwing themſelves into the hands of France; and offering to withdraw her aid, if Don John and the Spaniſh troops ſhould be recalled. Philip imitated the policy of Elizabeth, and, while he profeſſed a continuation of amity, attempted to excite the Iriſh to revolt †. But the wiſe precautions of the Engliſh queen had guarded againſt his machinations.

Elizabeth aſſiſts the Dutch.

London had a very narrow eſcape from the plague in the ſame year. That dreadful ſcourge ſhewed itſelf in the Temple; but by the extreme vigilance of Fleetwood, the recorder, its horrors were prevented.

Oxford was not ſo fortunate. Its 'Black Aſſize,' held in July, is fatally recorded for a ſudden 'dampe' which aroſe, and after nearly ſmothering

Oxford Black Aſſize.

* Camden, p. 466. † Digges, p. 73.

the

the whole court and audience, cauſed the death of the judge, high-ſheriff, moſt of the jury, and above 500 of the ſpectators [56]. A. D. 1577.

During 1578, Elizabeth had little to do but to reprimand thoſe who made an ill uſe of the powers with which ſhe had entruſted them. Prince Caſimir, inſtead of raiſing an army of Germans to help the Dutch, had ſquandered * away the money which ſhe had ſent to him. He viſited her in the winter, and ſhe not only forgave him but made him a knight of the garter. To the Regent of Scotland, Morton, ſhe ſent Randolph to warn him of the fate which muſt attend him unleſs he altered his manners, and rendered himſelf leſs odious to the Scots; and particularly to the powerful Earls of Argyle and Athol. An embaſſy from France, propoſing the Duke of Anjou (late Alençon) as a huſband to Elizabeth, was kindly received; the eyes of Europe were not yet opened to a ſpecies of political coquetry which aſſiſted that princeſs ſo much in her negotiations. Even the ſubtle Catherine di Medicis was deceived, and thought her youngeſt ſon already king of England. And Philip of Spain was ſo far led to ſuſpect the deſigns of his brother Don John of Auſtria towards an union with Elizabeth, that he put to death privately one of that prince's ſecretaries, whom he thought the confident of a matrimonial treaty between him and that moſt inſcrutable of ſovereigns. 1578. Anjou courts Elizabeth.

To awe the young king of Scotland, who, though but twelve years of age, had begun to govern †, beſides the rights of his impriſoned mother, Elizabeth found means to intimate to him, that the Lady Arabella Stuart (his couſin, by a younger brother of his grand-father) had claims on the Engliſh eſtates of Lenox, which James had ſent to demand. If ſhe could claim the lands, ſhe might rival the king of Scots in his heirſhip to the kingdom ‡. James of Scots kept in awe by Elizabeth.

NOTES.

[56] Beſides Sir Robert Bell, lord chief baron, there died D'Oyly, Babington, Wenman, Davers, Harcombe, Kyrle, Fettiplace, Greenwood, Forſter, Naſh, Barham, Stevens, &c. The women and children were not ſo much affected as the men.

One Rowland Jenks was on his trial 'for his ſeditious tongue.' The vulgar believed that magic had a ſhare in the event; but the diſcernment of Lord Bacon ſaw through the miſt of ſuperſtition. This ſeems to have been the firſt appearance of the jail-fever in England. Its ſymptoms marked the moſt extreme putridity.

* Camden, p. 452. † Melvill, p. 126. ‡ Camden, p. 469, 470.

It

A. D. 1578. It was in this year (1578) that the wild and enterprising ſpirit of the Portugueſe* monarch, opened a road for Philip of Spain to reach the crown of Portugal. The battle of Alcaſar (in which the unfortunate Sebaſtian had, from motives partly romantic and partly fanatical, engaged and loſt his army [57] and his life), had nearly extinguiſhed the race of Portugueſe nobility; and the reign of an aged prieſt, who ſucceeded to the throne, ſeemed only calculated to give the plots of Philip a few months time to mature, without affording any hopes of turning them aſide.

Fall of the Portugueſe Sebaſtian.

1579. The negotiations for the queen's marriage were quickened in 1579, by the arrival of Simier, an artful agent [58] ſent by Catherine di Medicis; who gained ſuch an aſcendant over the counſels of Elizabeth, that even Leiceſter was alarmed, and intimated to the credulous, his apprehenſion of philtres, ſpells, &c.; while Simier, irritated at the abſurd charge, informed the

Anjou's agent ill treated by Leiceſter.

NOTES.

[57] With the raſh Sebaſtian fell the profligate but gallant and intrepid Thomas Stukely, born in the weſt of England, and deprived by his own extravagance of a decent patrimony; his perſon and addreſs gained the heart of a London alderman's well-portioned daughter. That he did not appear to advantage in family life, appears in the popular ballad:

'Make *much* of me, dear huſband, ſhe did ſay.
'I'll make much more of thee, ſaid he,
'Than any other; verily,
'I'll ſell thy cloaths, and ſo I'll go my way.'

Leaving his family he went to Rome, where paſſing for a perſon of importance, and vaunting of the eaſe with which he could make Ireland revolt from Elizabeth, he found means, partly by the reſentment of Philip, irritated at Elizabeth for aiding his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, and partly by the ambition of the pope, whom he perſuaded that he would make his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland, to raiſe a corps of 800 Italian gentlemen, with whom he ſailed to Liſbon; where, dazzled by the projects of the heroic Sebaſtian, he perſuaded his comrades to accompany the king of Portugal on his African enterprize, before they ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Ireland; a kingdom in which the pope had already conferred on him the dignities of a marquiſate and an earldom, Leinſter and Wexford. The fortune of the day viſibly turning againſt the Chriſtian party, Stukely fell by the ſwords of his own men, who reproached him with having led them to deſtruction. [CAMDEN, &c.

[58] De Thou deſcribes him thus, 'Johannes Simieus, homo blandimentis & aſſentatiunculis innutritus aulicis.' [DE TEMP. SUIS.

* Camden, p. 462, &c.

Lord

queen of Leiceſter's marriage with the widow of Eſſex, a diſcovery which would have conducted the imprudent favorite to the Tower, had not the Lord Suſſex * (although the favorite's avowed foe) repreſented to Elizabeth the illegality and impropriety of puniſhing any man for a legal act like matrimony. Meanwhile the daſtardly Leiceſter dealt with a bravo, named Tudor, and bribed him to aſſaſſinate Simier. On this being ſpoken of, the queen publicly declared that ſhe took the Frenchman under her eſpecial protection. A. D. 1579.

Magnanimity of Elizabeth.

An affair, about this time, brought forward that magnanimity which too often ſlept in the boſom of the daughter of Henry VIII: She was in a barge on the Thames, attended by Simier and the Vice-chamberlain Hatton, when a piece was fired from the ſhore †, and the ball entered a rower's arm; he that fired was ſeized, convicted of treaſon, and brought to the gallows; but as he perſiſted to the laſt moment in his innocence, Elizabeth ordered him to be ſet free; with theſe memorable and glorious words, 'That ſhe would credit nothing againſt her ſubjects, which might not be believed againſt her own children.'

Stubbes and Page loſe their right hands.

The French connection which the queen ſeemed to intend (for ſhe probably had no real thought of it) was extremely diſpleaſing at this period to the generality of the Engliſh, and particularly to the ſectaries; one of whom, named Stubbes, a paſſionate puritan, loſt his right hand for publiſhing a pamphlet, 'The Gaping Gulph,' againſt this unpopular meaſure. In his work, France was repreſented as the gulph which gaped for England and the Proteſtant religion. While his wriſt lay on the block, he ſaid to the ſpectators, 'My maſters, if there be any among you that do love me, if your love be not in God and her Majeſty, I do utterly denie your love.' After his hand was ſtricken off, he waved his hat with the other, crying 'God ſave the queen.' But this irrational and unnatural exertion of loyalty did not ſave him from a long impriſonment. Page, who printed the libel, had the ſame puniſhment as Stubbes [59]. He bore it

NOTES.

[59] Theſe unfortunate men were rather ſacrificed to policy, and to the deference which Elizabeth choſe to pay to Anjou, than to her own reſentment. She could forgive a far-

* Camden, p. 471. † Ibid. p. 471, 472.

A. D. 1579. it with fortitude, and ſaid to the people, 'There lies the hand of a true Engliſhman *.'

It was at this period, that the conſcious deſpair of making an effectual reſiſtance, while in ſeparate diſtricts, to the vaſt forces and opulence of the cruel Philip, excited the ſeven Dutch provinces to form a union againſt the common enemy. Their firſt efforts were weak and attended with little ſucceſs; but a ſpeedy perſeverance, directed by patriotiſm, and ſupported by public ſpirit, raiſed theſe mercantile warriors to ſuch a pitch of power, that, within a century, they were able to protect that very nation from deſtruction which now ſought their ruin. A warm remonſtrance of Philip to Elizabeth, deprecating that tacit permiſſion which ſhe had given to the Netherlanders to ſell their prizes in her harbors, accelerated the meaſure. The ports of England being barred againſt them, it was neceſſary for the patriots to ſecure an aſylum ſome where; and the Brill, a ſtrong fortreſs and haven which they found means to ſurprize, became the nucleus of a vaſt marine republic [60] †.

The Brill taken.

1580. The Iriſh Roman Catholics, who had been by no means kindly treated by the Engliſh governors, made, in 1580, an unſucceſsful ſtruggle for independence. They were aſſiſted by two ſeveral detachments of Spaniards ſent by Philip, who alſo ſupplied the revolted ‡ with arms and ammunition for 5,000 men. The expedition was unfortunate; the Spaniſh ſhips were de-

NOTES.

a ſarcaſm on her own conduct. It ſtands on record, that a carter had been ſent for to her palace to remove ſome goods, and had been diſmiſſed; a ſecond time he was bade to attend, and a ſecond time was ordered home: 'Now, by our lady,' ſaid the blunt Engliſhman, ſlapping his hand on his thigh, 'I ſee that the queen is a *woman*, as well as my wife.' Elizabeth, who ſtood at a window hard by, over-heard him. 'Fye,' ſaid ſhe to her maidens, 'what a villain is this?' She ſent him three angels, however, to ſtop his irreverent tongue. [Birch's Mem.

Camden places the execution of Stubbes two years later, but the Nugæ Antiquæ, from original papers, date it in 1579. Neal, in his hiſtory of Puritans, aſſerts, that Stubbes became a valiant commander in the Iriſh wars, and did the queen good ſervice.

[60] Sir Thomas Greſham, founder of the Royal Exchange and of Greſham College, died in 1579, as did Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. Sir Thomas Bromley had the ſeals in his room, with the title of Lord Chancellor.

* Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. iii. p. 179. † Camden, p. 443. ‡ Ibid. p. 475, &c.

ſtroyed

ſtroyed by Winter, an old ſea officer, whoſe name often occurs in the annals of Elizabeth. As to the troops which had landed, Pelham, the lord deputy, with the Earl of Ormond, St. Leger, Raleigh, and other commanders, ſurrounded them and the rebel Iriſh, compelled them to yield at diſcretion, and left not a man alive to complain of their inhumanity. A. D. 1580. The Spaniards in Ireland maſſacred.

Elizabeth was not quite at eaſe in England. The noxious ſeminaries of Douay, Rheims, and Rome, began to pour their miſſionary legions into Britain; and the ſons of Ignatius Loyola, too, commenced their aſſaults. Two of theſe laſt, Campian and Parſons [61], wrote with acrimony againſt the government. The firſt was taken, and expiated his crime as a traitor at a gibbet; the other, Parſons, fled acroſs the Channel; and, to the utmoſt of his power, ſtirred up new and bitter foes againſt his native ſovereign. Engliſh Jeſuits put to death.

The growth of fanaticiſm, of luxury in habit, and of the buildings around the city of London, were at this period reſtrained (as far as fine and impriſonment could terrify) by three ſeveral proclamations. Theſe menacing limitations time has proved to be all equally futile.

Elizabeth could not with juſtice complain of Philip for aſſiſting the rebels of Ireland, while ſhe foſtered in her boſom Francis Drake, a bold marine adventurer, who, after plundering the ſouth-weſt coaſts of Spaniſh America, and taking a conſiderable town with twenty-three * men only, dared to croſs the almoſt untried waves of the Pacific ſea, and brought home his barges loaded with Indian bullion. Him, his royal miſtreſs knighted, and honored with her preſence at an entertainment on board his far-travelled Enterprize of Drake.

NOTES.

[61] Campian and Parſons had both ſtudied at Oxford. The firſt had been proctor of the univerſity, and was reckoned amiable in his diſpoſition; but Parſons, who had been expelled from Baliol College for his licentious manners, was always rough and turbulent. His writings were ſcurrilous and falſe, beyond thoſe of any of his contemporaries. They had both acted with uncommon inſolence in point of controverſy, and had even publicly challenged the Proteſtant clergy to a conference. Campian had publiſhed 'Decem Rationes,' in defence of his principles, a book which Dr. Whitaker had learnedly anſwered. [CAMDEN, &c.

* Camden, p. 351.

A. D. 1580. bark in the Thames. The Spaniard remonſtrated [62], and the queen reſtored ſome of the booty; ſhe ſtopped her hand, however, when ſhe found that, inſtead of being given to the perſons aggrieved, the money was employed to pay the troops who warred againſt the Dutch in the Netherlands.

The fatal end of Morton, the regent of Scotland (tried, convicted of treaſon, and executed, by direction of the young king *), a man devoted to her commands, as he held his authority ſolely under her protection, made Elizabeth ſpend the cloſe of 1580 in ſome degree of well-grounded anxiety. She had diſcernment enough to ſee the infinite advantages of an union of ſentiment with the councils of Scotland, and dreaded every incident which might tend to renew the connection of that important nation with France [63].

Her

NOTES.

[62] On this occaſion the Spaniſh ambaſſador is thus ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf with inſolence in the character of his maſter:

'Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
'Quæ Dracus eripuit, nunc reſtituantur oportet.
'Quas pater evertit, jubeo te condere cellas,
'Religio Papæ fac reſtituatur ad unguem!'

She inſtantly anſwered with the ſame ſpirit which ſhe uſed to exert againſt his invaſions:

'Ad Græcas, bone rex, fiant mandata Calendas.' [WALPOLE.

Imitated.

'No longer, queen, the Belgic rout be-friend.
'What Drake has plunder'd, back to India ſend;
'Thy impious father's ſacrilege repair,
'And bow thy ſceptre to St. Peter's chair.'

Anſwer.

'Believe me, prince, I'll do thy high beheſt,
'When in *one* week two Sundays ſtand confeſt.' I.P.A.

[63] Beſides two conſiderable earthquakes, and 'wonders in the air,' ſeen in Wilts and Cornwall, the year 1580 ended not without more prodigies. A monſtrous child was born in Huntingdonſhire; and in Suſſex a boy, eleven years old, after lying entranced ten days, became

* Melvill, p. 128.

Her anxiety to prevent the fate of her dependent, prompted her to advance a ſtrong body of troops towards her northern borders. Theſe, however, ſhe ordered to retire, when ſhe found that the councils of James were not to be overawed at this period; and the haſty meaſure probably hurried on the end of the devoted regent. A. D. 1580.

It was now time that the wire-drawn farce of the French marriage ſhould come to ſome concluſion. Anjou had every reaſon to fancy himſelf ſure of his royal bride; ſhe had ſent to him in Flanders a preſent of 100,000 crowns, the matrimonial articles were ſettled to her mind, and a ſumptuous embaſſy was ſent from France to aſſiſt at the wedding: Anjou himſelf arrived now in England, and was received by the queen with viſible pleaſure. She placed on his finger a valuable ring as a pledge of her love, and took up the pen to ſign the marriage deeds, but ſhe proceeded no farther *. Walſingham, and all her miniſters, remonſtrated on the impropriety of the match, and her maids of honor ſpent the night in weeping and wailing round her bed. She had now diſcovered that ſhe was twenty-five years older than her lover, that ſhe ſhould never produce him any children, and that the Engliſh would not bear that a Frenchman ſhould wear even their matrimonial crown. But theſe ſagacious motives, although urged by the inconſtant ſovereign, and ſeconded by her chamberlain the Lord Hatton, had no effect on the deluded prince. He daſhed the ring on the floor; and loudly curſing the caprice of Elizabeth and the ruggedneſs of her people, he took his way ſoon afterwards to Flanders, where his ill-concerted plans of deſpotiſm ſoon rendered him odious to the people who had invited his coming. 1581. Anjou deceived by Elizabeth.

It is ſtill a myſtery why the Engliſh queen ſhould have worn the uſeleſs maſque of affection ſo long, and have put this wanton inſult on a ſuitor ſo reſpectable in his connections. Many are of opinion, that an uncontrol- Her myſterious conduct.

NOTES.

became a ſevere cenſor of manners, and reclaimed many profligates, particularly 'a ſervinge man, whom he ſharplie tawnted for his great and monſtrous ruffes, telling him that "it were better for him to put on ſackcloth and aſhes, than to pranke up himſelf like the Divell's darlinge;" whereon the ſervinge man wept, and took a knife and rent the band from his necke, and cut it in pieces.' [HOLINGSHED.

* Camden, p. 486.

lable

A. D. 1581. lable paſſion for Anjou carried her to ſuch abſurd lengths [64], in ſpite of that policy which would have made her break off the negotiations by degrees. Had France been freed from civil broils, the queen might have drawn a cruel war on her ſubjects by this worſe than fantaſtical conduct. Even after this breach, Elizabeth wiſhed to ſtand well with the prince whom ſhe had deceived. She detained him ſome time by a variety of diverſions; and when he would depart, accompanied him as far as Canterbury * on his return to the Netherlands; ſhewed him 'hir greate ſhippes' at Chatham, promiſing him the uſe of them whenever he ſhould need them; and accommodated him with a large ſum of money †. Her moſt favored courtiers and domeſtics had, it is true, wearied her with arguments againſt the union, and

NOTES.

[64] The following expreſſive lines from the Aſhm. Muſæum MS. 6969 (781), and ſigned 'Eliza Regina upon Mount Zeurs departure,' may ſerve to ſhow the ſtate of Elizabeth's heart, and the ſtrength of her paſſions at fifty-two.

I.

I grieve, yet dare not ſhew my diſcontent,
I love, and yet am forc'd to ſeem to hate;
I dote, but dare not ſay I never meant,
I ſeem ſtark mute, but inwardly do prate.
I am, and not——I freeze, and yet am burn'd,
Since from myſelf my other ſelf I turn'd.

II.

My care is like my ſhadow in the ſun,
Follows me flying; flies when I purſue it;
Stands and lies by me; does what I have done;
This too familiar care doth make me rue it.
No means I find to rid him from my breaſt,
Till by the end of things it be ſuppreſt.

III.

Some gentler paſſions ſteal into my mind,
(For I am ſoft and made of melting ſnow);
Or be more cruel, love, or be more kind,
Let me or float or ſink, be high or low.
Or let me live with ſome more ſweet content,
Or die, and ſo forget what love e'er meant.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 792. † Stowe, p. 690.

the

ſhe herſelf, when ſhe dropt the pen (meant to ſign the articles) aſked her council harſhly, 'If they were not conſcious that this marriage would be her death?' An odd queſtion, which has given riſe to as odd conjectures [65]. After all, a letter to the queen from Sir Philip Sidney, preſerved in the Sidney papers, and filled with the moſt rational and forcible arguments againſt the connection, had probably more effect on her penetrating mind than any other circumſtance. A. D. 1581.

That anxiety concerning the affairs of Scotland, which, ſince the death of Morton, had diſturbed the boſom of the Engliſh queen, was leſſened in 1582, on her finding that the 'Raid of Ruthven' had reinſtated the Proteſtant lords in their authority *. The ill-ſtarred Mary, too, whoſe ſpirit began to be broken by her long confinement and conſequent ill health, ſeemed now to have abandoned every wiſh to reign, and only to aſpire after that moderate ſhare of liberty againſt which, unhappily for her, the deareſt intereſts of Elizabeth militated. She however wrote, on hearing of the late incident at her ſon's court, to conjure the Engliſh queen not to abandon the forlorn James to the caprice of his diſorderly peers. The letter was written with great ſpirit and good ſenſe, but unluckily abounded with ſuch acrimonious expreſſions concerning the treatment herſelf had met with, that it produced no good effect whatever † on the mind of Elizabeth. 1582. Mary's letter to Elizabeth.

That artful ſovereign (who knew the conſequence of every movement in Scotland, and whoſe penetration had diſcovered the conſequence to which James was riſing by dint of ſituation and ſome ſhare of abilities) had now

NOTES.

[65] In the memoirs of Sir James Melvill, we find an anecdote almoſt too abſurd to be repeated. He was told, he ſays, that Henry VIII. having 'enquired of a diviner the fate of his children, was informed that his ſon ſhould not live long, that Mary ſhould wed a Spaniard, and Elizabeth ſhould out-live her ſiſter, and marry either a Scot or a Frenchman, ſo that ſtrangers would be introduced to the Engliſh throne. Whereupon Henry endeavored to poiſon both the princeſſes; and this not ſucceeding, he made them both be declared baſtards, hoping that ſo their ſucceſſion would be barred. Moreover, that the poiſon had rendered each of them incapable of having children, of which Mary had been ſo well convinced that, in revenge, ſhe had privately diſinterred the bones of her father, and burnt them.'

* Melvill, p. 129, 132. Strype's Ann. vol. iii. p. 79. † Camden, p. 489.

ſent

A. D. 1582. Prudence of James.

ſent a ſplendid commiſſion with two ambaſſadors, Gary and Bowes, to reconcile the monarch to his preſent dependent ſituation; while James, a politician by nature, accepted the compliment, and made a merit with Elizabeth of treating with *civility* thoſe reverend demagogues, who, in the plenitude of their power over the minds of the people, would have ſmiled at his *reſentment*.

A negotiation with Denmark, which, although it procured for the king the order of the garter, had not the wiſhed-for effect of a relaxation in the duty levied on all merchant ſhips which paſſed the Sound, cloſed the tranſactions of 1582.

1583. Pathetic addreſs of Mary.

It was not without great difficulty that Elizabeth, in 1583, could parry an affecting application from her royal captive; who now addreſſed her in the moſt perſuaſive terms, not only on her own behalf, but on that of her ſon; who, ſhe ſtill alleged, was held as a priſoner by the Scottiſh nobles. A new negotiation on behalf of Mary * enſued; and Elizabeth even ventured to conſent to her releaſe and reſtoration to ſovereign authority on certain conditions; conſcious that the Lords of Scotland, influenced by the clergy (who dreaded her abilities and abhorred her religion), would never agree to receive her again as their queen on any terms whatever. But the unfortunate Mary, now too much broken in health and ſpirit even to wiſh for the reſtoration of her crown, at once yielded to her deſtiny; and made over to her ſon James every right and title which ſhe might be ſuppoſed ſtill to retain as to Scottiſh royalty. This declaration ſhe cauſed to be effectually made known to all the powers of Europe.

She reſigns her rights to her ſon James.

Towards the cloſe of 1583, the lords who had kept James in cuſtody having † been, by a new revolution, forced to take refuge with Elizabeth, ſhe ſent her ſecretary Walſingham, partly to ſpeak on their behalf, and ſtill more to examine into the character and counſels of the young northern prince; and from the date of that acute obſerver's return, it has been thought, that her conduct to the ſon of her hapleſs priſoner was marked by an increaſe of attention and reſpect ‡.

Sir John Perrot reſtores quiet to Ireland.

Ireland had its troubles at this period; but the ſpirited deputy, Sir John Perrot (the queen's natural brother), who joined to great valor and ſome

* Camden, p. 491. † Ibid. p. 482. ‡ Melvill, p. 293. Jeb. vol. ii. p. 536.

ferocity,

ferocity, ſtrict regard to juſtice, reduced the iſland to tranquillity. The Lord Baltinglaſs was driven away, the Earl of Deſmond was ſlain, and his forfeited lands moſtly [66] beſtowed on his loyal relation, the Earl of Ormond. A. D. 1583.

The Primate Grindal dying this year, his place was ſupplied by Dr. Whitgift, a divine of a very different turn of mind. His firſt exertions were directed againſt the Puritans, and, to curb them, he perſuaded the queen to form a 'High Commiſſion-Court,' which ſhould take cognizance of hereſies and innovations, adminiſter oaths, ſearch into the conduct of private families, and ſhould even rack, torture, fine, and impriſon, without any check on their authority. The Puritan repreſentatives remonſtrated and petitioned againſt this accurate type of the Inquiſition, but totally in vain.

An arbitrary Eccleſiaſtical Court eſtabliſhed.

The enterprizing ſpirit of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a weſtern knight, prompted him this year to ſell his eſtate, and expend the produce in colonizing the barren ſoil of Newfoundland. The project failed, and the active Sir Humphrey was drowned on his return to England in purſuit of reinforcements.

It was about this time, that one Somervile, a Roman Catholic gentleman of Warwickſhire, maddening with bigotry, threatened the life of Elizabeth. Frantic as he was, his evidence occaſioned the execution of Edward Arderne, his father-in-law, although univerſally thought innocent. Somervile flew himſelf in priſon. The wife, the daughter, and the domeſtic prieſt of Arderne, were alſo condemned, but had favor ſhewn to them.

Such frequent changes having happened in the adminiſtration of Scotland, Elizabeth found it eaſier to gain the ſucceſſive miniſters as they came to power, than to ſupport any particular party. According to this new ſyſtem of policy, in 1584, ſhe brought over to her intereſt,

1584. Elizabeth bribes the favorites of James.

NOTES.

[66] Some were ſold to greedy Engliſh adventurers, who, arriving at the ceded lands in ſhoals, almoſt forced the loyal Iriſh to rebellion, by driving them, as well as the rebels, from their eſtates. The ſtern juſtice of the lord deputy Perrot, ſtopped this iniquitous proceeding; but, at the ſame time, planted againſt himſelf a maſqued battery, which, within a few years, occaſioned his deſtruction.

A. D. 1584. by means of an artful emiſſary*, the Earl of Arran and the Maſter of Gray; two profligate but accompliſhed favorites of James; who had already ſhewn that marked partiality to grace and elegance of perſon which formed ſo diſtinguiſhed a feature in his ſubſequent life. By means of theſe worthleſs courtiers, ſhe penetrated the interior receſſes of the unhappy Mary; who, thinking Gray her friend, revealed to him thoſe plots which her deſpair of any favor from Elizabeth had prompted her to cheriſh. In conſequence of this, Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheſhire, after ſigning an ample confeſſion (which in vain he wiſhed to retract), ſuffered death on a gallows; while the Lord Paget and others ſought their ſafety by croſſing the Channel. An aſſociation was now formed, and ſigned by almoſt the whole of the nobility and gentry of England, to ſupport Elizabeth againſt every plot; to revenge her if any evil ſhould betide her; and to exclude from the throne any one who might abet ſuch enterprize.

Diſcovers the deſigns of Mary.

It is an affecting circumſtance, that the diſtreſſed Mary, who foreſaw that this new bond of union would finally bring about her deſtruction, and whoſe confinement was now more ſevere, intreated permiſſion to join her name† to thoſe of the aſſociators; ſhe propoſed at the ſame time ſuch conditions for her future conduct, and made ſuch profeſſions of amity, joined with ſuch pathetic intreaties for a little more liberty, that the heart which dictated a poſitive refuſal of all ſhe aſked, muſt have been either convinced of her inſincerity, or entirely deſtitute of ſenſibility.

About this time Elizabeth, alarmed at the general cry againſt her ſeverity, openly queſtioned her judges as to their treatment of Roman Catholics and others, charged with treaſonable proceedings, and they anſwered not diſingenuouſly‡. 'Campion,' they ſaid, 'had indeed been ſtretched' (the term uſed for racking), 'but with ſuch moderation, that he could walk immediately afterwards. Another criminal, one Bryan, had been kept without nouriſhment until he gave a ſample of his writing, which had been in vain demanded.' Elizabeth abſolved the judges, but ordered the rack to be uſed no more, and releaſed ſeventy prieſts who had been impriſoned on ſuſpicion. This lenity was the more meritorious, as another plot, which was

Torture aboliſhed.

* Melvill, p. 157, &c. † Camden, p. 499, 501.
‡ Holingſhed, p. 1357.

connected

connected with an invaſion of England by foreign powers, was diſcovered at this period. Creighton, a Jeſuit, purſued on his paſſage to Scotland by pirates, tore the ſchedule of the conſpiracy in pieces and flung them into the ſea. The fragments, however, were purſued, collected together, and preſented by one Wade to the miniſters of Elizabeth. A. D. 1584.

As Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador *, had been deeply engaged in every cabal againſt the Engliſh queen, he was examined before the council; and having returned inſolent anſwers to the queſtions which were propoſed, he was abruptly ordered to depart; and Philip refuſing to ſend any other agent, or to hear any explanation, a war appeared inevitable between England and Spain. War with Spain inevitable.

The ſituation of Elizabeth was now extremely critical; many of her own ſubjects, led by miſtaken motives of religion, and excited by the active and artful miſſionaries of the Flemiſh univerſities, were ready to join in conſpiracies againſt her; unaided by any ally, ſhe was on the point of engaging in a conteſt with the moſt potent, opulent, and ſubtle prince which Europe had ever known [67]. Philip could at this period command the aſſiſtance of the German empire; he poſſeſſed (beſides Spain and the Indies) Portugal and her important colonies: his naval ſtrength was ſuperior to that of all the reſt of Europe; the Netherlands (whoſe gallant defender the Prince of Orange had been juſt then aſſaſſinated) ſeemed to be proſtrate at his feet; and France, his old and dreaded enemy, from the impolitic ſuggeſtions of narrow bigotry, rather favored than oppoſed the ambitious plans of the Spaniſh tyrant. In that country the Guiſes, whoſe

NOTES.

[67] So vaſt was the extent of Philip's empire, ſo great his ſtore of gold (then ſcarce in Europe), and ſuch was his naval and commercial ſtrength, that the king of Sweden, when he heard of Elizabeth's engaging in war againſt him, pronounced that ſhe 'had taken the diadem from her head, and had left it to the arbitration of chance.' [CAMDEN.

Beſides this potent competitor, ſhe had reaſon to dread the inceſſant endeavors of the Engliſh exiles to raiſe enemies againſt her, even among her own domeſtics. Books and writings were, under the inſpection of theſe virulent foes, ſedulouſly diſperſed throughout the kingdom, in which every endeavor was uſed to excite her people to deſtroy her. Her very maids of honor were particularly admoniſhed to treat her as Judith did Holofernes, and promiſed glory in this world and immortality in the next, in recompence for a deed ſo illuſtrious. [IBID.

* Camden, p. 498. Holingſhed, p. 1357.

A. D. 1584. power, grounded on popular fanaticiſm, was unbounded, had formed, or rather renewed, a formal covenant, ſtyled 'The League;' by which Henry of Navarre, the next heir, on failure of the houſe of Valois, was excluded from the throne, if he ſhould continue to profeſs the reformed religion.

1585. Vigor of Elizabeth's meaſures.

It was at this awful criſis that Elizabeth, convinced at length of the king of Spain's inveterate enmity, and determined to ſhew herſelf as vigorous in purſuing, as ſhe had been cautious in adopting meaſures of hoſtility, began inſtantly to attack Philip in his moſt vulnerable ports. The enterprizing ſpirit of Drake was inſtantly called into action *. With twenty ſtout veſſels under Chriſtopher Carliſle, and 2,300 volunteer landſmen (beſides ſailors), he ſailed to the Weſt Indies, reduced St. Jago the capital of the Cape Verd Iſlands on his paſſage, took the town of St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola [68], and Carthagena on the continent of South America; then, after ravaging the coaſt of Florida, returned to England with the loſs of 700 men by diſeaſe, but enriched by vaſt treaſures, and accompanied by the poor remains of a colony which Sir W. Raleigh had endeavored to ſettle in Virginia.

Succor ſent to the Dutch.

To the Netherlands (almoſt ſunk in deſpair by the loſs of their brave defender, and in vain offering their ſovereignty to Henry of France, and to Elizabeth †) the queen of England ſent a gallant army, among whom rode a troop of 500 gentlemen of the firſt conſideration: but the management of this reſpectable force was unhappily entruſted to the moſt worthleſs of favorites, the Earl of Leiceſter; who, conſcious of his total want of courage and abilities, endeavored to ſupply the deficiency by low, pernicious cunning. The ſtates, meaning to oblige Elizabeth, gave him a power almoſt dictatorial, but recalled it on receiving a ſharp reprimand from the queen ‡; who, though ſhe loved Leiceſter, dreaded his unprincipled ambition.

NOTES.

[68] Thoſe who underſtood Latin were much diverted with the vanity of Philip II. who had ordered to be placed beneath his arms in the town-hall at St. Domingo, a horſe ſpringing from a globe, with this motto, 'Non ſufficit orbis,' 'The world is too ſmall for my ambition.' [Camden.

* Holingſhed, p. 1401. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 801, 802.

‡ Camden, p, 511.

Fluſhing

Fluſhing and the Brill, two ſtrong towns, were delivered into the hands of the Engliſh, as ſureties for the reimburſement of the queen's expences at the cloſe of the war. A. D. 1585.

The Huguenots, hard preſſed in France, were not neglected by Elizabeth. She ſupplied the Prince de Condé with a large ſum of money, and lent him ten ſhips of war, with which he effected the relief of Rochelle, the ſtrong hold of the French Proteſtants. And to the Huguenots.

In the mean while, Wootton, a man of the moſt inſinuating turn, entertaining in converſation, and ſkilled in dreſs and ſporting, was ſent by the Engliſh queen to reſide at the court of James of Scotland, to gain his favor and inſpect his conduct. It is even ſaid, that he was to endeavor at ſeizing the perſon of the Scottiſh monarch, with a view to convey him to England *; if ſo, James ſhewed great ſenſe in forgiving the unjuſt machination, and in entering very ſoon afterwards (in ſpite of the remonſtrances of France) into the moſt rational and political treaty ever made between the ſiſter nations. It was an alliance offenſive and defenſive, and may be ſaid to have ſecured to the king of Scots the affection of the Engliſh, and the ſucceſſion to their ſovereignty. The regard of James was aſſuredly much conciliated by an annual penſion of 5000l. equivalent to the Lenox eſtate, and granted at this period.

The extenſive enterprizes of Elizabeth in foreign lands, ſhould ſeem to imply that all was peace at home. It was not ſo. Parry [69], a member of the

NOTES.

[69] We have in Holingſhed what he ſtyles an Epigram on Parry. It is long, but, on account of the ſtrangeneſs of the metre, we will read a few ſtanzas of it.

' William Parry, was archbiſhop Harry, by his name;
From the ale-houſe to the gallows, grew his fame.
It was pittie, one ſo wittie, male-content;
Leaving reaſon, ſhould to treaſon, be ſo bent.
But his gifts were but ſhifts, void of grace;
And his braverie, was but knavery, vile and baſe.
Wales did beare him, France did ſweare him to the pope;
Venice wrought him, London brought him to the rope.
Wherewith ſtrangled, and then mangled, being dead,
Poles ſupporters of his quarters, and his head.

Parry

* Melvill, p. 167, 168.

A. D. 1585. the Commons, being convicted of an intention to aſſaſſinate the queen, ſuffered the death of a traitor; Arundel, ſon to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, ſeeking to fly the realm, was ſent to the Tower, where Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, had juſt ſhot himſelf, either conſcious of guilt [70], or dreading the prejudices of his judges.

Severe laws againſt Popery.

The penal laws which were, in conſequence of theſe events, enacted, did little honor to the candor of the age. Severe, indeed, were theſe ordinances. Jeſuits and Popiſh prieſts became guilty of treaſon if not gone from England in forty days from the paſſing of the act, or if ever returning; and to harbor or relieve them was felony. The public exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion was, by the ſame act, totally ſuppreſſed. Nor, when it appears that fifty prieſts were hanged, and as many baniſhed, within the next ten years, will it be eaſy to perſuade the world that this was not a perſecution on a religious account. Yet religion had only a relative ſhare in it. Elizabeth was no bigot; it was her own ſafety and that of the realm to which ſhe attended.

The riſing ſpirit of the Engliſh Commons muſt be recorded before 1785 has paſſed away. Anthony Kirke, who brought a ſummons from the Star-chamber to one of the members, was impriſoned by order of the Houſe; nor was he ſet free until he had ſubmitted and aſked pardon.

Ireland was, in 1585, diſturbed by two commotions; but the alacrity of Sir John Perrot not only quelled the inſurgents, but by deſtroying ſome thouſands of the Hebridian Scots (the conſtant fomenters of revolt in the northern diſtricts) in ſome degree enſured future quiet.

NOTES.

Parry was a Doctor of laws, and a new convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He owned that he had been excited to this attempt by a book, the work of Cardinal Allen, written to extol the merit of ſlaying excommunicated princes; and by a plenary indulgence and remiſſion of his ſins. [STATE TRIALS.

Parry had always ſpoken violently in the Houſe in favor of the Roman Catholics, and particularly had ſignalized himſelf againſt a bill which proſcribed the Jeſuits. 'It was full,' he ſaid, 'of blood, danger, deſpair, and terror.' [D'EWES.

[70] Mr. Pennant gives another reaſon: 'The b—h,' exclaims the earl, 'ſhall not have my eſtate;' and 'on June 21, 1785, ſhot himſelf with a piſtol loaden with three bullets.' [OF LONDON.

In

In gratitude for Elizabeth's aſſiſtance, the Dutch ſtill continued to load the worthleſs Leiceſter with honor and powers; of theſe, that intriguing earl made ſo bad a uſe, and ſo perplexed the affairs of the Netherlands, that, before the cloſe of 1586, the Engliſh army was become a burthen inſtead of a protection to the country; and at length, murmurs ſounded ſo forcibly in the General's ear, that he found it neceſſary to repair to the court of London, where the favor of the partial Elizabeth always afforded him a ſanctuary. The gallant Sir Philip Sidney had, indeed, ſupported the honor of his country by his valor and humanity; but he fell before Zutphen *; and the bravery of Norreys, and of the Engliſh ſoldiers in general, only made the daſtardly conduct of Leiceſter appear the more glaringly odious. A. D. 1586. Leiceſter hated abroad.

It was about this time that the working of mere female ſpleen in the thoughtleſs Mary, ſharpened the dagger of the Engliſh queen, and pointed it againſt her boſom. Diſguſted with her keeper, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, ſhe attempted to ruin her intereſt by a method which would, at the ſame time, lower the vanity of her rival to the duſt. She wrote to Elizabeth a letter †, acquainting her with what the Lady Shrewſbury had reported concerning her perſon and behavior: 'That ſhe had promiſed marriage, and granted her favors to an anonymous perſon; alſo to Simier the French agent, to the Duke of Anjou, and to Hatton, whom ſhe had diſguſted with her fondneſs. That the counteſs had added ſeveral odious particulars about her perſon, in ſome degree inconſiſtent with the above tales. Her intolerable conceit was next, as Mary averred, the ſubject of Shrewſbury's ſatire; and then her infernal temper, which had provoked her to beat a lady, named Scudamore, ſo violently as to break her finger; and cut another acroſs the hand with a knife.' The ill-judging captive proceeded to recapitulate many other moſt provoking calumnies, and diſpatched the fatal packet to the woman who already hated her, and dreaded her; and who had the power of life and death in her hands. Thoſe who know the workings of the human heart, will unite in thinking, that this letter proved a death-warrant to the impolitic writer. Ill-judged letter from Mary to Elizabeth.

Other circumſtances, however, concurred at this period to haſten the melancholy doom of the Scottiſh queen. Anthony Babington, a young gentle-

* Stowe, p. 737, 739.

† Murden's State Papers, p. 558.

A. D. 1586. gentleman of Derbyſhire, infpired with fanatical zeal to effect a change in the religion and government of his country, had joined with ſeveral men of family and fortune in a plot to aſſaſſinate Elizabeth. They had been excited to this conſpiracy by the exhortations of Dr. W. Gifford, and others of the Rhemiſh ſeminary. An eccentric ſpecies of ambition tempted ſeven of the chief plotters to have their portraits taken in one picture, with a myſterious motto, 'Quorſum alio properantibus*?' This picture was ſhewn to Elizabeth, who knew Barnwell, one of the group, as he had been with her about a buſineſs for the Lord Kildare. Soon after this view of his portrait, ſhe met him, and ſtedfaſtly viewing him, and recognizing the reſemblance, ſaid ſternly to the Captain of her guard, 'Am I not well taken care of, that have not a man in my company who wears a ſword?'

Babington's conſpiracy.

The vigilant ſubtlety of Walſingham detected the whole contrivance; in conſequence, Babington, with thirteen of his aſſociates (ſeven of whom had pleaded guilty), ſuffered as traitors. This led to a greater event. It had appeared clearly that Mary knew and approved of the general conſpiracy; and by the depoſition of her two ſecretaries, Nairne and Curle, made without torture, there was every reaſon to think that ſhe was no ſtranger to the deſign on the life of her rival in empire. An intercepted letter, written in cyphers by the captive princeſs, in which ſhe acknowleged the neceſſity of deſtroying Elizabeth, put the matter out of doubt; and the fears of the Engliſh miniſters, who knew what muſt be their fate if Mary ever ſhould reign, combined with the united ſenſations of reſentment, dread, and jealouſy, in the heart of Elizabeth, conſpired to fix the doom of the captive [71] queen. Forty peers and privy-counſellors were immediately commiſſioned† to try that hapleſs lady, not by any common

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[71] There were not wanting thoſe who adviſed Elizabeth to make away with Mary by poiſon. Leiceſter, who ſcrupled nothing, is even ſaid to have argued, but in vain, with Walſingham on the ſubject. Sir Drue Drury and Sir Amias Paulet, keepers of the unfortunate queen, were, it is ſaid, tampered with; but although, as rigid Puritans, they abhorred and dreaded her, they yet ſpurned at the propoſal of murther.

[SPOTISWOOD, CAMDEN.

Elizabeth herſelf is reported to have called Sir Amias 'a preciſe, dainty fellow,' for his honeſt ſcruples.

* Camden, p. 516. † Melvill, p. 172.

ſtatute

ſtatute againſt treaſon, but by an act which had been paſſed in 1585, probably with a view to the preſent event. A. D. 1585.

Mary, who at firſt ſpurned at the commiſſion, was induced by the inſinuating eloquence of Hatton * (now Lord Chancellor), to plead; although with a lofty proteſtation of that court's incompetence to paſs judgement on the conduct of a ſovereign princeſs. 1586. Trial of Mary.

At her trial ſhe denied not her conſpiring with foreign powers, her aſſuming the title of queen of England, nor her having promiſed to tranſfer her rights in both realms to Philip of Spain, unleſs her ſon James ſhould become a Roman Catholic. It was indeed proved, that, after taxing him with diſobedience, ſhe had threatened that the earldom of Darnley ſhould be all his portion. But ſhe refuſed to acknowlege, that ſhe was concerned in conſpiring againſt the life of Elizabeth. As to the evidence of her ſecretary Curle, ſhe ſaid he was honeſt, but weak; and that Nairne had impoſed on him by imitating her hand and cypher. She wiſhed to have been confronted with theſe two witneſſes: but ſuch was not the common practice of trials for treaſon in the ſixteenth century.

When the Lord Arundel was mentioned, 'Alas!' cried Mary, with genuine tears of affection, 'how much have the noble family of Howard ſuffered for my ſake!' In another part of her trial, ſhe accuſed Walſingham of forging, or cauſing to be forged, a letter to her diſadvantage. Then Walſingham roſe, and, in a ſolemn † and affecting ſpeech, vindicated his own character in this, and in every other inſtance, of his active duty to Elizabeth. Mary appeared ſatisfied with his defence, promiſed to think well of his conduct, and demanded of him equal candor as to her own. Nothing, indeed, that the betrayed queen projected was hid from her acute inveſtigator, Maud; one of his ſpies was admitted to all her correſpondences. One Polly, and Giffard a prieſt, whom the ill-fated lady truſted with her letters written in cypher, carried them all to Philips, a dexterous decypherer; who, after copying the contents, took them to Gregory, an artiſt whoſe buſineſs it was to reſeal each letter, and ſend it on as directed.

* Camden, p. 521. † Ibid. p. 523.

A. D. 1586. Her condemnation.

In fine, ſentence of death was paſſed on the royal priſoner [72]; the Parliament confirmed the award; and the generality of the Scots, as well as the Engliſh, looked forward to the death of Mary, as to the point on which the exiſtence of the reformed religion depended. The queen, long inured to ill-fortune, received her doom with compoſure; but was much hurt by that failure of reſpect which ſhe experienced after her ſentence. Her ſtate-canopy was taken from her, and her keepers approached her without ceremony, and with their heads covered. Concerning this ungenerous treatment and other matters, ſhe wrote an affecting letter to Elizabeth. She had no anſwer. Perhaps the letter was never delivered*.

Before the cloſe of 1586, the aſſizes at Exeter proved fatal to many men of note; particularly to Sir John Chicheſter, Sir Arthur Baſſet, and Sir Bernard Drake; who, with many other gentlemen, fell by the jail-diſtemper, occaſioned by the dirty and infectious clothes of the priſoners. This deadly diſeaſe, after carrying off eleven of the jury, and many of the inferior people, ſpread itſelf into the country, and kept its ground for many months among the lower ranks.

1587. Interceſſions on behalf of Mary.

No ſooner was the event of Mary's trial known to the courts of Europe, than interceſſions in her favor beſet the Engliſh queen; who, at this delicate juncture, either felt, or affected to feel, great anxiety for the ſtate of her affairs. She was often found in a ſtudious poſture repeating ſentences of caution, ſuch as 'Aut fer, aut feri. Ne feriare, feri.'

Anglicè—'Let dread of harm thy anger quicken;
'Strike quickly—or thou wilt be ſtricken.'

Sincerity, however, did not always accompany theſe remonſtrances, and Henry III. of France, who abhorred the Guiſes and all their connections, is ſuppoſed, by the channel of his ambaſſador Bellievre [73], to have encouraged

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[72] De Thou candidly remarks, that ſeveral of the commiſſioners were Roman Catholics. 'Inter quos fuêre nonnulli majorum religioni addicti.'

[73] Yet the French ambaſſador made a long ſpeech in favor of Mary, in which he cited examples drawn from the Grecian and the Roman hiſtory. 'But,' ſays an eminent hiſtorian, 'as Elizabeth was neither an Alexander nor an Auguſtus, his harangue made little impreſſion

* Spotiſwood, p. 354.

couraged Elizabeth to a deed, which he wiſhed to be thought ſolicitous to prevent. James of Scotland, indeed, ventured to ſend a harſh and threatening meſſage to the queen, by Keith a new ambaſſador, on behalf of his mother. At firſt, the daughter of the Eighth Henry foamed with paſſion at the inſult; but recollecting herſelf, ſhe ſent for the envoy Gray (who is ſaid to have whiſpered 'a dead woman bites not'), and gave him ſuch leſſons for his conduct that, on his return to James, by playing on his timidity, his poverty, his ambition, and his indolence, he re-inſtated the queen of England in his good graces, and the oppreſſed mother was thought of no more. To this acquieſcence, a letter drawn up by Walſingham, and ſent to Maitland, ſecretary and chief miniſter to the young and timid monarch, greatly contributed. In this performance, every argument which juſtice or policy could preſent to engage the king of Scots to keep peace with Elizabeth, is digeſted and brought forward; the decided inferiority of his force; the incapacity of France, diſtracted by a civil war, to help him; the extreme danger of accepting aid from the ambitious and deſigning Philip; and the certain failure of his hopes of ſucceeding to the Engliſh crown, if he ſhould take part now with the foes of England. Laſtly, it affirmed, that the ſtrong and earneſt ſolicitations which James had offered on behalf of Mary, had hitherto endeared him to the Engliſh people, and had ſtrengthened his intereſt; but that one ſtep farther would ruin all his expectations, and render him deteſtable to the people he wiſhed to govern. A. D. 1587.

On the 7th of February, 1587, was the unfortunate Mary of Scotland brought to the block, at eight o'clock in the morning. In that awful conjuncture, ſhe diſplayed a fortitude and a decency which would have honored a matron of Rome; and, to the moment of her death, united the majeſty of a queen with the meekneſs of a martyr. Her intrepidity and death.

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impreſſion on her.' Nor had a menace which he uttered a month afterwards, viz. 'That France would reſent the execution of Mary as a general inſult on crowned heads,' a better effect. 'Have you orders to uſe ſuch language?' ſaid the queen. On his anſwering 'yes;' ſhe deſired him to write down what he had ſaid by authority, and ſaid that ſhe would ſend an ambaſſador to his maſter, who ſhould explain the reaſon of her conduct. [CARTE.

A. D. 1587. The Earls of Shrewſbury and Kent carried to the hapleſs lady the warrant for her death. Worn with ſickneſs, confinement, and diſtreſs, ſhe ſeems to have looked on this ſummons rather as a relief, than as an addition to her woes. She was unkindly denied a confeſſor, nor could ſhe have received the ſacrament according to her own faith, had ſhe not had the precaution, long before, to provide herſelf with a hoſte conſecrated by Pope Pius, which ſhe had preſerved through all her troubles. Eagerly did ſhe catch at an expreſſion of Kent, 'That her *death* would be the *life* of Proteſtantiſm;' for this, ſhe thought, made her death appear a martyrdom. 'Her religion,' ſhe ſaid, 'was her real and only crime.' She divided her wardrobe among her ſervants, and even deigned to excuſe herſelf to them for not adding to her preſent the magnificent habit in which ſhe went to her death; 'but I muſt,' ſaid ſhe, 'appear in a dreſs becoming ſuch a ſolemnity.' It was not without many intreaties, that ſhe could get permiſſion for ſix of her ſervants to attend at her death. She was even forced to remind the earls that ſhe was 'couſin to Elizabeth, deſcended from Henry VII. a married queen of France, and an anointed ſovereign of Scotland.' She refuſed the religious aſſiſtance of the dean of Peterborough, and perſiſted in her adoration of the crucifix, from which the Earl of Kent with ill-placed zeal would have diſſuaded her. The unutterable agonies of her ſervants ſhe tenderly repreſſed, telling them that ſhe had anſwered for the firmneſs of their behavior. To her ſon ſhe ſent a tender and conciliatory meſſage by the weeping Melvill. It was her hard lot to have her laſt exerciſes of devotion diſturbed by the fanaticiſm of the buſy dean, who perſiſted in teazing her to ſave her ſoul by changing her religion. The anſwer which ſhe made was ſteady and calm, and the ill-judging bigot was at length ſilenced by the earls, who bade him content himſelf with ſilent oriſons for the queen's converſion. Having prayed [74] for the church, for

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[74] Immediately before her execution, ſhe repeated the following Latin prayer, compoſed by herſelf:

O Domine Deus, ſperavi in te!
O care mi Jeſu, nunc libera me!
In durâ catenâ, in miſera pænâ, deſidero te;
Languendo, gemendo, & genu flectendo,
Adoro, imploro, ut liberes me!

Paraphraſed.

for her ſon, and for the proſperity and long life of Elizabeth *, the intrepid Mary uncovered her neck and ſmiled at her own dilatorineſs. 'She was not,' ſhe chearfully ſaid, 'accuſtomed to undreſs before ſo much company.' A loud burſt of groans and ſobs proclaimed the feelings of thoſe who ſtood around; ſhe comforted and bleſſed them; then ſerenely laid her head on the fatal block, and two ſtrokes, at leaſt, were uſed in ſevering her neck. Her body was not at firſt treated with due reſpect. It was afterwards intered ſplendidly at Peterborough, whence James, in 1612, removed it to Weſtminſter Abbey. Of the long epitaph inſcribed on her tomb, one line ſhall appear, as it is ſtrikingly comprehenſive: A. D. 1587.

'Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos, ſpe poſſidet Anglos.'

Imitated.

'Scotland ſhe claims, eſpouſes France, and hopes for England's crown.'

I. P. A.

Thus periſhed, in the 45th year of her age and the 19th of her captivity, the fair and unfortunate Mary. If perfection was not her lot, yet few in her place, perhaps, would have eſcaped the errors into which ſhe fell; and had ſhe met from Darnley a proper return for that tender affection which gave him herſelf and her crown, ſhe would probably have ſhone as the moſt amiable, as ſhe indiſputably was the moſt lovely, ſovereign of the age ſhe lived in. Her perſon was undoubtedly beautiful, and ſhe had graced it with every accompliſhment which the moſt elegant court in Europe could beſtow. Her hair had been auburn, but was become gray,

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Paraphraſed.

In this laſt ſolemn and tremendous hour,
My Lord, my Savior, I invoke thy power!
In this ſad pangs of anguiſh and of death,
Receive, O Lord, thy ſuppliant's parting breath.
Before thy hallowed croſs ſhe proſtrate lies,
O hear her prayers! commiſerate her ſighs.
Extend the arms of mercy and of love,
And bear her to thy peaceful realms above!

[ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS.

* Jeb. vol. ii. p. 301.

and

A. D. 1587. and she now wore false curls. Her temper, which was naturally gay, supported its vivacity almost to the last; but being at length soured by incessant calamity, it tempted her to write reproachful letters, which increased her hardships and accelerated her catastrophe. The remaining part of her character, is left to be gathered from the history of her most unfortunate passage through life.

Conduct of Elizabeth censured.

And now, whatever may be said to excuse Elizabeth for the imprisonment and death of her hapless competitor on the score of state-necessity, and still more on that of saving her subjects from seeing the fires of Smithfield renewed by the bigotry of a second Mary, no apology can be made for the wretched farce which she acted after that event; for her loud laments; for her appeals to heaven that she meant not the death of her beloved sister; nor, lastly, for her unjust and inhuman treatment of the worthy Davison *, her secretary, who had carried that death-warrant which Elizabeth had signed; and who, although he had strictly obeyed her orders, was cruelly fined and long imprisoned, on the poor pretence of his having forestalled her commands. Nor is it, by any means, a sufficient reason for this behavior to a faithful servant, to say, that it was meant to give James a plausible apology for his continued amity with Elizabeth. That discerning but parsimonious sovereign, who knew the extreme necessities of the Scottish king †, might have increased the pension of James, and saved her blameless dependent ‡.

That attachment to a worthless favorite which disgraced the reign of Elizabeth, was now put to a severe trial. The conduct of Leicester in Holland had been uniformly treacherous, dastardly, and treasonable. Governors appointed by him (York and Stanley in particular), had sold to the Spaniards the forts entrusted to their care; each town in Holland had become a scene of intrigue; and a spirit of discontent, fomented by this ambitious minion, had almost disunited those provinces whose union alone could preserve their existence as a nation. The Dutch told their wrongs aloud, and Lord Buckhurst was sent to examine and report the truth. He returned to the queen with ample evidence of Leicester's bad conduct

* Biog. Brit. Art. Davison. † Strype, vol. iii. p. 377.
‡ Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. p. 370.

and

and worſe intentions. He found the favorite in poſſeſſion of Elizabeth's ear, and both he and Sir John Norreys were diſgraced for telling of Leiceſter's enormities; while that odious minion reviſited Holland in triumph, and again began his career of turbulence and treaſon. However, it was not long before evidence of his having plotted to ſeize and impriſon Barnevelt, and thirteen more of the firſt perſons in the country, was brought forward; and this charge, which was too well grounded even for the partial ear of Elizabeth to reſiſt, obliged her to recall that worthleſs minion from the Netherlands, and to ſend the Lord Willoughby to take the command [75] of a turbulent and ill-diſciplined army. A. D. 1587. Leiceſter recalled.

It was not only on the continent that Leiceſter ſowed diviſions; he was (unknown to his queen) a moſt active protector of the Puritans at home. Inſtigated by him, as is ſuppoſed, four of the moſt rigid members of Parliament preſented to the houſe a New Directory for Prayer, very different from the regular Liturgy. A proceeding ſo unpleaſant to Elizabeth, that ſhe ſent the reformers to the Tower, and kept them there for ſome time in cuſtody. The houſe, though uneaſy at this ſtretch of prerogative, kept a dutiful ſilence, and granted to the queen a liberal ſubſidy and a benevolence. Puritan members impriſoned.

An awful period in the annals of England now approached. Philip II. elate with the dominions of Spain, of Portugal, and both the Indies, had determined to exert his vaſt naval power, and cruſh, with one huge effort, the inſolent iſlanders who dared his vengeance. He had juſt received new provocation; Drake, the ſcourge of Spain, had deſtroyed a whole fleet of tranſports at Cadiz, laden with ſtores and ammunition; had ravaged his weſtern coaſt; inſulted Liſbon; and taken a carack laden with treaſure and papers of high importance. Deſigns of Philip againſt England.

NOTES.

[75] Leiceſter, when obliged to leave the Netherlands, preſented to each of his partiſans a golden medal; on one ſide was his own face, on the other a ſhepherd's dog leaving his ſheep, but looking back after them. The motto was, 'Invitus deſero,' 'I leave them unwillingly:' And over the ſheep was engraved, 'Non gregem ſed ingratos,' 'not the flock but the unfaithful.'

The faction of Leiceſter made conſiderable diſturbance in Holland after his departure, and required ſome pains and care before the Lord Willoughby could reduce them to order.

[CAMDEN.

The

A. D. 1587. Account of the Armada.

The preparations of Spain were worthy of the provocations they were intended to revenge. One hundred and thirty veſſels, moſt of which were larger than had been uſually known in the European ſeas, manned by 8,350 ſeamen *, 19,290 ſoldiers, and 2,080 galley ſlaves, and mounting 2,360 large pieces of ordnance, compoſed a power which, in the eyes of Europe, ſeemed irreſiſtible; and which the Spaniards haughtily chriſtened 'The Invincible Armada.' Nor was this the whole force deſtined to act againſt the devoted Elizabeth; the Prince of Parma had 25,000 veteran troops quartered along the coaſt of Flanders, and ready to embark in tranſports and flat-bottomed veſſels, the moment that the Armada ſhould appear to protect their paſſage towards the Banks of the Thames; and ſome hundreds of deſperate Engliſh renegades preſented the moſt odious, but not the leaſt formidable ſhow of this armament; the treacherous band was led by Stanley, already proſcribed for ſelling a Dutch fortreſs to Spain. Beſides theſe, 12,000 Frenchmen (bred by the bigot Guiſes in an habitual hatred of Proteſtants), encamped on the Norman coaſt, were prepared to embrace the firſt opportunity of croſſing the Channel, and renewing in the weſt of England thoſe horrors which the Huguenots had felt in France.

Proviſions abounded in the Armada; bread and wine for 40,000 men, during a whole year, ſtored the holds; while the decks ſwarmed with volunteers of the higheſt ranks. Superſtition, too, added her fanatic but powerful aid; bulls, denouncing hell-fire to Elizabeth and her abettors, accompanied the ſquadron †; and a conſecrated banner from Rome waved over the heads of theſe new cruſaders.

Activity of the Engliſh.

To oppoſe this tremendous array, the ſtrength of England ſeemed fearfully inadequate. The whole realm could not ſupply 15,000 able ſeamen; and the royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight veſſels, moſt of them ſmall, and totally unable to lye along ſide of the huge galleons of Spain and Portugal. But Elizabeth reigned in the hearts of her people ‡, and the exertions which they made for her and their country were proportioned to their attachment. London alone ſent her 10,000 men and 30 ſhips; not large indeed, but nimble and well-equipped. Other ports followed this noble example, and the nobility and gentry (among whom were

* Strype's Annals, tom. iii. App. No. 51. Speed, p. 858.

† Camden, p. 543.

‡ Stowe, p. 744, 749, 750.

ſeveral

ſeveral Roman Catholics, and even aliens [76]), bought or hired veſſels, and made them ready to ſerve in this glorious cauſe. A. D. 1587.

The queen had hardly an ally but James of Scotland, whoſe intereſt bound him to her, and whoſe fidelity to his engagements was of infinite conſequence to England and the Proteſtant cauſe. Great were the offers by which the ſubtle Spaniard tempted him to join in an enterprize, which he wiſhed to repreſent as chiefly meant to revenge the death of his injured mother *. But the young prince had diſcernment enough to penetrate the ſlight veil with which the Spaniard wiſhed to conceal his real deſigns, and wit enough to remark to an ambaſſador, that 'he found himſelf treated as Polyphemus treated Ulyſſes, and reſerved for Philip's laſt meal.' Fidelity of Scotland.

Some ſmall and negative aid England might be ſaid to have derived from the king of Denmark and the Hanſe-towns. Theſe, though not on good terms with Elizabeth, yet, moved by the common intereſt of religion, found means to delay and even ſtop the ſailing of thoſe Spaniſh ſhips which had put into their harbors, and were laden with ſtores for the Armada.

The martial and romantic ſpirit of Henry VIII. now glowed in his genuine offspring. She aſſembled her beſt officers. Her fleet ſhe entruſted to Lord Howard of Effingham, and to Drake, Cavendiſh, and Frobiſher, the firſt ſeamen of the age. She raiſed three armies; one of 20,000 was cantoned along the coaſt; while one of 34,000 †, under the Lord Hunſdon [77], guarded her perſon, and was to act as occaſion might require. It pains the hiſtorian to add, that ſhe entruſted the third and moſt important corps of 22,000 men, encamped at Tilbury, and deſtined to defend the metropolis, to the worthleſs, the daſtardly Leiceſter, who was ap- 1588. Three armies and their ſtations.

NOTES.

[76] The lords Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, the knights Cecil, Vavaſor, Gerrard, and Blount, were diſtinguiſhed in this patriotic armament. [CAMDEN.

[77] Henry Carey, Lord Hunſdon, was couſin (by Ann Boleyn) to Elizabeth. He was a true ſoldier, and a lover of ſoldiers. Accuſtomed to the bluntneſs of a camp, 'he made no ſcruple,' ſays Grainger, 'of calling things by their own names, and was a great ſeller of bargains to the maids of honor.' When dying, the queen, it is ſaid, would have made him an earl, but he refuſed the honor as out of ſeaſon.

* Strype's Annals, tom. iii. p. 382. † Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 859.

A. D. 1588. pointed general in chief of all her forces. Had the Spaniards landed their veteran troops, this partiality might have been fatal to England.

This army the queen viſited in perſon; and riding through the ranks with a cheerful countenance, ſhe elevated the loyalty of the ſoldiers almoſt to the pitch of phrenzy, by one of the moſt ſpirited orations which any hiſtory can produce. She told them, that ſhe had been warned not to truſt herſelf among armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but that ſhe did not wiſh for life, if ſhe muſt diſtruſt her people. 'Let tyrants fear,' ſaid the eloquent heroine, 'I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under God, I 'have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and 'good-will of my ſubjects. I am therefore come among you, not as for my 'recreation and ſport, but as being reſolved, in the middle and heat of the 'battle, to live or die amongſt you all; to lay down, for my God and my 'people, my honor and my blood, even in the duſt. I know,' added ſhe, 'that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart 'of a King, and of a King of England too; and think foul ſcorn that Parma, 'or Spain, or any prince in Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders 'of my realm. To which, rather than any diſhonor ſhall grow by me, 'I myſelf will take up arms; I myſelf will be your general, judge, and 'the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field,' &c. &c.

Speech of Elizabeth at Tilbury camp.

Negotiations, deluſive on both ſides, had employed the commencement of 1588, until the end of May, when the Armada ſailed under the Duke de Medina Sidonia, who, on the deceaſe of the Marquis di Santa Cruz, had been appointed to command. A ſtorm, which damaged the ſhips and drove them back to Liſbon, had nearly occaſioned the diſarming of the Engliſh fleet; which the œconomical Elizabeth judged no longer neceſſary. The Lord Howard, however, dared to diſobey her orders; happily for England, for on the 19th of July * a Scots privateer ran into Plymouth, and informed him that the Armada was in the Channel. Howard inſtantly diſpatched expreſſes for aſſiſtance; and, eager for action, towed his little fleet (about 50 veſſels), in ſpite of wind and tide, out of the harbor; undiſmayed at the floating caſtles which covered the ſea, and which, as an elegant Italian paints †, 'advanced ſlowly, as if the ocean were

The Armada ſails.

* Stowe, p. 747. Sir W. Monſon, p. 172. † Bentivoglio, lib. iv.

tired

tired of ſupporting, and the winds of impelling, ſo enormous a weight.' A. D. 1588.
He hung upon their rear; and, ſupplying the want of force by valor and activity, he delayed their progreſs until he had received reinforcements from every ſouthern port, fitted out and commanded by the flower of the Engliſh nation.

The fleet of Howard now amounted to one hundred and forty ſhips, or rather barks; with theſe, unequal as they were, he ſkirmiſhed with the Invincible Armada ſix days. During this time the Engliſh veſſels could not lye alongſide of the Spaniards, ſo great was the ſuperiority of their metal; nor could they board them, ſo lofty were their ſides; nevertheleſs, by their perſevering agility they had gained ſuch advantages, that diſmay had taken place of that inſolence which had hitherto animated the invaders.

The Armada now lay confuſedly moored off Calais; it had loſt ſeveral of its largeſt veſſels, and the Prince of Parma had refuſed to leave the ports of Flanders until he could be certain that the Spaniards were maſters at ſea. On the ninth night, eight fire-ſhips, commanded by the Captains Young and Prowſe, daſhing among the thickeſt of the fleet, ſcattered terror and deſtruction around them; and twelve of the beſt ſhips which Medina Sidonia could boaſt of were conſumed or loſt. While England had only to lament one brave officer, named Cocke; who, with his crew, overwhelmed by ſuperior force, periſhed in that glorious fight. The Armada diſcomfited.

The next day it was determined to abandon all ideas of an invaſion, and to conduct, if poſſible, the remains of the fleet back to Spain [78]; and rather

NOTES.

[78] Some ſay that Philip fell on his knees, and thanked God that there returned any part of the Armada. This may be true; Philip was an accurate diſſembler, and beſides, he had been too much uſed to ſacrifice thouſands of men to his ambition and bigotry, to be much hurt at a loſs like this. But hiſtorians of great credit tell a much more credible tale. They make the tranſports of Philip's anger and grief indeſcribable; and add, that he vowed on his knees that he would yet ſubdue England, even if he reduced Spain to a deſart by the effort. Nor did his ſubſequent conduct make this reſolution appear improbable. Paſquin, at Rome, was very ſevere on this occaſion, and made enquiry as to the fate of the Armada, 'Whether it was not caught up into Heaven?' &c. [STRYPE.

Medals

A. D. 1588. rather than venture to repaſs the Channel, expoſed to the now dreaded veſſels of England, it was thought better to encounter the rocks, ſands, and billows of that ſtormy ſea which waſhed the Iſles of Shetland. Every ſpecies of wretchedneſs now hovered around them. Had not the Engliſh wanted ammunition, the Spaniards had all been their priſoners * ; as it was, tempeſts unceaſingly accompanied their courſe †; ſome of the galleons ran on the Scottiſh ſhore, where the few that eſcaped were treated with decent kindneſs; others more unfortunate were daſhed to pieces on the coaſts of Ireland, where thoſe who gained the ſhore were without pity maſſacred. In fine, the Invincible Armada, reduced to leſs than a third of its original number, returned to Spain full of famine and diſeaſe, to become the theme of Philip's affected philoſophy.

Leiceſter dies.

Beſides her deliverance from the Spaniſh invaſion [79], England had another ſtill more important event in 1588; the deceaſe of the Earl of Leiceſ-

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Medals were ſtruck on the Spaniſh Armada's flight. Some had as a motto, 'Venit, vidit, fugit:' 'It came, it ſaw, it fled.'

The vain-glorious Philip publiſhed in almoſt every European tongue, beſides that of England, a pompous account of the fleet and land forces deſtined againſt England.

An aſtronomer of Honingſberg had long before (ſays Camden) propheſied, that 1588 would be a year of wonders; and the German chronologers had long preſaged, that it would be the 'climacterical year of the world.'

[79] It may gratify our national pride to be told, that we owe to the wiſdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, the circulation of the firſt genuine Newſpaper, the 'Engliſh Mercurie,' printed during the time of the Spaniſh Armada; the firſt number, preſerved ſtill in the Britiſh Muſeum, is marked 50; it is dated the 23d of July 1588, and contains the following curious article:

"Yeſterday the Scotch Ambaſſador had a private audience of her Majeſty, and delivered a letter from the King his maſter, containing the moſt cordial aſſurances of adhering to her Majeſty's intereſts, and to thoſe of the Proteſtant religion; and the young King ſaid to her Majeſty's miniſter at his court, that all the favor he expected from the Spaniards was, the courteſey of Polyphemus to Ulyſſes, that he ſhould be devoured the laſt." Theſe publications were, however, then, and long after, publiſhed in the ſhape of ſmall pamphlets, and ſo they were called in a Tract of one Burton's in 1614: "If any one read now a days, it is a Play-book or a Pamphlet of Newes," for ſo the word was originally ſpelled.

It is to the life of Ruddiman, a moſt entertaining production of Mr. Chalmers's pen, that we owe this remark.

* Sir W. Monſon, p. 172, 173. † Speed, p. 862.

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ter [80], the moſt unprincipled of court minions. He was on the point of being conſtituted Lieutenant-General of England. His royal miſtreſs lamented his loſs with many tears; but, with characteriſtic œconomy, diſtrained his goods to reimburſe herſelf for what ſhe had lent him. A. D. 1588.

The ſtate of England was, in 1589, floriſhing beyond precedent. The Spaniards, diſabled and diſpirited, ſhrunk within their harbors; the French king, involved in a civil war, looked to Elizabeth with gratitude for an aid of 30,000l. and 4,000 men; and Scotland was ruled by counſellors who regularly received directions from the Engliſh court, and obeyed them implicitly. The queen, however, although ſhe had been granted a double ſubſidy from her Parliament, would not indulge them in their favorite reform of the Liturgy, nor would ſhe expend the ſupplies they had given in any expeditions againſt Spain, as was the public wiſh; ſhe encouraged, indeed, Drake and Norreys to fit out a fleet and an army in favor of Don 1589. Elizabeth aſſiſts the French king.

NOTES.

[80] Robert Dudley, ſon to the Duke of Northumberland, was married, in 1550, to Amie, the daughter of Sir John Robſart. 'After which,' ſays Edward VI. in his Journal, 'certain gentlemen did ſtrive who ſhould firſt take away a gooſe's head, which was hanged alive on two croſs poſts.' In the reign of Mary (although he and his family had been in arms againſt her), he was made maſter of the ordnance. A circumſtance which made many think he had betrayed the cauſe of Lady Jane Grey. Elizabeth promoted him to the maſterſhip of the horſe, and ſhewed him other eſpecial favor. In 1560, the Lord Robert, thinking it convenient to be ſingle while two young queens in the iſland were marriageable, contrived to put his wife out of the way, by flinging her down ſtairs and breaking her neck. He is ſuppoſed, ſoon after, to have privately married the Lady Douglas Sheffield, after having poiſoned her huſband. Finding her inconvenient to him, Dudley (now Earl of Leiceſter) endeavored to poiſon her, and forced her by terror, and the loſs of her hair and nails, to marry Sir Edward Stafford. He then got another wife, the Lady Eſſex, after getting rid of her huſband by his favorite method. His life is but a liſt of poiſonings and murthers. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton died by his helliſh art; and the Earl of Suſſex, as well as Cardinal Chaſtillon, brother to the Admiral of France, are ſaid to have owed their premature death to Leiceſter. His ſervants were apt to die ſuddenly; Dr. Julio, an Italian, deep in his Lord's myſteries, expired in a ſtrange manner; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that the arch-fiend Leiceſter found his own fate at laſt, by means of venom which he had prepared for others.

[AUBREY, STRYPE, CAMDEN, LEICESTER'S COMMONWEALTH, &c.

Antonio,

A. D. 1589. Unſucceſsful enterprize in favor of Don Antonio.

Antonio, who pretended to the crown of Portugal, and ſhe lent them ſix ſhips and a little money, but left the main coſt to be defrayed by them. They ſailed, deſtroyed a fleet at the Groyne, landed in Portugal, took Caſcaes, and routed the Spaniards; and (had not Drake and Norreys diſagreed *, and their men been attacked by a peſtilential diſorder, owing to their exceſſes on ſhore) might have been maſters of Liſbon. Finding, however, no proſpect of a revolt in favor of Don Antonio, they reimbarked, attacked and plundered Vigo, and returned † to England with the loſs of 6000 men by ſickneſs [81], and with ſixty prizes, moſt of which they were obliged to reſtore to the Hanſe-towns. Famine, too, had been added to their calamities; had they not met the Earl of Cumberland, a gallant and adventurous nobleman, who, with a fleet fitted out (one of Elizabeth's ſhips excepted) at his own coſt, was ſailing for the Azores; he generouſly ſpared ſome proviſions to the diſtreſſed armament of Drake, and proceeded on his voyage, which was not fortunate; for although he diſtreſſed the Spaniards, plundered their iſlands, and ſwept away their richeſt merchants ſhips, yet diſeaſe and want of food thinned his crews; and on his return, the ſame ill-fate purſuing him, his moſt valuable prize was daſhed in pieces on the rocks of Cornwall ‡.

Although, by theſe enterprizes, the adventurers were not enriched, yet the damage done to the enemies of England was immenſe, and the name of Elizabeth affected every Spaniſh ear with terror.

Trial of Arundel.

Philip, Earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon to the late Duke of Norfolk, was now brought to trial for treaſonable practices, conferences with traitors, and for having had a ſolemn maſs performed in favor of the Spaniſh Armada. He was condemned, but the queen ſpared his life.

NOTES.

[81] Don Antonio was ſingularly unfortunate. Both the Engliſh and French nations endeavored to reſtore him without effect. The wags of London uſed to call him 'The Biſhop of Ely,' becauſe the revenues of that ſee were ſuppoſed to be kept in the hands of the queen, in order to pay the coſts of the expedition in his favor. [HARRINGTON.

A circumſtance almoſt ludicrous occurs concerning this enterprize. The ſoldiers, &c. extremely diſappointed and diſguſted at returning without money, and not being nice caſuiſts as to the diſtinction between foreign and domeſtic property, were with difficulty prevented from making themſelves amends *by plundering Bartholomew fair*.

[STOWE, UBI SUPRA.

* Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. † Stowe, p. 757. ‡ Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 143.

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The Engliſh queen had hitherto, by a ſeries of deep machinations, prevented James of Scotland from marrying. She loved not wedlock [82] in general, and was particularly apprehenſive, that a wife of diſcernment might encourage him to a ſeceſſion from that dependence in which ſhe had hitherto kept him. Towards the end of 1589, however, he exerted a ſpirit of which he was not ſuppoſed to be capable, and, in ſpite of her machinations, wedded Anne of Denmark, after having encountered the ſtorms and waves of the Norwegian ocean. A. D. 1589.

The active and vigorous abilities of the Engliſh queen, were now to be exerciſed in a new field. Since the deſtruction of thoſe wild expectations which the inveterate Philip had founded on his Armada, diſcouraged from his projects on England, he had turned his thoughts towards the poſſeſſion of France; which he thought to gain by ſupporting the bigoted party ſtyled The League, who had aſſaſſinated their king, Henry III. Here, too, his arch-foe Elizabeth was ready to oppoſe him. To the aid of Henry of Bourbon, now king of France, the head of the Proteſtant party, ſhe now poured in freſh aids * of money and men, which, added to thoſe with which ſhe had before ſupplied him, were of the utmoſt ſervice to his cauſe, which languiſhed while faintly ſupported by jealous Huguenots, and bigoted ill-affected Papiſts. 1590. France again aſſiſted.

Yet there were perſons in the counſels of Elizabeth who adviſed her to permit France to be left to tear herſelf in pieces; theſe ſtrengthened their

NOTES.

[82] Once Elizabeth perſuaded a harmleſs girl, a couſin of Sir Matthew Arundel, to own that ſhe wiſhed to marry, if ſhe could gain her father's conſent. 'I'faith,' ſaid the queen, 'then I will ſue for you to your father.' She did ſo, and 'Sir Roberte,' the father, readily agreed to what ſhe aſked. The young lady was now informed that her father had given his conſent. 'Then,' ſaid the deluded girl, 'I ſhall be happy.' 'So thou ſhalte,' ſaid her royal miſtreſs, 'but not to be a foole and marrye. I have his conſente given to me, and I vow thou ſhalte never get it into thy poſſeſſion. So go to thy buſyneſſe. I ſee thou art a bold one to owne thy fooliſhneſſe ſo readilye.' Her courtiers ſhe treated ſtill worſe; ſhe impriſoned them, and deprived them of all her favor, when they dared to marry, as witneſs Leiceſter, Eſſex, and Southampton. [NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

See too, in Monmouth's Memoirs, with how much difficulty Sir Robert Carey got his pardon for committing the crime of matrimony.

* Camden, p. 556.

argu-

A. D. 1590. arguments by quoting the words of the laſt Charles of Burgundy, 'That it were well for Europe if France were ruled by twenty princes inſtead of one.' But the Engliſh queen ſpurned the ungenerous intimation; and ſaid, with a vehemence almoſt prophetic, 'that the day which tore France in pieces, would prove the eve of England's ruin.'

Caution of Elizabeth.

The cautious Elizabeth, however, ſeldom lent her aſſiſtance without ſecurity for repayment; and, in the treaties which were ſucceſſively formed between her and the new king of France, ſhe never loſt ſight of reſtitution. She had acted in the ſame prudent ſtyle with the Dutch, nor permitted the cautionary towns to eſcape from her power, while ſhe remained their creditor. It was this policy which enabled her to wage a long and expenſive war with the richeſt ſovereign in Europe, without burthening her people with inſupportable impoſts.

Iriſh diſturbance quelled.

Some diſturbances happened in Ireland during 1590, but they were ſoon quelled by the attention of the Engliſh government; and Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, who had illegally executed a brother chief, brought to make the moſt humble ſubmiſſions before the queen at Greenwich. He promiſed unlimited obedience; and for ſome time maintained his promiſe with good faith, as his character was not totally deſtitute of pretenſions to honor. Others, among the turbulent chiefs of the Iriſh, ſought their own ruin by their illegal conduct. Hugh Roe MacMahon was executed for exacting unlawful impoſts; and Bryan O'Rourke, who had fled to Scotland for the ſame offence, was delivered up by James, and died as a traitor in London [83].

Deceaſe of Walſingham and many others.

Never had any year deprived Elizabeth of ſo many confidential ſervants as did 1590. Of theſe the moſt remarkable were, Sir Francis Walſingham *, and Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick; nor were theſe great men ſurvived long by the popular Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Chancellor of

NOTES.

[83] Bryan O'Rourke was tried in Weſtminſter-Hall for treaſon. He had dragged the queen's picture about at the tail of a horſe, and cut it in pieces; beſides perpetrating other traiterous acts. He was very turbulent, refuſed to be tried by a jury; laughed at his confeſſor, and died like a mad ſavage. [Stowe.

* Camden, p. 560.

England,

England [84]. She probably derived great conſolation for theſe loſſes, A. D. 1590.
from the effects of a cloſe and ſevere inſpection; which, in ſpite of intereſted endeavors to the contrary, ſhe made at this period into the adminiſtration of her 'Cuſtoms.' From an annual produce of 14,000l. ſhe raiſed the income firſt to 42,000l. and then to 50,000l. per annum *.

That flame of enterprize which had been kindled among the Engliſh 1591.
by the firſt ſucceſſes of Drake, now blazed higher and higher. The Lord Thomas Howard with ſeven ſhips ſailed to the Azores, to intercept a fleet laden with the treaſure of India. Philip had ſent a large ſquadron to protect them. The Engliſh were ſurprized; Howard, with five of his veſſels, ran out to ſea and eſcaped; but the Vice-Admiral, Sir Richard Greenville, thinking it beneath the Engliſh character to ſhew the ſtern of his ſhip, Valor of Sir Richard Greenville.
'the Revenge,' to a Spaniard, reſolved ſooner to engage the vaſt force which beſet him, amounting to fifty-three men of war, manned with 10,000

NOTES.

[84] Sir Francis Walſingham was born in Kent, and bred at King's College, Cambridge. In 1573 he was made ſecretary of ſtate. His intelligence in foreign courts was incredible, and he is reported to have paid near eighty agents and ſpies for this purpoſe. He made no uſe of his power to enrich himſelf, but died ſo poor (although a ſtudious and temperate man), that it was found neceſſary to carry his corpſe to the grave with privacy, leſt his creditors ſhould detain it. It was a meaſure of Walſingham, by which the Spaniſh bills on the bank of Genoa were ſtopped for ſome time, and in conſequence the fitting out the vaſt Armada was delayed during the whole year. [CAMDEN, &c.

Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was a gallant and tried ſoldier. He had nearly loſt his life for his joining the intereſt of his ſiſter-in-law, Jane Gray. He defended Havre for Elizabeth, nor would yield until he received an expreſs order ſo to do. He had before ſhewn active bravery at St. Quintin. A wound, received at Havre, forced him at length to ſuffer amputation, which occaſioned his deceaſe.

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton (who died in the next year), was born at Holdenby, in Northamptonſhire, and bred to the ſtudy of the law, and gained his high ſtation not by any legal abilities, but by the favor of Elizabeth, who admired his graceful figure in a dance. His poſt was ſaid to be 'above his *law*, but not above his *parts*.' When called on to determine a dubious cauſe, he recurred always to the advice of Dr. Swale, an eminent civilian, and his moſt intimate friend. Although the queen loved him, yet her œconomy prompted her to exact a crown-debt from him with a ſeverity that affected his health, and placed his life beyond the reach of delicate cordials and fair words; both of which his capricious miſtreſs employed in perſon to ſave him.

* Naunton, p. 15.

A. D. 1591. ſeamen. During fifteen hours, he fought with as many of the enemy as could find room to attack him; at length, covered with wounds, his men almoſt all ſlain or wounded, his powder nearly ſpent, his maſts gone, and his veſſel, pierced by 800 bullets, almoſt ſinking under him, he earneſtly recommended it to the few ſurvivors of his crew to truſt in God, rather than in Spain, and to blow up the ſhip. The gunner and ſome others approved the idea; but a contrary ſentiment prevailing with the majority, the Revenge was ſurrendered on honorable terms * to Don Alphonſo Baſſano, the admiral of Philip. The gallant Engliſhman died of his wounds in three days, with the reſignation [85] of a Chriſtian hero; and his ſhip, the firſt Engliſh man of war the Spaniards had ever taken, ſunk at ſea with two hundred men on board. A dear prize; as the capture of her had coſt the enemy 2000 of their braveſt ſailors, and two of their ſtouteſt ſhips, which were ſunk, beſides two diſabled. In the mean time [86] the Indian fleet, which the dread of the Lord Howard had detained at the Havannah beyond its due ſeaſon, endeavoring to reach Spain, was diſperſed by a ſtorm; many were loſt, and ſeveral fell into the hands of Engliſh adventurers.

Spaniſh fleet diſperſed and taken.

In France, Sir John Norreys and Sir Roger Williams commanded with great honor two ſeparate bodies of auxiliaries [87], ſent by Elizabeth to the help

NOTES.

[85] Theſe were his laſt words: 'Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honor. My ſoul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the laſting fame of having behaved as every valiant ſoldier is in his duty bound to do.' [HAKLUYT.

[86] A voyage undertaken about this period, by the Captains Riman and Lancaſter turned out very ill; yet not worſe than the morals, equity, and gratitude of the adventurers merited. Some were ſhipwrecked, and ſome blaſted by lightning. Thoſe who were relieved plundered their deliverers. Yet, with all their faults and follies, the few who returned to England brought home vaſt riches, and pointed out the way to the Eaſt Indies. [CAMDEN.

[87] It was about this time that Sir Charles Blount (better known as Lord Mountjoy), having, to gratify his military turn, ſtolen over to France without the queen's knowledge, that he might ſerve under one of her generals, met on his return with a reproof, delivered in no gentle terms. 'Serve me ſo again once more, and I will lay you faſt enough for running. You will never leave till you are knocked on the head, as that inconſiderate fellow

* Camden, p. 565.

help of Henry of Bourbon. Theſe ſovereigns, although united in the great ſyſtem of oppoſition to Philip, were by no means always in uniſon. It was the intereſt of France to diſlodge the Spaniards from the interior provinces, whereas the Engliſh queen wiſhed her troops to be employed in driving them from Bretagne. This occaſioned remonſtrances *, warmth, and even menaces on the ſide of England; but the mutual intereſt of both always produced a reconciliation. The young and gallant Earl of Eſſex, now the queen's ſupreme favorite †, ſtole to France, where he wiſhed to have diſtinguiſhed his valor under Henry, but was ſeverely chidden, and recalled by his royal miſtreſs [88]. A. D. 1591.

Amid her military exertions Elizabeth neglected not the works of peace; and, in order to keep her Iriſh ſubjects at home, founded the celebrated College at Dublin, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and endowed with the privileges of an univerſity. Trinity college founded.

The tranſactions of 1592 were not ſo brilliant as thoſe of former years. Elizabeth ſent troops to France, to be employed in Bretagne, where the neighbourhood of the Spaniards made her uneaſy. But Henry, being ſeverely preſſed in Normandy, broke the agreement and turned his united force that way; and the Engliſh queen, although diſpleaſed, did not recal her troops. At ſea, ſhe continued to encourage every enterprize which might tend to diſtreſs the navigation of Spain. Theſe were not all ſucceſsful; Sir Walter Raleigh, who meant to attempt an important ‡ ſervice in the Weſt Indies, had his fleet ſcattered and diſabled by a ſtorm; Sir John Burroughs, and White, a Londoner, who commanded ſeparately ſmall ſquadrons, were more fortunate. They harraſſed the Spaniards and 1592. Elizabeth aids Henry of France.

NOTES.

fellow Sidney was. You ſhall go when I ſend you. In the mean time, ſee that you lodge in the court, where you may follow your books, read and diſcourſe of the wars.'

[SIR ROBERT NAUNTON'S FR. REG.

[88] It was probably on this occaſion that Henry ſaid in anger to the Engliſh ambaſſador, 'Que ſa Majeſté ne laiſſerait jamais ſon couſin d'Eſſex s'eloigner de ſon cotillon.' This being reported to Elizabeth by Sir Antony Shirley, ſhe wrote with her own hand four lines to Henry. Severe enough, we may believe; for the king raiſed his hand, as if he meant to ſtrike the bearer, and drove him out of the chamber. [WALPOLE.

* Camden, p. 138, &c. † Stowe, p. 762. ‡ Camden, p. 566.

A. D. 1592. enriched themſelves. The firſt made prize of a galleon worth * 150,000l. ſterling, and drove another on ſhore. The latter took a ſhip richly laden, although one part of her cargo, a million of indulgences, was to him of little value.

Sir John Perrot impriſoned.

The cloſe of the ſame year, 1592, was fatal to the ſpirited and honeſt, but thoughtleſs, Sir John Perrot [89], who had ruled Ireland with good ſucceſs. He was attainted, and died in the Tower, after many reprieves, of a broken heart [90].

1593.

Parliament harſhly treated.

Cautious as the queen had been with regard to the expences of war, ſhe was now conſiderably in debt, and accordingly found it neceſſary to ſummon a Parliament early in 1593. The Commons, called on this occaſion, copied the humble manners of their predeceſſors in the days of Henry VIII. For although Elizabeth ungraciouſly heſitated to grant their firſt requeſt, 'liberty of ſpeech;' and although ſhe ſent the intrepid Puritan, Paul Wentworth, to the Tower, and three other members to the Fleet, on account of their endeavors to procure ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, yet the Houſe acquieſced in theſe repeated breaches of privilege, and granted her a conſiderable ſubſidy. The Lords wiſhed to make it ſtill

NOTES.

[89] Sir John was the nominal ſon of Sir Thomas Perrot, gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry VIII. But that monarch had his reaſons for thinking him his own, and hearing of his valor in a rencounter at the ſtews in Southwark, he ſent for him and took care of his fortune. He was the exact likeneſs (according to Naunton) of Henry, 'in qualities, geſture, and voice.' His ſtrength and ſtature were extraordinary, and his courage truly heroic. Elizabeth employed him againſt the Iriſh rebels, towards whom he is ſaid to have ſhewn great ferocity. He was, however, equally ſevere on thoſe Engliſh marauders who uſurped the lands of the unoffending Iriſh. His real crime appears to have been an ill-judged effuſion of his father's fiery ſpirit. The queen had ſchooled him ſeverely; but, in 1688, ſhe had ſent him a ſoothing letter. Perrot publicly ridiculed his miſtreſſes's mutability: 'Lo' you now,' ſaid he, 'that ſhe is ready to be-p— herſelf for fear of the Spaniard, I am again one of her White-boys.' Theſe indiſcreet words were his ruin. Dean Swift ſays, he was the firſt perſon who ſwore by G——s W——s.

[GRAINGER, &c.

[90] In 1592, the Thames was ſo dried up on September 6, by a ſtrong weſtern wind, that between the Tower and London Bridge people croſſed it dry-ſhod. The ſummer had been remarkably ſultry.

* Raleigh's Report, &c. Hakluyt, vol. ii. part 2.

larger;

larger; but the lower houſe, tenderer of its purſe than its privilege, refuſed to conſent * to any money-bill which orginated not from itſelf. A conference, at length, compoſed this difference. The Commons then made a faint attack on that Engliſh inquiſition 'The High Commiſſion-Court,' but Elizabeth frowned them into ſilence. The ſeſſion cloſed with a reprimanding ſpeech from the throne, notwithſtanding that, to pleaſe the court, a ſevere act againſt recuſants had been paſſed, which affected the Puritans † as much as it did the Roman Catholics. A. D. 1593.

The change of religion which Henry IV. of France had been obliged by policy to adopt, although it occaſioned the queen of England to chide him ſeverely by letter, and although it made her (as Camden writes) ſeek for claſſical conſolation by tranſlating 'Boëtius de Conſolatione' into Engliſh, yet did not eradicate her friendſhip; on the contrary, ſhe entered into a new treaty of alliance with the forced apoſtate.

Attempts to aſſaſſinate Elizabeth.

It was, indeed, the intereſt of both to unite; for Philip ſtill had great power, and inveterately ſought their ruin. His emiſſaries, too, ſtill excited fanatics to aſſaſſinate thoſe whom he pointed out as enemies; and, juſt at this period, three traitors, York, Williams, and Cullen, ſuborned by Spaniſh agents to murther Elizabeth, were diſcovered and executed. But the moſt dangerous conſpirator againſt the queen was her domeſtic phyſician, Rodrigo Lopez, a Jew. He owned that he had received a bribe, yet denied that he meant evil to Elizabeth, whom, to the great entertainment of the ſpectators, he declared at the gallows he loved as well as Jeſus Chriſt.

Lord Derby poiſoned.

One Heſketh, about the ſame time, would have perſuaded Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, to claim the Engliſh crown as deſcended from Henry VII. threatening his life if he refuſed. The loyal nobleman delivered up the villain to juſtice, but died ‡ ſoon after by poiſon [91]. The traitors took refuge in Flanders, and it was with an ill grace, and in vain, that Elizabeth,

NOTES.

[91] The credulity of the age attributed his death to witchcraft. The diſeaſe was odd, and operated as a perpetual emetic; and a waxen image, with hair like that of the unfortunate earl, found in his chamber, reduced every ſuſpicion to certainty.

[CAMDEN, STOWE.

* D'Ewe's, p. 473, 477, 483. † Ibid. p. 465. ‡ Stowe, p. 767.

who

A. D. 1593. who had protected Perez when he fled from Spain, demanded that they should be delivered up to her resentment.

Affairs in Scotland and Ireland.

The enmity of Philip extended to Scotland, where the Roman Catholic lords formed plots under his auspices against the king and his English alliance. These were narrowly watched by Elizabeth, who instigated James to proceed against them. His poverty, however, and her parsimony (for she would advance no money to assist him) saved them for the present. In Ireland, too, the gold of Spain influenced the unstable Earl of Tyrone to revolt, and assume the important and forbidden appellation of 'O'Neile;' he and his adherents, however, were soon induced to submit, and were forgiven.

London lost, before the close of the year 1593, 10,000 inhabitants, by her usual and periodical scourge, the plague.

1594. While the king of Spain sharpened the poniard and poisoned the bowl to destroy Elizabeth, that heroine sought her revenge only in the fair field of war. Her forces, led by the gallant Norreys, in 1594, encountered and defeated the Spanish forces in Bretagne, and with great gallantry assisted at the taking Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest; before which last place Sir Martin Frobisher, who attacked it by sea, found, with many other Englishmen, an honorable death [92].

English troops successful in Bretagne.

Marine enterprizes of Elizabeth.

At the same time the ocean swarmed with English squadrons in search of Indian gold. Captain James Lancaster was the most successful, as he brought home fifteen ships laden with sugar (then a scarce commodity), besides the treasures of a rich carrack *. Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Hawkins were not so fortunate; yet each added something to the distress of the Spanish commerce, and helped to render the name of Elizabeth a terror to the ears of Philip.

NOTES.

[92] Frobisher was born near Doncaster, in Yorkshire. We know little of his early life. He followed the sea; attempted a North-west passage in vain: and in vain hoped to make his fortune by the glittering sands of Greenland, which have deceived many mariners. He had great success in prizes from the Spaniards; was knighted for his bravery against the Armada; and died through want of skill in his surgeon. He was so strict an observer of discipline that his seamen loved him not. [CAMPBELL.

* Camden, p. 683. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

At

A. D. 1594.

At this period, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins ſailed on their laſt expedition to the Weſt Indies *. They ſet out with no good omens; a menaced invaſion of Cornwall by the Spaniards of Bretagne detained them ſome time at Plymouth; and, after they had quitted their port, the admirals diſagreed as to the operations of the armament. No enterprize in the reign of Elizabeth had raiſed ſuch high expectations, nor any one ended with leſs ſucceſs.

1595. A famine.

The quantity of grain which the armies in Flanders and France now demanded, together with the bad laſt year's harveſt, occaſioned a temporary famine in June 1595. The Londoners roſe and committed ſtrange diſorders. While Elizabeth, with almoſt as little law on her ſide, appointed a provoſt-marſhal, exerciſed martial law, and executed five rioters on Tower-Hill, without waiting for any uſual form.

Diſturbances in Ireland.

Baffled in every other quarter, Philip could only find in Ireland an opportunity of retaliating on his magnanimous adverſary ſome of thoſe devices by which ſhe had curbed his vaſt power. His agents excited the reſtleſs Tyrone to join a Macquire and a MacMahon in revolt; he ſupplied the rebels with good officers from the Netherlands, and before it was long 10,000 men in arms, led by theſe factious chiefs, ſet at defiance the Engliſh government.

To quell this formidable riſing, Sir John Norreys, with his veteran power, was ſuddenly tranſported from Bretagne; and Tyrone was ſoon routed, and reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation; from which, however, he extricated himſelf in a certain degree by a ſeries of deceitful conventions, and by taking an artful advantage of ſome impolitic bickerings between Ruſſel the Deputy, and the General.

Elizabeth, in the mean while, felt a diſappointment in the failure of that tremendous armament which ſhe had ſent to attack the heart of her antagoniſt's richeſt dominion †. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins commanded the fleet, while Sir Thomas Baſkerville led the land forces. The treaſures of Porto Rico, the great object of the expedition, they miſſed; then ſailing to the Continent of Spaniſh America, they deſtroyed many towns, and laid a vaſt tract of country waſte with fire and ſword; but a rich galleon eſcaped all their efforts; and one of their ſmalleſt ſhips

* Stowe, p. 809. Fuller's Worthies, Yorkſhire, p. 233. † Camden, p. 585, &c.

fell

A. D. 1595. Death of Drake and Hawkins.

fell into the hands of the Spaniards. To complete the detail, both the marine commanders, the greateſt ſeamen perhaps of any age or country, fell by diſeaſes, aided by vexation of mind [93], before the returning fleet reached the ſhores of England *.

In

NOTES.

[93] Sir John Hawkins deſcended from a good weſtern family. The treachery of the Mexican Spaniards having nearly ruined him by deſtroying his beſt ſhips at St. John d'Ulloa, he thought himſelf authorized to plunder the ſubjects of Philip in general. He ſucceeded well in many expeditions, gained great honor againſt the Spaniſh Armada, but died in his laſt enterprize, and was buried in the ocean. Sir Francis Drake, who fell with him, had been a partaker of his diſtreſſes in South America, and, like him, purſued his injurers with moſt unrelenting vengeance. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the globe. There have been many diſputes concerning his origin; it appears moſt probable, that he was the ſon of a plain honeſt ſeaman, and was born near Taviſtock, Devon, in 1545; his deſcendents ſtill pay him the compliment of prefixing Francis to whatever Chriſtian name they give to their children. [CAMPBELL, GRAINGER.

One action in the varied and enterprizing life of Drake, and one alone, has been ſpoken of with ſeverity by cotemporary writers; his putting to death Mr. John Doughty, at Port St. Julians, during his ſecond foreign voyage. A man ſecond in command, and ſuſpected (on the authority of the following verſes from an anonymous poem, called Leiceſter's Ghoſt), to have been removed out of the way, that he might not charge Leiceſter as the author of Lord Eſſex's murther.

'I doubted leaſt that Doughty ſhould betray
My counſel, and with other party take;
Wherefore, the ſooner him to rid away,
I ſent him forth to ſea with Captain Drake,
Who knew how t'entertaine him for my ſake:
Before he went, his lot by me was caſt,
His death was plotted and perform'd in haſte.

He hoped well; but I did ſo diſpoſe,
That he at Port St. Gillian loſt his head;
Having no time permitted to diſcloſe
The inward griefs that in his heart were bred:
Now let him go, tranſported to the ſeas,
And tell my ſecrets to the Antipodes.'

But John Doughty was fairly tried and condemned by a jury of twelve men, as a mutineer, and the charge againſt Drake ſeems only to have originated in envy and malice.

An

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. Camden, p. 700.

In the mean while, Cornwall felt the inconvenience of having Spaniſh neighbors in Bretagne. A detachment of that nation landed in Mounts-bay and burnt Penzance *, and two villages, before a ſufficient force could be muſtered to drive them to their ſhips. A. D. 1595.

Towards the end of 1595, Philip, Earl of Arundel, cloſed his melancholy life in the Tower of London [94].

1596. Farther deſigns of Philip.

It was early in 1596, that Elizabeth had intelligence of a new and vaſt armament which Philip had prepared at Cadiz, under Don Martin di Padilla, an able officer, with a determination to ſubdue Ireland, at leaſt, if not England. She waited not to be attacked. A numerous fleet under the Lord Effingham, accompanied by an army led by the Earl of Eſſex (the moſt brave, moſt worthy, and moſt accompliſhed of thoſe whom the queen had ever favored, but too raſh and unexperienced for ſuch a command), ſailed inſtantly for the coaſt of Spain. The fleet was reinforced by the counſel and experienced valor of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had juſt returned from a ſucceſsleſs expedition to the coaſt of Guiana, in South America. On the view of Cadiz, it was determined to attempt the deſtruction of that fleet which it harbored; and Eſſex, having hurled his hat into the ſea with the moſt extravagant joy at this reſolution, led on the attack in ſpite of the orders of Elizabeth; who, dreading his impetuoſity, had directed Raleigh and the Lord Thomas Howard to command

NOTES.

An anecdote told by Prince and by another writer (Ferne), is ſcarcely credible. Sir Bernard Drake (an enterprizing ſeaman as well as himſelf) was ſo enraged at Sir Francis for taking the ſame arms, that he gave the 'Terror of Spain' *a box on the ear*. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave to Sir Francis a new coat of arms; and the tale may ſtand on record as a parallel to the 'Strike! but hear me!' of Themiſtocles. Her kindneſs, however, reached not beyond the grave, for ſhe proſecuted his brother Thomas, who had ſhared all his perils, for a ſmall debt due to the crown. [BIOG. BRIT. &c.

The excellent eſtabliſhment, called the Cheſt of Chatham, owes its foundation to the two great mariners above recorded. [CAMPBELL'S LIVES.

[94] Auſtere faſtings, too much prolonged, are ſaid to have haſtened his fate. His bones were kept in an iron cheſt; a late dutcheſs of the ſame family procured his ſkull, had it enchaſed in gold, and uſed it to exalt her devotion, as the relique of a martyr to religion. [PENNANT'S LONDON.

* Carew's Cornwall, fol. 115. Camden, p. 583.

A. D. 1596. Elizabeth takes Cadiz, and deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet.

the van. He ſucceeded, in ſpite of a gallant reſiſtance and numerous obſtacles; he forced his way into the harbor, took Cadiz by ſtorm *, and deſtroyed or captured every one of the vaſt number of veſſels which its port contained. Philip loſt on this occaſion fifteen large ſhips of war, and twenty-two veſſels laden with commodities for the Eaſt. The damage to the Spaniſh merchants was immenſe. Twenty millions of ducats, it is computed, would hardly pay the detriment which Spain ſuffered by this enterprize †. The profits, however, were not proportionably great, nor were they fairly diſtributed [95]. The violent ſpirit of Eſſex, not contented with this vaſt ſucceſs, incited him to ſtay with a ſmall garriſon and defend Cadiz againſt the power of Spain: 'He could maintain it,' he urged, 'for three months, and then, at worſt, he could exchange it with Philip for Calais,' but none would remain on a hope ſo forlorn. The ſoldiers and ſailors were now too wealthy to ſeek farther dangers. In vain did Eſſex, with more heroiſm than judgment ‡, propoſe new objects of conqueſt. They were, indeed, perſuaded to attack Faro, as it was on their way home; but a panic-terror had induced its inhabitants to abandon the place; and no glory enſuing from its conqueſt, Eſſex returned to England, to ſee, with anguiſh, thoſe whom he hated, raiſed to honors which he thought his own due [96]. What gave him moſt pain was that, in the patent of the

Eſſex diſguſted.

NOTES.

[95] Some had ten, ſome ſixteen, ſome 20,000 ducats for the ranſom of their captives. Sir Walter Raleigh, though ſingularly active and ſeverely wounded, got only (to uſe his own words) 'a lame leg and deformed; for the reſt, he either ſpoke too late, or 'twas otherwiſe reſolved; he wanted not good *words*, but had *poſſeſſion* of nought but poverty and pain.' [RALEIGH'S RELATION OF THE EXPEDITION, &c. &c.

[96] Cecil, ſon to the treaſurer, had been made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Boddely, whom Eſſex had recommended. That nobleman, who was as thoughtleſs as brave, had offended the queen by making ſixty knights at once at the taking of Cadiz. It was a common ſaying:

'A gentleman of Wales, a knight of Cales,
A lord of the north country;
A yeoman of Kent, with a twelvemonths rent,
Would purchaſe them all three.'

Elizabeth

* Vere's Commentaries, p. 39, 42. † Stowe, p. 774. Speed, p. 870.
‡ Sir W. Monſon's Tracts, p. 191.

the new earl of Nottingham (the lord Effingham), he was allowed the merit of having taken Cadiz; a provocation ſo great, that it moved Eſſex to defie the earl, or any of his family, to ſingle combat. A. D. 1596.

The realm of England had been in peril during the abſence of the fleet. The Spaniſh admiral had ſailed with a vaſt navy and 8,000 ſoldiers, on a well-concerted deſign to land a body of veterans in the Weſt of England, ſeize the unguarded harbor of Falmouth, and wait at the mouth of the Channel to intercept the fleet of Lord Effingham on its return from the Cadiz expedition; with its ſhips ſtraggling, and its men ſickly and fatigued.

Another fleet of Philip deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

What the conſequence of this apparently rational plan might have been, it is not eaſy to ſay; but Providence deigned to interpoſe; and no ſooner had the Spaniards gained ſight of Scilly, than, at the inſtant a council of war was ſitting on board the Admiral's ſhip, a ſtorm aroſe with ſuch violence that it prevented the captains from returning to their veſſels. Forty of the fleet were loſt or forced into hoſtile ports, and the reſt utterly diſabled. The ſame tempeſt met the victorious fleet of England on its return; but the ſhips being lighter eſcaped with little damage.

Few other tranſactions diſtinguiſhed the year. Ireland was ſtill diſquieted by the intrigues of Spain; and Holland, which, under the protection of Elizabeth and the government of Prince Maurice was emerging from its diſtreſſes, not chuſing to pay at once its great debt to England, engaged to ſend a ſquadron of twenty-five ſhips when wanted to join her naval expeditions; beſides making a ſmall annual payment. Henry IV. of France ſeverely felt the loſs of thoſe troops which Elizabeth had haſtily ſent to Ireland. The Arch-duke Albert advanced on his frontiers, relieved La Fertè, and took Ardres. The active German ſtopped not there; and

NOTES.

Elizabeth was ſo ſparing of favor, that ſhe let the moſt acute and diſcerning of her miniſters, Walſingham, ſue to her for years before ſhe would indulge him with the humble honor of knighthood.

A country gentleman who, at his own coſt, had levied, armed, and paid a corps of 300 men, and marched them to Tilbury camp in 1688, vauntingly at parting ſaid to his wife, 'Who knows, but you may be a lady when I return.'

A. D. 1596. Calais taken by the Spaniards.

the Duke de Bouillon brought a haſty meſſage to England from Henry of France, that Calais was beſieged by the Spainiards. Elizabeth, really alarmed [97], ſent to the Lord Mayor of London to raiſe 1,000 men in an inſtant. It chanced to be on a Sunday, and he was then at St. Paul's. He ordered the doors of the church to be ſhut, and enliſted the proper perſons upon the ſpot. Before Monday noon the whole party, conſiſting of 8,000 men, were armed, and on their march for Dover; but Calais had fallen before their arrival, quick as the levy had been made, and the men were diſmiſſed; but a conſiderable ſum of money was ſent to France, and arrived in due time effectually to aſſiſt the royaliſts [98].

1597. The ſchemes of Philip again croſſed by the wind.

Undiſmayed by a long ſeries of diſaſtrous events, the perſevering Philip again collected a ſtrong force at Corunna, which he deſtined againſt his proſperous foe, Elizabeth. Her exertions, however, were not neceſſary to diſſipate this armament. A tempeſt aſſailed it on its outſet from port, deſtroyed ſome of the ſhips, and diſabled all the reſt.

A deſign againſt Corunna fails.

The ſame fate, in ſome degree, attended a powerful * ſquadron, which, under Eſſex, aſſiſted by the Lord Thomas Howard, Raleigh, and Sir Francis Vere, meant to have attacked Corunna. Adverſe winds delayed

NOTES.

[97] The French writers ſay, that Elizabeth offered to defend Calais if ſhe might have it as a pledge; but that Henry ſaid, 'No! if he muſt be bitten, it ſhould be by a lion rather than a lioneſs.' This anſwer, they ſay, irritated the queen, and made her indifferent as to its relief. [SULLY.

[98] Sir Roger Williams, one of the braveſt ſoldiers in Europe, departed nearly at this period. He fought firſt under Alva; afterwards he was highly promoted in his own country's ſervice. Henry IV. of France honored him highly. Although educated as a mere ſoldier, he wrote a much commended treatiſe on military improvements. His kinſman and fellow-ſoldier, Sir Thomas Morgan, died the next day. He had a ſtrong proof of his loyalty in his poſſeſſion, viz. the offer of a large penſion from Philip II. of Spain, if he would deſert the cauſe of his country.

It is told of Sir Roger, that, once as he was marching to the aid of Henry of France, he was worried and teazed by a volatile French officer to change his grave march for one in a livelier ſtyle, which would hurry on his men. 'Reſt you eaſy,' replied the blunt old warrior, 'young man, that march (the old 'Grenadier's march') has many times led my countrymen through France; and, by the grace of God, I think it ſhall do the like one time more.' [CAMDEN, &c.

* Stowe, p. 783.

it,

it, until it proviſions were nearly exhauſted. A part of the ſhips, however, put to ſea, and ſailed for the Azores. Raleigh arrived firſt, and, not waiting for his commander, attacked and made himſelf maſter of Fayal. This diſpleaſed Eſſex, whoſe appetite for glory was inſatiable, ſo much, that had not Howard interpoſed, a court-martial would have ſat on Raleigh and his abettors *. Soon after the wealthy fleet from the Indies came in ſight, but the greateſt part eſcaped through the inexperience of Eſſex in maritime manœuvres. The prizes taken reimburſed the coſts of the expedition; but the unhappy difference which it gave riſe to between Eſſex and Raleigh, had fatal conſequences [99]. A. D. 1597.

Eſſex and Raleigh diſagree.

Elizabeth was ſtill diſquieted in Ireland by the turbulent earl of Tyrone, who, more by craft than force, kept alive a kind of rebellion in the wilder parts of the iſland. To Henry of France ſhe ſent ſuccors, both of men and money, more freely than was uſual; for ſhe had obſerved in his councils (ſince the important town of Amiens had been ſurpriſed by the Spaniards under Porto Carrero) ſymptoms of wiſhing for a peace with Spain; a meaſure, indeed, thoroughly neceſſary to the ruined and almoſt deſperate ſtate of his kingdom.

Ireland unquiet.

A diſpute chancing to ariſe between England and the Hanſe-towns, concerning ſhips which had been taken at Liſbon, the king of Poland ſent an ambaſſador to London, who having commenced a Latin oration in very haughty terms, Elizabeth interrupted him with a rapid piece of eloquence in the ſame tongue, 'I expected an ambaſſador, and behold a herald!' Thus ſhe began; ſhe then proceeded to take to pieces the ſpeech he had made, and ridiculed his maſter's inexperience and the meſſenger's pedantry, in pure claſſical Latin: 'Then, lion-like, riſing,' ſaith Speed, 'ſhe 'daunted the malepert orator, no leſs with her ſtately port and majeſtic 'departure, than with the tartneſs of her princely checks;' and turning to the train of her attendants, ſaid, "God's death! my Lords! I have been

Poliſh king's inſolence repreſſed.

NOTES.

[99] One of their firſt quarrels had been the earl's braving Raleigh at a tilt, and appearing there, in defiance of him, with 'two thouſand orange tawney feathers;' an affront not very intelligible at preſent. [WALPOLE.

* Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, book v. chap. 1. ſec. 9.

" forced

A. D. 1597. " forced this day to ſcour up my old Latin, that has long lain ruſting." She afterwards ſettled the diſpute by artfully drawing the city of Dantzick off from the confederacy.

Elizabeth requeſts an extraordinary ſupply.

Towards the cloſe of the year the queen called her Parliament together, and aſked for an extraordinary ſupply, which was readily granted (a proteſt being made againſt the precedent), on her affirming, that the wars in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and on the ſeas, had expended more than the ſubſidies which ſhe had received. The queen was now in her ſixty-fourth year, and great and firm as her political conduct undoubtedly was, ſhe ſhared with the moſt capricious and vain of her ſex in their lighteſt foibles; particularly in the dread of being thought old [100], and in that eagerneſs for admiration which frequently tarries too long in the faireſt forms. So ſtrange, indeed, was the mixture of qualities in the mind of Elizabeth, that profound veneration and ſevere ridicule muſt alternately be beſtowed on her conduct, by thoſe who ſtudy her tranſactions.

NOTES.

[100] 'The majeſty and gravity of a ſceptre borne forty-four yeeres' (ſays Sir J. Harrington), 'could not alter *that* nature of a woman in her.' Biſhop Rudd, of St. David's, preaching before her in Lent 1596, moſt unlike to a courtier, expatiated on the myſterious nature of the grand climacteric; and, although he obſerved that the queen as ſhe ſat in her cloſet looked diſcompoſed, yet the thoughtleſs prelate went on to ſpeak of the thankfulneſs which ſhe owed to God for preſerving her in health and in good fortune ſo long; and cloſed with that pictureſque deſcription of old age in ſcripture, 'When the grynders ſhall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out of windows,' &c. Elizabeth opened her window when the ſermon was ended, and told him plainly, 'that he ſhould have kept his arithmetic to himſelf;' adding, 'but I ſee that the greateſt clerks are not the wiſeſt men.' The poor biſhop was adviſed by his friends to confine himſelf for a few days, but Elizabeth forgave him.

Doctor Matthew Hutton, archbiſhop of York, was not much more happy in his choice of a ſubject. He preached about the ſame time before the queen, on the propriety of her appointing a ſucceſſor; and ventured to ſay, 'that all men pointed their expectations towards Scotland. This,' he ſaid, 'if an error, was ſurely a *learned* error.' Elizabeth diſſembled her reſentment at the time, but afterwards ſent two of her council to reprimand the prelate ſeverely. She took great pains to convince her attendants, that her ſenſes were as ſtrong as ever, and particularly her ſight, which ſhe evinced by reading a remarkably ſmall inſcription on a jewel, which her good courtiers ſolemnly proteſted that they could not decypher. [HARRINGTON.

Although

Although the moſt powerful remonſtrances and moſt tempting * offers made by the queen of England, and the Dutch ſtates, could not, in 1598, prevent Henry of France from agreeing to a peace with Philip; yet Elizabeth, notwithſtanding this defection, conſcious of her great naval ſuperiority over Spain, and nobly refuſing to abandon the United Provinces, with whom Philip would not treat, determined to continue the war; and, by a new and very advantageous † treaty, drew the knot of friendſhip between England and the Netherlands ſtill cloſer. In this, the debt was acknowleged to be 800,000l. ſterling; it was to be diſcharged by inſtalments; the garriſons of the cautionary towns were to be paid by the Dutch, and they were bound to ſupply a conſiderable force both by land and ſea, ſhould Elizabeth's dominions be invaded.

A. D. 1598.

France makes peace with Spain.

The enterprizing Earl of Cumberland now returned from plundering the Canary iſlands, and from the Weſt Indies, where he had taken Porto Rico, and, had not a cruel diſeaſe depopulated his ſquadron, might probably have added the extenſive iſland of that name to the Engliſh dominion. Other adventurers, with inferior force, had their ſhare of ſucceſs; and the rich produce of South America had, at this active period, little chance of reaching the ports of Spain without a ſevere conteſt.

At this juncture, worn out with fatigues of mind, diſeaſes, and diſappointments, Philip of Spain, the ſcourge of freedom, the right hand of bigotry, deceaſed, after having deprived millions of their lives, and himſelf of the richeſt provinces which his anceſtors had bequeathed to his ill-omened ſway. His conteſts with Elizabeth of England had been inceſſant, and were carried on with all the malice of private enmity [101]; and it ſeems

Philip II. dies.

NOTES.

[101] One of the laſt inſtances of Philip's inveteracy, ſeems to have been the encouragement given to Squires, an Engliſh priſoner, to deſtroy Elizabeth and Eſſex by a venomous powder, which, when applied to the pommel of *her* ſaddle and the elbow of *his* chair ‡, ſhould cauſe the queen and her favorite to periſh. Squires failed in the execution; and to puniſh his remiſsneſs, a perſon was diſpatched from Spain to accuſe him of the traiterous attempt. In conſequence, Squires was executed at Tyburn. [WINWOOD's MEM.

No

* Camden, p. 605. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 340.

‡ A noble and witty writer ridicules this conſpirator's adroitneſs in the choice of *mortal parts*.

A. D. 1598. ſeems probable, that the arrow which reached his heart was poiſoned by his perpetual envy at her continued glory and ſucceſs.

To conſole the high-ſpirited Eſſex for the promotion of his rival Lord Effingham to the earldom of Nottingham, he had been made earl-marſhal of England. But although Elizabeth loved him affectionately, ſhe ſometimes contradicted him, to ſhew her ſuperiority. It was in one of theſe diſputes, that the petulant favorite, vexed at the queen for not complying with his recommendation as to the preſidency of Ireland, turned his back abruptly upon her; a groſs inciviiity, which ſhe requited by a ſmart * box on the ear, bidding him at the ſame time 'go and be hanged;' at this, Eſſex clapping his hand to his ſword, and ſwearing aloud 'that he would not have taken ſuch an affront from her father, Henry,' retired from court in extreme diſguſt. The perſuaſions of his friends, however, ſoon made him ſubmit; and Elizabeth again favored him as much as ever. Soon after this, ſhe loſt her old, faithful, œconomical treaſurer [102], Cecil, lord Burleigh. The Lord Buckhurſt ſucceeded him, and not with diſcredit.

Inſolence of Eſſex.

1599. Ireland in confuſion.

The rebellion in Ireland had now riſen to a dangerous height; Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, a hardy and deceitful ſavage, had actually broken the

NOTES.

No perſon has been more diverſly ſpoken of than Philip II. He was certainly a deep and hard-hearted politician; but his devotion to the clergy blinded him to inhumanity, at which his nature would have revolted. In the caſe of the Moriſcos, where he ſuffered not his prieſtly adviſers to interfere, he ſhewed ſome moderation. On his death-bed, he adviſed his ſon and ſucceſſor to truſt the nobles rather than the clergy. 'Theſe *new* men,' ſaid he, 'are inſatiable.' [M. Un. Hist.

[102] William Cecil was born in 1521, and bred at Cambridge. He was maſter of requeſts under Edward VI. Mary would have promoted him would he have changed his faith. Elizabeth employed him in the moſt important buſineſs, and truſted greatly to his counſel. He had no ſhining talents, but great prudence and penetration. As a judge, he would diſcuſs 100 petitions and anſwer them within a day. Forty years he aſſiſted in ſtate affairs. He was ſo obnoxious to the Guiſes, that he was invited to Paris expreſsly to be involved in the maſſacre of 1672. He left a large fortune, got without a blemiſh. James of Scots rejoiced at his death, as he thought him a bitter oppoſer of his intereſt.

[Camden, Biog. Brit. &c.

* Camden, p. 608.

heart

heart of the brave Sir John Norreys [103]. That gallant veteran had treated him with the open confidence of a ſoldier, and finding that Tyrone had taken advantage of that confidence to injure the affairs of England, he ſunk under the dread of loſing his former reputation in arms, through the inſincerity of a barbarian. The Earl of Ormond and Sir Henry Bagnal had ſtill worſe fortune in the field, and Elizabeth was on the point of ſending the Lord Montjoy, when Eſſex intimated his wiſh to command in Ireland; he was inſtantly made deputy, with powers more than uſually extenſive, and an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, was appointed to ſerve under his orders. The friends of Eſſex could not have wiſhed him a greater honor; his enemies *, too (Nottingham, Raleigh, &c.), were pleaſed to have his perſon removed from the partial eye of the queen; nor did they omit to make her obſerve the vaſt popularity of her favorite †, and the loudly-expreſſed wiſhes of the people on his behalf as he paſſed through the ſtreets of London. Theſe ſhafts of malice and envy miſſed not their mark. 'By God's ſon,' ſaid the jealous ſovereign to Sir John Harrington, 'I am no queen! this man is above me ‡!'

A. D. 1599.

Eſſex ſent thither.

Ill fortune and miſmanagement accompanied the hapleſs Eſſex throughout his Iriſh expedition. He promoted his friend Southampton, whom the queen diſliked, and diſputed her orders when ſhe commanded him to be diſmiſſed; he attended to intereſted adviſers, and neglected to march againſt Tyrone (who had again aſſumed the proſcribed title of O'Neal), until the great and expenſive army of England was dwindled by ſickneſs and deſertion to a handful; he then conſented to a diſhonorable truce with Tyrone; and laſtly, (in imitation of his father-in-law Leiceſter, when complained of from the Netherlands), he ſuddenly quitted his command, and preſented himſelf to the ſight of his irritated ſovereign, as ſhe was ſitting, juſt riſen,

Returns unbidden.

NOTES.

[103] Sir John Norreys ſprung from a reſpectable houſe in Oxfordſhire, had fought long and ſucceſsfully in the Netherlands and in France, where the exceſs of his daring ſpirit had more than once drawn upon him reprimands from the queen. But he was now (ſays the quaint Fuller) 'to fight with left-handed foes; and this great maſter of defence was now to ſeek a new guard, viz. who could lie on the coldeſt earth; ſwim through the deepeſt water; or run over what was neither earth nor water.' [Camden, Fuller, Cox.

* Cabala, p. 79. † Sir Robert Naunton, p. 64, 65.

‡ Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 134.

A. D. 1599. with her hair about her cheeks. The unexpected preſence of one whom ſhe certainly loved with tenderneſs, ſo affected Elizabeth that her anger ſubſided; and on his going home he was heard to ſay, not without triumph, 'that though troubles and ſtorms had followed him abroad, he had found a ſweet calm at home *.'

In the afternoon he attended her again, but reflection had prepared him a more harſh reception. The queen charged him with diſobedience, neglect, and diſhonor; and though he replied with a meekneſs unknown before to his character, he was ordered to appear before the council (where, to the amazement and indignation of all men, Francis Bacon, to whom Eſſex had been a kind patron, appeared againſt him), and, after a ſevere examination, which laſted eleven hours, during which he reſted only on his knees, he was committed to the cuſtody of the Lord Privy-ſeal. Eſſex ſickened at the queen's diſpleaſure; and his ſtill affectionate miſtreſs ordered eight phyſicians to attend him, and ſent him broth and a moſt kind meſſage to quicken his recovery [104]. Sir Walter Raleigh (the rival of Eſſex) fell ſick in his turn at theſe marks of favor to his hated competitor; and Elizabeth found it neceſſary to gratify alſo his caprice, by a like application of kindneſs †.

NOTES.

[104] Whenever Eſſex had been ill, his kind ſovereign had been uſed to viſit him, ſit by him, and order 'his broths and things.' [BACON'S PAPERS.

Mr. Walpole, with great propriety, blames Voltaire for doubting of Elizabeth's attachment to Eſſex, on account of their diſparity of years. Her jealouſy broke out in many inſtances. 'The queen has of late,' ſays Rowland White in the Sidney Papers, 'uſed the fair Mrs. Bridges with words and blows of anger:' Again, 'the earl is again fallen in love with his faireſt B———. It cannot chuſe but come to the queen's ears, and then he is undone.'

In the Nugæ Antiquæ, we find Lady Mary Howard ſeverely treated, becauſe 'ſhe hath favors and marks of love from the young earl.'

Again, at a maſque, when Mrs. Fitton, at the head of eight lady-maſquers, wooed the 'queen to dawnce,' her majeſty aſked who ſhe was? 'Affection,' ſhe ſaid. 'Affection!' ſaid the queen, 'affection is falſe.' This was at the height of the fretful fooleries (as Mr. W. calls them) between her and Eſſex. 'Yet her majeſty roſe and dawnced.' She was then ſixty-eight. Sure it was as natural for her to be in love!

[ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.

* Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. 157. † Ibid. p. 139.

Con-

A. D. 1600.

Conferences, to bring about a general peace, were now to be held at Boulogne; but a diſpute about ceremonials [105] ſtopped all proceedings.

Eſſex tried and doomed to confinement.

In the mean time, the friends of Eſſex murmuring at his impriſonment, Elizabeth appointed him to be tried before her council, aſſiſted by the four judges. His miſbehavior in Ireland, his neglect of the queen's orders, and diſreſpectful anſwers to her letters, were there urged againſt him, and each charge was eſtabliſhed; but as he behaved with propriety and ſubmiſſion, he was only ſentenced to be ſuſpended from his office of earl-marſhal and maſter of the ordnance, and to be impriſoned during the pleaſure of his ſovereign. Elizabeth approved of the judgment, and ſent him to his own houſe in cuſtody of Sir Richard Berkley.

The clouds which had obſcured the fortune of this amiable, but heedleſs, nobleman, now ſeemed inclined to diſperſe. His illneſs * had ſoftened the heart of his queen, and by enquiry ſhe had found, that he had ſpent his hours in exerciſes of the warmeſt devotion, an enthuſiaſm which always ſeized his mind when fortune was adverſe: one ill-timed piece of ſeverity occaſioned his deſtruction. The date of a lucrative patent enjoyed by Eſſex had juſt expired, and he petitioned for its renewal. Elizabeth denied it with this ſarcaſm, 'an † ungovernable beaſt ſhould be ſtinted of its provender.' On hearing this, he gave up all hopes of being re-inſtated in the favor of his ſovereign; and, hurried away by the natural impetuoſity of a temper inflamed by the inſinuations of his imprudent friends (and particularly of Cuffe his ſecretary), he ruſhed headlong into ingratitude, treaſon, and ruin. He excited James of Scotland to take violent meaſures to ſecure his ſucceſſion, which he ſaid was in danger from the machinations of a miniſter who had placed Raleigh to command in Jerſey, Carew in Ireland, and

NOTES.

[105] The Engliſh claimed the ſecond place, allowing to France the firſt. They appealed to a book well known concerning 'the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome;' and proved by that, that at every general council that place had been allotted to them. Spain had little to allege on her ſide except the extent of her dominions, and her attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. [CAMDEN.

* Camden, p. 628. † Ibid. ibid.

A. D. 1600. Lord Cobham at the Cinque Ports, merely to facilitate the acceſſion of a Spaniſh princeſs. But James was too cautious to riſque ſo rich a prize by too much hurry. Eſſex now wrote to his friend the Lord Montjoy in Ireland, and almoſt perſuaded him to tranſport his army to England *. He ſilently caballed with the Roman Catholics, and openly with the moſt rigorous of the Puritans; and he ſtrove to form an aſſociation againſt Elizabeth among the magiſtrates and citizens of her metropolis. He had even proceeded to ſettle the plan of an inſurrection; and it was determined that his friends ſhould overpower the guards, and ſeize the palace; and that himſelf ſhould with infinite reſpect and humility, kneeling to the queen, inſiſt on a new parliament, a new miniſtry, and a ſettlement of the ſucceſſion.

Plots an inſurrection.

The party who dreaded the reſtoration of Eſſex, had ſurrounded him with ſpies, againſt whom the frank diſpoſition of that nobleman was by no means guarded. All he had plotted was made known to the queen, and ſhe might poſſibly have forgiven it all; but when ſhe was aſſured, that the man whom ſhe had ſo highly diſtinguiſhed, had ſaid of his kind miſtreſs, 'That the old woman was grown crooked in her mind as well as in her body,' he could not hope for pardon [106].

NOTES.

[106] This ſpeech muſt have ſeverely galled a woman ſo anxious to conceal the growing infirmities natural to her time of life. Whenever any meſſenger came from James of Scotland to her, 'on lifting up the hangings, he was ſure to find her dancing to a little fiddle, affectedly, that he might tell James, by her youthful diſpoſition, how unlikely he was to come to the throne he ſo much thirſted after.' [WELDON.

Elizabeth was as anxious for the credit of beauty as of youth. 'How did ſhe torture Melvill (ſays Mr. Walpole), to make him prefer her perſon to that of his charming queen?' When ſhe was ſixty-ſeven, ſhe ſmiled on the Dutch ambaſſador, who told her, that "for *beauty* and wiſdom, ſhe excelled all the princes of the world." Lady Rich, too, in ſupplicating for her brother Eſſex, ſpeaks of 'her majeſty's *beauty*,' of her brother's ſervice 'to her *beauties*;' and remarks, that 'her excellent *beauties* and perfections ſhould feel more compaſſion.' Her features grew ſtrong as ſhe grew old; ſhe, therefore, would not permit thoſe who painted her to add *ſhade* to her portraits. 'Shade,' ſhe ſaid, 'was an accident, and not naturally exiſtent in the face.' From the ſame principle ſhe always gave audience by day-light, and freqnently in the open air, as the ſhades had then leſs force.

[ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.

* Birch, vol. ii. p. 463.

In

In the mean time, the Lord Montjoy, ſeconded by the Earl of Ormond and Sir George Carew, had chaſtiſed * the rebel Tyrone, and reſtored the kingdom of Ireland to a ſhort-lived peace; a circumſtance, by compariſon, not favorable to Eſſex. A. D. 1600. Ireland quieted.

The fall of the noble, but raſh and miſguided, Eſſex, ſadly opened the year 1601. Driven to deſpair by the apprehenſion of ruin, he madly attempted to arm the populace, who doated on his frank and generous character, againſt the firm throne of Elizabeth. Having garriſoned his houſe in the Strand, and impriſoned therein three privy-counſellors who had been ſent to enquire into his proceedings, he roamed through the city of London at the head of two hundred armed men, crying, 'For the queen! for the queen! my life is in danger.' But the Lord Mayor had ordered the citizens to keep within doors; and Eſſex, having been proclaimed a traitor by the Earl of Cumberland, ſaw his followers ſhrink from his banner, and it was not without the loſs of ſome of his few remaining friends, that he could force a paſſage back to his houſe. There he was aſſailed by the lord-admiral Nottingham with a corps of regular troops, and ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The privy-counſellors had been before releaſed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who is ſuppoſed to have acted as a ſpy on the motions of Eſſex †. 1601. Eſſex driven to deſpair, revolts.

The trial and condemnation of this unhappy nobleman ſoon followed his apprehenſion. It was then that the enthuſiaſm of piety again poſſeſſed the whole frame of Eſſex. He wept over his faults, confeſſed all his machinations, and even related the deſigns of his friends in his favor, an avowal which, in his cooler moments, he would have abhorred. The queen ſigned the warrant for his death with an almoſt convulſive reluctance, but ſoon countermanded it, apparently waiting for ſome humble application which might give her an excuſe for ſhewing mercy. None, however, came, and reſentment at finding her compaſſion (as ſhe believed) ſet at nought, gave her powers to order the execution of the hapleſs Eſſex [107]. He fell with Is tried and executed.

NOTES.

[107] Marechal Biron ridiculed the death of Eſſex as not being that of a ſoldier; and he, when ſoon after he alſo ended his life on a ſcaffold, died like a frantic coward. [SULLY.

* Camden, p. 617, &c. † Ibid. p. 630. State Trials.

dignity;

A. D. 1601.

dignity; pious, but not dejected, he desired to be beheaded privately within the Tower, lest the sight of the people *, who he knew would lament his fate, might turn his thoughts from heaven [108].

Fate of his friends.

Sir Walter Raleigh, the great foe of Essex, blemished his own fame by appearing at the earl's execution; nor did his excuse (the apprehension that Essex at his death might wish to speak to him), by any means vindicate his conduct. The unfortunate earl had run a long career of glory and favor in a few years; he died at thirty-four. Four of his associates were tried and executed. Cuffe, whose counsels had precipitated him; Davers, Blount, and Meyric. Southampton [109] (for whom Essex had felt much more than for himself), was spared, but remained a prisoner in the Tower while the queen lived. It was not generous in Elizabeth to order her late favorite's memory to be defamed by a sermon at St. Paul's Cross; some sparks of indignation remaining in her that were unquenched, even by his blood.

His character.

Yet, in spite of his foes' malice, and of his own faults, scarcely does any character in history interest the reader of English history so much as that of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. His person was beautiful, and his spirit gallant and enterprising; at eighteen, he distinguished himself near Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney fell, whose widow he married; at twenty-

NOTES.

[108] The romantic bravery of Essex had gained him the hearts of the Londoners, who were used to see him returning, frequently triumphant, from perilous exploits. He was as popular in song as Robin Hood; one of the numerous ballads to his honor ends thus:

'Oh, then bespoke the 'prentices all,
Living in London both proper and tall;
(In a kind letter sent straight to the queen),
For 'Essex's sake' they would fight all!' [EVANS'S BALLADS.

It is a singular circumstance that, while Philip of Spain thought Essex a foe so consequential, that he endeavored to have him taken off by poison, the Roman Catholics should wish to gain him for their protector as a man of moderation, it being frequently in his mouth, that 'he wished not to have any one murthered for his religion.' Essex had been the patron of Spencer and of Bacon.

[109.] A favorite cat (a unique among her capricious, ungrateful race) is said to have found her way to Southampton's prison by means of a chimney; and to have partaken and consoled the solitude of her master. Mr. Pennant mentions a picture of the earl at Bulstrode, attended by this faithful animal; a kind of confirmation to the tale.

* Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

two

two he joined as a volunteer in the enterprize to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, and challenged the governor of Corunna to ſingle combat. At the ſiege of Rouen, in France, he defied Villars, the commandant, to fight him on foot or on horſeback; 'I will make you,' ſaid he, 'own that I am better than you, and that my miſtreſs is fairer than yours.' His averſion to Philip of Spain was ſhewn in a ſtyle too haughty for a private man. 'I will teach,' he uſed to write, 'that proud king to know,' &c. &c. Elizabeth approved not of this liberty with a crowned head, although her moſt hated enemy *. A. D. 1601.

The penſioners and ſpies of Eſſex in foreign courts were as numerous as thoſe of Walſingham. He was always an admirer of Elizabeth, and, at a very early period of his life, inſulted Sir Charles Blount for wearing an enamelled cheſs-queen on his arm, which his ſovereign had given him on account of his gallantry at a tilt. 'Now, I perceive,' ſaid he, 'that every fool muſt have a favor.' Sir Charles fought him in Marybone Park, diſarmed and wounded him.

James gains ground in England.

It was ſtill early in 1601, when ambaſſadors arrived from James of Scotland. Whatever was their original commiſſion (which, from circumſtances † ſince diſcovered, appears to have been connected with the enterprize of Eſſex ‡), the apparent errand was that of congratulation to Elizabeth on her late deliverance. The prudent queen, conſcious of her ſucceſſor's increaſing intereſt in her own cabinet, received the meſſage kindly, without examining into its ſincerity; and added 2000l. to the penſion of the needy prince. The ambaſſadors, who were men of talents, are believed, during their ſtay in London, to have negotiated in the court of Elizabeth with equal ſecreſy and ſucceſs, and to have effectually ſmoothed their maſter's path to the Engliſh throne. The important advice, and even the regular correſpondence, of the ſecretary Cecil, they certainly ſecured.

Tranſactions on the Flemiſh coaſt, where Sir Francis Vere, with a few Engliſh ſoldiers [110], defended Oſtend againſt the vaſt force of the Archduke

NOTES.

[110] The great loſs of the Engliſh in one aſſault, and the bravery of their conduct, may be found well detailed in Camden's complete hiſtory; where he tells us of 'Eſquire John Carewe, of Antony, in Cornwall,' who, ſeeing his arm carried off by a cannon ball to

* Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 127. † Spotiſwood, p. 464.
‡ Johnſtone, p. 289. Birch, vol. ii. p. 510.

A. D. 1601. duke Albert, had at this juncture drawn Henry IV. of France to the ſhores of the Britiſh Channel; both Elizabeth and the French monarch earneſtly wiſhed for an interview; but reaſons of ſtate and of œconomy prevented the meaſure, and they contented themſelves with reciprocal meſſages of amity.

Montjoy reduces the Iriſh and Spaniards.

Elizabeth had never been in greater hazard of loſing Ireland, than in 1601. Œconomy, and a miſtaken policy, had tempted her to pay the troops in that country with a debaſed coin. Her generals, while exerting themſelves to prevent a mutiny on this ſcore, were alarmed by two ſeparate Spaniſh invaſions, each ſeconded by the faithleſs Tyrone and his numerous dependents; the bravery and conduct, however, of Montjoy and Carew, and the good fortune of the Engliſh queen, diſſipated this perilous confederacy, and reduced every Spaniard to ſurrender at diſcretion. Yet in one ſpot the Spaniards and their allies had muſtered 7,000 men *; while in Kinſale (which they meant to relieve) Don John D'Aguilar lay with 4,000 veterans, and many rebellious natives. The foreigners were ſent ſafely to Spain; and D'Aguilar gave to his court ſo diſcouraging an account of Tyrone and the Iriſh attached to his intereſt, that no more ſup-

NOTES.

to a very conſiderable diſtance from him, followed it, picked it up, and calmly carried it back into the town.

The extract which follows, taken from Collins's Peerage, Art. Percy, will prove, that to refuſe a challenge grounded on motives of private ſpleen, is conſiſtent with the character of a brave and tried ſoldier; perhaps no one elſe can do it.

In 1602, are dated many papers relating to a moſt regular defiance which paſſed between Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Francis Vere, in conſequence of a miſunderſtanding while they both ſerved in Oſtend. The earl directs his letters 'to the vallorous and worthie captayne Sir Francis,' &c. Yet, in one of them, he 'proteſts that Sir Frauncis Veere was a knave and cowarde; and that in flearinge and gearinge lyke a common buffoon, would wronge men of all conditions, and had neyther the honeſtye nor the courage to ſatisfye any.'

This Sir Francis anſwers thus: 'Becauſe I refuſed to meete you uppon your peremptorye and fooliſhe ſummons, you conclude mee, &c. &c. to be a knave, a cowarde, and a buffoon; whereuppon you have procured mee to ſet aſide all reſpecte to your perſon, and to ſaye that "you are a moſt lyinge and unworthie lord."

The queen interfered and prevented the duel. Many more particulars may be found in Collins's Peerage, Art. Percy.

* Winwood, vol. i. p. 369.

plies

plies of men were ſent from Spain, although the revolters were ſtill aided with amm unition. A. D. 1601.

It was now that Elizabeth ſtood in great need of money. Her parliament granted it to her liberally; and ſhe in return aſſured her commons, that ſhe would annul the moſt odious among the grants of monopoly. She kept her word, and relieved her people from ſome of thoſe patents which impeded the free ſale of ſalt, oil, ſtarch, and other commodities; the commons thanked her and were diſſolved. Monopolies reduced in numbers.

The year 1601 was witneſs to a laudable exertion of a deſpotic tribunal, the Star-chamber, on behalf of the diſtreſſed and injured Lettice, Lord Eſſex's widow [111].

Though far advanced in life, and harraſſed by private misfortune [112], Elizabeth ſtill continued to purſue the Spaniards with unceaſing ſpirit. Her fleets under Leviſon and Monſon fought the Indian ſhips at the Azores, 1602. Elizabeth harraſſes Spain by ſea.

NOTES.

[111] During the agonies with which her huſband's trial affected her, this poor lady had concealed in a private cabinet ſome letters which ſhe thought would hurt the earl's cauſe. A wicked domeſtic having diſcovered them, had the inhumanity to threaten the counteſs (then lying in), that he would ſend the pieces to the ſecretary of ſtate, unleſs ſhe would pay him 3000l. With difficulty the poor lady raiſed 1170l. For this large ſum the treacherous villain only gave her ſome of the letters, and reſerved the reſt to give in evidence againſt his maſter.

The Star-chamber took up this matter, fined the wretch 3000l. and nailed his ears to the pillory; 2000l. of the fine were given to the counteſs. [CAMDEN.

[112] The ingratitude and fall of Eſſex had almoſt driven the high-ſpirited daughter of Henry VIII. to phrenſy. Read a letter in the Nugæ Antiquæ from Sir John Harrington, dated late in 1601. 'She is much diſfavoured and unattired, and theſe troubles waſte her much. She diſregardeth everie coſtlie cover that cometh to her table, and taketh little but manchet and ſuccory pottage. Every new meſſage from the city doth diſturb her, and ſhe frowns on all the ladies.' Again, 'the many evill plots and deſigns hath overcome her highneſs's ſweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and ſtamps much at ill news; and thruſts her ruſty ſword at times into the arras in great rage.' Again, 'The dangers are over and yet ſhe keeps a ſword by her table;' and in the P. S. 'ſo diſordered is all order, that her highneſs has worne but one change of rayment for many daies, and ſwears much at thoſe that cauſe her griefs in ſuch wiſe, to the no ſmall diſcomfiture of thoſe that are about her; more eſpecially our ſweete lady Arundel,' &c. In another letter, 'ſhe often chides for ſmall neglect, in ſuch wiſe as to make theſe fayre maides often cry and bewail in piteous ſort.'

A. D. 1602. but they were guarded by ſo ſtrong a ſquadron, that Leviſon, who had loſt his conſort, could not ſucceed againſt them *. Joining afterwards with Monſon, he forced a paſſage into Cerimbra in Portugal, where lay a rich carack guarded by eleven galleys, all which he deſtroyed or put to flight, and took the great ſhip, which produced a million of ducats. Other naval ſucceſſes againſt Spain marked the year 1602. Nor had a celebrated Genoeſe commander, the Marquis Spinola, better fortune than the native Spaniards; a fleet of armed galleys under his command, venturing into the Britiſh Channel, were attacked by Sir Robert Manſel with a ſmall force, and either deſtroyed or utterly diſperſed.

Montjoy ſubdues the Iriſh rebels.

The war in Ireland was now cloſed in the moſt honorable manner by the prudence and activity of the lord-deputy Montjoy, whom the magnanimous Elizabeth had continued in his government, notwithſtanding his almoſt treaſonable attachment to the hapleſs Eſſex. The arch-rebel Tyrone was, by perpetual defeats, at length reduced to deſpair, while his wretched followers, expoſed both to the miſeries of ſword and famine, periſhed by thouſands; he yielded himſelf to the lord-deputy, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive poſture humbly ſued for pardon †. When this was reported to the queen, ſhe refuſed to ſhew any mercy to ſo notorious a traitor; her miniſters, however, overpowered her reſentment; Tyrone was, on the moſt humiliating terms, admitted to forgiveneſs, and every diſtrict of Ireland acknowleged the ſovereignty of Elizabeth.

Many letters paſſed about this time between Henry of France and the Engliſh queen, concerning the conſpiracy which he had diſcovered, and which was headed by Marechal Biron; the Duke de Bouillon was involved in the guilt; and Elizabeth, by writing in his favor, gave ſome offence to her old friend and ally.

Within the date of 1602, the ſecular prieſts of the Romiſh faith, ſettled in England, complained loudly of the Jeſuits, whoſe turbulent and regicidal principles, they affirmed, had made the whole body of Roman Catholic eccleſiaſtics odious to the Engliſh government, and cauſed a new and

* Monſon's Tracts, p. 181. † Camden, p. 652.

ſevere

ſevere proclamation * to be iſſued againſt them [113]. In conſequence of this proteſt, ſome favor was ſhewn to the ſeculars by Elizabeth, who had juſt diſcovered a new plot againſt her, in which Teſmond, a Jeſuit, and one Thomas Winter, were the conſpirators. A. D. 1602.

And now a dark cloud was about to overcaſt the evening of that day which had ſhone out with ſuch luſtre in the eyes of all Europe †. Melancholy of the moſt black and immoveable kind, in 1603, overpowered the faculties of Elizabeth, and rendered her inſenſible to every foreign and domeſtic ſucceſs. Some have imputed this dreadful viſitation to the anxious jealouſy which ſhe felt at that attention which her penetrating eye had diſcerned among her courtiers [114] towards James of Scotland. There is, however, 1603. Sickneſs of Elizabeth.

NOTES.

[113] Their plaints reached the ear of Pope Clement VIII. and he reſtrained the ſons of Loyola by a bull. The revengeful brotherhood in a year or two wrote againſt the infallibility of the papal chair; and the pontiff in return denied to the founder of the Jeſuits the honor of canonization. [DE THOU, CAMDEN, &c.

The memorial which the ſeculars publiſhed did honor to their own candor, and to the clemency of the Engliſh queen. It proved, that during the firſt eleven years of her reign not one Roman Catholic, layman or prieſt, was moleſted for his religion. That during the next twelve years only twelve prieſts had been executed, and thoſe moſtly for treaſon. But that after 1580, when the Jeſuits entered the iſland, fifty had been put to death and fifty-five baniſhed. [CAMDEN.

There is a myſtery that ſhrouds theſe tranſactions which can never (now) be ſhaken off. The ſeculars ſeem to have acquainted Elizabeth with many inſtances of a dark and ſuſpicious correſpondence between Scotland and Rome. Henry IV. of France was ſtrangely alarmed at it, and directed his ambaſſadors to watch the motions of James's reſidents. Yet, from the indifference of Elizabeth on this ſubject, we muſt ſuppoſe that there was no really dangerous project on foot. Perhaps an examination into the conduct and character of the queen of Scotland, Anne of Denmark, may ſolve the myſtery. She is ſaid to have had agents at Rome unknown to James.

[114] The following curious anecdote is mentioned by a venerable author. Henry IV. of France ſeems to have had ſome myſterious project concerning the Engliſh crown. He had anſwered the Duke of Lenox abruptly, when ſent by James a little before this period to ſound his ſentiments, and he now made his ambaſſador intimate to Cecil what danger he muſt ſuſtain on the acceſſion of the ſon of that queen, to whom he had been ſuch an enemy. But the wary courtier only anſwered him by moral ſentences, and communicated the overture

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 473, 489. † Hume.

A. D. 1603. ever, a much more probable cauſe to be alleged: the tale till lately has been thought a fiction; but papers, which have been within a few years paſt laid before the public, give ſtrong authority to believe it true *.

When the Earl of Eſſex was in the higheſt favor with his royal miſtreſs, he once ventured to tell her of the perpetual anxiety which beſet him when duty demanded his abſence, leſt his rivals, who he knew ſurrounded her, ſhould deprive him of her good opinion; and he ſhould be condemned, unheard, to loſe her ſmiles, which he valued more than his life. The queen, affected with his earneſtneſs, gave him from her finger a ring as a pledge of her eſteem; promiſing at the ſame time that, let his ſituation be ever ſo deſperate, at the ſight of that token ſhe would give him audience, and hear him with candor. Eſſex preſerved this precious gift through all his diſgraces, until after he was ſentenced to death, and then he thought the time was come to prove its value.

Unhappily it was the Counteſs of Nottingham to whom he entruſted the conſcious jewel; a more unfit meſſenger he could not have found; ſince, beſides the animoſity borne to him by the lord-admiral, her huſband, the lady herſelf is believed to have loved Eſſex, and to have bitterly felt the pangs of diſappointment when he married another woman.

In ſhort, ſhe carried not the ring; and Elizabeth, after contriving many delays, diſguſted at the obſtinacy of her favorite (who, ſhe believed, deſpiſed her mercy), ſigned the warrant for his execution.

Nottingham, in 1603, drawing near her end, ſent a preſſing meſſage to the queen, to intreat a ſight of her majeſty before her death. Elizabeth, who had dearly loved her, flew to the ſummons; but when ſhe had heard the ſoul-harrowing confeſſion, ſhe graſped the expiring criminal, ſhook her, and almoſt tore her from her bed; 'God,' ſaid ſhe, 'may forgive you, but *I* never can.' From that moment ſhe rejected all conſolation, and not only refuſed me-

NOTES.

ture to James, proteſting at the ſame time the fidelity of his own attachment; 'Albeit he would not, *as ſome others had done*, needleſsly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time.' The king of Scots anſwered him, that he did right to be cautious; 'for,' ſaid he, honeſtly enough, 'the loſs of your fortune and reputation would render you the leſs valuable to my intereſt.' [SPOTISWOOD.

* Birch's Negotiations, p. 206. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481, 505.

dicines,

dicines, but even neceſſary food. Ten days and nights ſhe lay on a carpet, leaning her head on a cuſhion, and not permitting herſelf to be put into bed *. Nature now appeared almoſt exhauſted; and her great officers, deſpairing of her life, ventured to aſk, 'whom ſhe would have for her ſucceſſor?' To this ſhe faintly anſwered, that 'her throne was a throne of kings;' and, by ſigns, agreed to the appointment of James the ſon of Mary. Soon after ſhe expired [115], having expreſſed with her laſt breath her truſt in the Almighty [116]. A. D. 1603. She dies.

The perſon of the deceaſed queen was ſtout, tall, and rather maſculine; her complexion was fair, and her hair yellow: as to the qualities of her mind they were paradoxical; though in general œconomical, ſhe was ſometimes wildly profuſe: ſhe had a comprehenſive underſtanding, and yet Her character.

NOTES.

[115] On the 24th of March, 1603, aged ſixty-nine years ſix months and ſeven days.

[116] Among the numberleſs tributes of the muſes to the perfections of Elizabeth, the following is not the leaſt elegant:

Juno potens ſceptris et mentis acumine Pallas,
Et roſeo Veneris fulget in ore decor;
Adfuit Elizabeth—Juno perculſa refugit,
Obſtupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus.

Imitated.

Tho' Juno boaſt her power, tho' Pallas ſhine
In wit, tho' Venus vaunt her charms divine;
Behold Eliza comes, ſham'd Juno fled,
For envy Venus bluſh'd, and Pallas hung her head. P.

Nor are the following lines (which a great antiquary ſtyles 'paſſionate and doleful'), without true affection, although they will probably cauſe more ſmiles than tears.

The queene was brought by water to Whitehall,
At every ſtroke the oares their tears let fall;
Swans clung about the barge, fiſh under water
Wept out their eyes of pearle, and ſwome blind after;
I thinke the bargemen might with eaſier thighes,
Have row'd her thither in her people's eyes;
But howſoe'er (thus much my thoughts have ſcan'd),
Sh'ad come by water, had ſhe come by land.

* Strype, vol. iv. No. 276.

could

A. D. 1603. could deſcend to the moſt ill-founded and trivial attachments [117], and the moſt unwomanly fits of paſſion [118]. Her ſpirit was maſculine, and her courage undaunted [119]; her ſpeech at Tilbury camp was expreſſive of true bravery, and inſpired her ſoldiers with patriotiſm and valor; when Eſſex was leading a party of rebels through her capital, ſhe was calm and unconcerned: nor had ſhe ſhewn the ſmalleſt ſymptom of fear, when ſhe had reaſon to believe that Spain, France, and Scotland, were ready to join the mal-contents in her realm with their united force: Yet a worthleſs, unprincipled minion, a Leiceſter, could overawe this great but inconſiſtent mind; and could extort, in 1598, from a miſtreſs who knew him to be a

NOTES.

[117] Beſides the fondneſs which ſhe ſhowed to the laſt for her own wrinkled and faded charms, ſhe doted ſo much on fine habits, that ſhe is ſaid to have left in her wardrobe 3000 various ſuits of clothes. Yet, although to gain the ſuffrage of Melvill in favor of her beauty, ſhe dreſſed every day in the varied attire of ſome new nation, ſhe yet is never painted or engraved unleſs loaded with pearls, and enormous in her ruff. 'It happenede,' ſays Sir John Harrington, 'that Ladie M. Howarde was poſſeſſede of a rich border powdered wyth golde and pearle, and a velvet ſuit belonginge thereto, which moved many to envye; nor did it pleaſe the queen, who thoughte it exceeded hew owne. One day the queen did ſend privately and got the ladies' rich veſture which ſhe put on herſelf, and came forthe the chamber amonge the ladies. The kirtle and border were far too ſhort for her majeſtie's height, and ſhe aſkede every one, "How they likede her new faſhioned ſuit?" At lengthe, ſhe aſked the owner herſelf, "If it was not made too ſhort and ill-becoming?" which the poore ladie did readilye conſent to. "Why then, if it become not *mee* as being too *ſhort*, I am mynded it ſhall never become *thee* as being too *fine*." [NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

[118] When her majeſty was moved ſhe ſwore heartily, and was by no means ſparing of her blows. Indeed, the hiſtory of the chaſtiſements beſtowed by the right hand of Elizabeth, from her firſt exertion upon record (when entering * the Tower to certain death, as ſhe thought), related by Holingſhed, to the laſt bitter ſhake which ſhe beſtowed on the malicious Nottingham, including her menacing Sir James Melvill with her fiſt when he ſurprized her playing on the virginals, the blows laviſhed on her maids of honor, and the memorable box on the ear beſtowed on the gallant Eſſex, might afford great amuſement. The celebrated and ill-judged letter from Mary to Elizabeth (ſee page 71) is very copious on this ſubject.

[119] The eccentric Pope Sixtus V. was heard to wiſh for one evening's converſation with Elizabeth in her younger times: 'The produce' (ſaid the ſanguine pontiff) 'muſt have been an Alexander.' [BURNET'S REFORMATION.

* 'He offered to hir his cloke; which ſhe, putting it backe with hir hand *with a good daſh*, refuſed.'

baffled,

baffled, heartleſs ſoldier, a commiſſion to preſide over the whole military force of England. A D. 1603.

Far from being deficient in accompliſhments, Elizabeth was really learned; danced, ſung, and wrote well; and, as a poet [120], equalled moſt of her contemporaries: what her ſentiments as to religion were, cannot, per-

NOTES.

[120] Even in the trifling rebus, Elizabeth could deign to excell. Few of the ſpecies are ſuperior to that which ſhe made on Mr. Noel:

'The word of denial, and letter of fifty,
'Are that gentleman's name, who will never be thrifty.'

[COLLINS'S PEERAGE.

That ſhe was favored by the muſe in more ſerious compoſitions, the following intereſting verſes will teſtify. They were probably made when ſhe was diſpleaſed with Papiſts or Puritans. The mention of her 'ruſtie ſword' is highly characteriſtic. Poſſibly Mary Stuart and Norfolk were in her thoughts when ſhe penned the *fifth* and *ſixth* ſtanza, and the miſſionaries returning from Douay, or perhaps from Geneva, when the *ſeventh*.

I.

The dread of future foes,
Exyles my preſent joye;
And wit me warns to ſhunne ſuch ſnares
As thretten mine annoye.

II.

For falſhoode now dothe flowe,
And ſubjects faith dothe ebbe,
Which ſhould not be, if reaſon rul'd,
Or wiſdom wove the webbe.

III.

But clouds of joys untry'd,
Do cloak aſpiring minds;
Which turne to rage of late report,
By courſe of changed kindes.

IV.

The toppes of hope ſuppoſe,
The roote of rewe ſhall be;
And fruitleſs of their grafted guyle,
As ſhortlie all ſhall ſee.

V.

The dazzled eyes, with pride
And great ambition blynde,
Shall be unſeal'd by worthy wightes,
Whoſe foreſights falſehood fynde.

VI.

The daughter of debate,
That diſcord aye doth ſowe,
Shall reape no gaine where former rule
Still peace has taughte to flowe.

VII.

No forrain baniſh'd wight
Shall ankor in this port,
Our realme brooks no ſeditious ſects,
Let them elſewhere reſort.

VIII.

My ruſtie ſword through reſte
Shall firſte his edge employe,
To polle the toppes that ſeek ſuch change,
Or gape for ſuch-like joye.

[NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

haps,

A. D. 1603. haps, be properly aſcertained; circumſtances we know muſt have, at any rate, fixed her in the Proteſtant faith.

The Engliſh common people were certainly happier during her reign than they had ever before been, and to this day they retain a grateful regard for her memory. Yet ſhe was no friend to liberty, but watchfully checked thoſe faint dawnings of its ſplendor, which now and then pervaded the gloom of deſpotiſm; nor was the adminiſtration of juſtice in her time calculated to ſecure either life or property. Had ſhe lived in a private ſtation, Elizabeth would perhaps have been hated and ridiculed; on a throne, ſhe was enabled to hide her leſs commendable qualities under the blaze of a vaſt and magnanimous heroiſm. The ſagacity of her counſellors, the bravery of her commanders by ſea and land, were ſtrong proofs of the ſtrength of that diſcernment, which could diſcover and employ ſuch talents in properly adapted ſervices.

In fine, when the weak and ſpiritleſs ſtate of England, at the criſis of the deceaſe of Mary, is conſidered; and when we find the condition of the realm ſo altered in the ſpace of a few years by the witchcraft of Elizabeth's abilities, that, like her father Henry, ſhe was enabled to hold the balance of Europe; when we find the Proteſtant faith firmly ſettled in England, the commerce of the iſland increaſed, her fleets become powerful, and her friendſhip earneſtly ſought for by all nations, we cannot, without the greateſt injuſtice, withhold the tribute of praiſe and gratitude from this glorious, although not faultleſs, ſovereign.

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.—PART II.

SECTION I.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY, A. D. 1542, TO HER FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND, A. D. 1568.

A. D. 1542.

State of Scotland at Mary's acceſſion.

THE confuſion in which the government of Scotland was involved by the rout of Solway, the death of the king, and the age and ſex of the infant Mary, the undoubted ſucceſſor to the throne, was unutterable; ſunk in the darkeſt gloom, the unfortunate James V. had neglected every precaution, and had left the education of his daughter and the adminiſtration of his realm utterly to the deciſion of chance.

Competitors for the Regency.

The regency found two immediate claimants. The one, Cardinal Beatoun, an inſolent unfeeling prieſt, a perſecutor of the reformed more through policy than bigotry, ſubtle in counſel and violent in action; his claim was grounded on a teſtament which he produced, as written by the deceaſed prince *; the forgery was, however, ſo very apparent, that

* Sadleir's Letters, p. 161.

A. D. 1542. it ruined his cauſe, and united every voice in favor of the Earl of Arran, a prince of the blood, inclined to the reformed faith, gentle in his nature, but rendered by a weak conſtitution, and a fickleneſs of diſpoſition, ſtill more unfit for the government of a turbulent people than his auſtere and unpopular competitor. In the interim, the Engliſh monarch, into whoſe hands the fatal rout of Solway had thrown all the martial nobility of Scotland, inſtantly conceived the plan of uniting the iſland-realms by marrying his ſon Edward to the infant Mary. With Henry VIII. there was little interval between the deſign and execution. He treated the captive lords with hoſpitality, and at a convivial party to which he invited them, he at the ſame time propoſed * and obtained their joint conſent [1] to his favorite project. They were all releaſed and permitted to repair homewards, on this condition alone, 'that they ſhould return as priſoners, if any obſtacle ſhould prevent the accompliſhment of the match.'

Match projected by Henry VIII.

1543. Agreed to by the Scots.

When the lords, accompanied by Sir Ralph Sadleir † the ambaſſador of Henry, and by the Earls of Angus and Douglas, chiefs long reſident in England, reached Edinburgh, every thing ſeemed to favor their commiſſion. A ſtrong party, including the Proteſtants, was eager to unite with England; and the cardinal, who alone was capable of exciting a faction to counteract the meaſure, by being thrown into priſon was rendered inactive. Terms of alliance were propoſed by Henry; and, after having been modified by the Scottiſh parliament ſo as to ſecure the total independence of the kingdom, were accepted by the regent and the legiſlature ‡.

Cardinal Beatoun reverſes the plans of union.

But the artful cardinal, having regained his liberty, ſoon changed the face of affairs. His intrigues excited numbers to oppoſe the treaty; ſome from motives of religion, and others, of national animoſity and rivalry. He confined the queen-dowager and the infant-queen, inſulted the ambaſſador

NOTES.

[1] It ſeems to have been now, that the court of England firſt diſcovered the true ſyſtem of treating with a fierce but not opulent nation; or, to uſe the words of an elegant hiſtorian, 'The ſituation of the country, and the bravery of the people, made the conqueſt of Scotland impoſſible; but the national poverty, and the violence of faction, rendered it an eaſy matter to divide and to govern it.' The original warrants for remitting large ſums into Scotland, during more than one minority, are ſtill extant. [BURNET, ROBERTSON.

* Holingſhed, p. 959. † Herbert, p. 234.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 781, 796.

of

of Henry, and treated with contempt the new agreement with the Engliſh nation: the timid, unſteady regent he ſo completely overawed, that he perſuaded him not only to renounce the Engliſh alliance *, but publicly to abjure the Proteſtant doctrines, and to join in a moſt active perſecution of his late brethren in the goſpel. A. D. 1543. Arran abjures Proteſtantiſm.

The verſatility of Arran proved fatal to the intereſt of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, an accompliſhed young nobleman, nearly [2] related to the crown of Scotland. The cardinal had invited him from France that he might oppoſe him to the intereſt of the regent; but, as he had now found in Arran a ſupplineſs equal to his wiſhes, he neglected the newcomer as unneceſſary to his deſigns: Lenox, who felt the inſult, employed the money which he had received from France, for other purpoſes, in raiſing troops; and, by the celerity of his motions, had nearly ſurprized the cardinal and the royal family; but ſuffering himſelf to be deluded by the deceitful promiſes of Beatoun, he found their accompliſhment delayed until his money was gone, and his ſoldiers for want of pay had quitted him. He had now no courſe left but to ſeek refuge with the Engliſh forces which Henry, making policy give way to reſentment, had ſent † to revenge the capricious conduct of the Scottiſh adminiſtration. Lenox was received with open arms, and the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, given to him in marriage; although the ſteady patriotiſm of his dependents had prevented him from delivering up Dunbarton to England, as he had engaged to do. Lenox neglected, flies to England. 1544. The Engliſh invade Scotland.

The ravages which the Engliſh army made in a ſurprized and defenceleſs country, have already been told in a former diviſion; and although it is frequently neceſſary, in writing the hiſtory of the ſiſter kingdoms, to repeat Their ravages.

NOTES.

[2] Arran and Lenox claimed by deſcent from the princeſs Mary, daughter of James II. and wife to James, Lord Hamilton; to whom they both were grandſons: but, as the legitimacy of Arran depended on a divorce which his father had obtained from a pope againſt Elizabeth Home, a former wife, the ſubtle cardinal eaſily perſuaded him how much it was his intereſt to ſupport the Church of Rome, and all her decrees. [CRAUFURD'S PEERAGE.

* Sadleir's Letters, p. 339, 356. † Holingſhed, p. 961.

A. D. 1544. many circumſtances, theſe are the events one would leaſt chooſe to dwell upon.

Suffice it then to ſay, that the troops of Henry, having reduced to aſhes Edinburgh and Leith, with villages, caſtles, &c. without number, retired to the Engliſh borders after a moſt inhuman campaign*, which had added little to his dominions, but had nearly united the Scots in a general deteſtation of any connection with a prince who could reſort to ſo 'coarſe a method of wooing.'

The Scots irritated but not ſubdued.

1545. The war was carried on during the next two years in the ſame deſtructive manner by the impolitic Henry, and with the ſame fatal indolence on the part of Scotland: once, indeed, an Engliſh detachment under Sir Ralph Evers was defeated with the loſs of 1000 men † by Norman Leſlie, a gallant partizan, ſon to the Lord Rothes; and a ſtrong body of French troops under Des Lorges landing in Scotland at that period, ſeemed to promiſe conſiderable aid to the cardinal's party; but that inſolent and brutal prieſt found means to affront the commander (whom he diſliked) ſo groſsly, that he never would afterwards agree to an interview, even for the moſt neceſſary conſultations concerning the war. This diſpute, and the extreme inexperience of the regent and of the cardinal in military operations, expoſed the country to new and ruinous inroads; but no great event occurred before the month of June 1546, when the magnanimity of Francis I. of France, procured a peace for his faithful allies at his own coſt ‡; for no other motive could have probably induced him to lay down his arms while Boulogne was in the power of England. But this is a ſolitary inſtance of good faith in a nation for whoſe cauſe Scotland had exerted unremitted valor, and ſuffered innumerable hardſhips, during a ſeries of three hundred years.

The French aid Scotland.

1546.

Peace with England.

Ineffectual. Even this peace never came to effect; for the death of Francis falling out preciſely at that period, his ſucceſſor refuſed to ratify the agreement.

Before the final ſettling of this important treaty, the imperious and inhuman Beatoun met the fate he had long merited §; and the caſtle of St. Andrew's, in which the cardinal had fallen, was defended for a conſiderable

Death of Cardinal Beatoun.

* Hall, p. 258. Holingſhed, p. 963. † Buchanan, lib. xv.
‡ Herbert, p. 255. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 95.
§ Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. p. 333. Buchanan, lib. xv.

time,

time, by thoſe who had ſlain him, againſt the whole military force [3] of Scotland. Theſe valiant aſſaſſins were ſupplied from time to time, by ſea, with money, arms, and proviſions, from the Engliſh king; and it is probable that the Scottiſh regent was cautious of driving them to deſpair, as his ſon, whom the cardinal had kept near him as a kind of hoſtage, was now in their power. A. D. 1546.

But at the criſis when they expected to be relieved by Henry, at the head of a powerful army, that active and impetuous monarch breathed his laſt; and the neceſſary attention to the ceremonials of his ſon's acceſſion, prevented the immediate march of the Engliſh army, and gave time for Henry II. of France to ſend Leon Strozzi, a veteran officer, with troops and artillery, who ſoon reduced the conſpirators to extremities. They inſiſted, however, on the moſt honorable terms; their lives and goods to be ſafe, and themſelves to be treated as priſoners of war in France. The caſtle was the only ſufferer; it was razed to the ground as having been the ſcene of a cardinal's murther. 1547. St. Andrew's caſtle taken.

An invaſion of the north by the Protector of England *, came too late to ſave the tenants of the caſtle. We have already ſeen in the Engliſh hiſtory the event of that invaſion, and how the army of the Duke of Somerſet, after having eſcaped from extreme danger merely by the inexperience of the Scottiſh regent, gained the battle of Pinkie (or Muſſelburgh), and in conſequence had the whole country at diſcretion. Engliſh invaſion and its conſequences.

How the Protector loſt theſe advantages by the turbulent ſtate of affairs at home, which obliged him to return ſouthwards without taking the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure a port where ſuccors might be landed for the troops which were left in garriſon at Haddington, &c. has been already related. It is only neceſſary to ſay, that the wayward ſtar which directed the fortune of England at this period, turned even her brighteſt ſucceſſes

NOTES.

[3] The whole train which the regent could bring againſt the caſtle, ſeems to have conſiſted of only two battering cannon, named 'Crook-mow and Dumb Meg.'. [LINDSAY.

The battle at Floddon had deprived Scotland of her fineſt pieces of ordnance, and the confuſion of the ſucceeding minority had given no leiſure for reparation.

* Holingſhed, p. 980. Hayward, p. 279.

into

A. D. 1547. into misfortunes; and that it was the terror conſequent to the loſs of the battle of Pinkie, which hurried on the Scots to the fatal plan of delivering their infant queen into the hands of the French. This meaſure was ſteadily oppoſed by a moderate party, who foreſaw in the meaſure, dependence on France, ruin to the reformed, and perpetual war with England. But the intereſt of the queen-dowager (who was ſiſter to the Duke of Guiſe), of the regent, who was promiſed a penſion and the French dukedom of Chatelherault, and of the clergy, who dreaded the religion as much as the politics of England, overpowered the voice of reaſon, and young Mary embarked for France, the deſtined ſpouſe of the Dauphin. She was received with tranſport at that elegant court where Catherine di Medicis preſided; and an education allotted to her, which, if it did not guard the purity of her infant mind, moſt certainly added every poſſible grace and accompliſhment to her perſon.

Mary ſent to France.

1548.

Meanwhile, Henry II. of France, grateful for the boon he had received, ſent Deſſè, a favorite general, with a ſtrong auxiliary corps, to aſſiſt in driving the Engliſh from their acquiſitions in Scotland. The new commander was not fortunate; he beſieged Haddington*, a fort which incommoded the capital, in vain. He made, indeed, a plundering inroad into England with ſome ſucceſs [4]; but on his return to Edinburgh, he ſo far countenanced the natural inſolence of his countrymen, that, in a trifling debate about quarters, his ſoldiers took up arms and ſlew Hamilton, Provoſt of Edinburgh, a veteran officer, and his ſon; beſides ſeveral citizens of diſtinction who interpoſed in the fray. For this temerity Deſſè was recalled; and De Thermes, a man of a more conciliating diſpoſition, was ſent to Scotland in his room: with him arrived Montluc Biſhop of Valence, who was appointed by the regent Chancellor of the kingdom; but was ſoon frighted from his office by the unconcealed ſigns of diſguſt which the fierce, un-

French inſolence.

NOTES.

[4] A high-ſpirited Engliſh prieſt of Northumberland, vexed to the ſoul at ſeeing theſe depredations carried on with impunity, and himſelf a captive, threw himſelf on the ground, refuſed meat and drink, kept his eyes reſolutely ſhut, and died. This is ſaid to have aſtoniſhed the French beyond meaſure. [HIST. OF REFORMATION.

* Holingſhed, p. 995. Buchanan, lib. xv.

poliſhed

poliſhed Scots ſcrupled not to afford him, and returned in haſte to his own country [5]. A. D. 1548.

De Thermes, taking advantage of the inſurrections in England, and the diviſions in its cabinet, which prevented any military exertions, reduced Broughty caſtle; and obliged the garriſon to evacuate the fortreſs of Haddington *. In theſe enterprizes, he found no affectionate aid from the natives; that inſolence with which the French have ever been uſed to behave to foreign nations, had already ſoured the irritable temper of their antient allies, and there were few among the Scots who did not already wiſh the fatal voyage of Mary recalled. 1549.

A peace which ſoon occurred †, delivered Scotland from theſe odious auxiliaries; but as the ſame predilection for French counſels appeared among the rulers, and as the ſovereign was in French hands, the independence of the kingdom was no more [6]. 1550. Peace with England.

It was now that the ambition, natural to the houſe of Guiſe, and the intereſted counſels of her brothers, excited the queen-dowager to aim at the ſole government of Scotland; and after a journey ‡ to France [7], where Policy of the queen-dowager.

NOTES.

[5] Read Melvill's Memoirs for a very laughable tale of the Biſhop of Valence's reception by O'Dogherty, a hoſpitable ſavage, at Loch Foyle in Ireland, on his return to France. And of the laudable pains taken by two friars to provide him with a 'harlot' that could ſpeak Engliſh.

[6] A ſtronger proof of this fact cannot be demanded, than the total neglect in the articles of peace with which Panter, the ambaſſador of Scotland, who was preſent at the conferences, is treated. His name never once occurs; but the intereſts of Scotland are undertaken by the commiſſioners of France. [RYM. FŒD. TOM. XV.

Bitterly were the Scots reminded of this ſurrender of their independence, when, on the Maſter of Erſkine's application to Edward VI. for an explanation of ſome part of the treaty relative to the borders, it was anſwered, 'that all ſuch proceedings muſt paſs through the medium of the French king's miniſters; "and we ſhall accordingly make anſwer to him, *with whom the treaty has been concluded, and not with you,*" [IBID.

[7] See in Biſhop Leſly's Hiſtory, a long and curious account of the reception given by Edward VI. of England to Mary of Guiſe on her return, and of the very intereſting converſation between them, concerning the marriage of the young queen. The great politeneſs, and the total want of ſincerity on each ſide, might have ſuited a faſhionable interview of modern times.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 255, 273. † Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 351.

‡ Leſly, lib. x. p. 413. Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 355.

proper

A. D. 1550. proper measures for this important change were concerted, she began her operations with all the winning subtlety of her sex. She easily gained to her side the reformed party (which was not contemptible in numbers or
1551. rank), by promising a toleration; but it was the regent himself with whom she found most need to employ her address; she corrupted, however, two of his most intimate counsellors, Panter, Bishop of Ross, and Sir Robert
Arran's unsteadiness. Carnegie; and, by their representations, dazzled his unsteady mind with the view of vast advantages from the court of France *; a pension of 12,000 crowns for himself; and for his son, the command of the Scottish guards. Besides this, she offered peerages in Scotland for all his relations.

A few menaces artfully thrown in, joined in vanquishing the stability of Arran, and he made little difficulty of promising to yield up the regency to the
1552. adroit tempter; but his natural brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a licentious and unprincipled prelate, yet clear-sighted and resolute, recovering from a dangerous illness [8] which had kept him at a distance during the
1553. negotiation, inspired him with other thoughts, made him forfeit his engagements, and during two years rendered the attempt fruitless; nor was it, at last, without strong remonstrances from France, a powerful interposition of the Protestant lords, and even the interference of the young queen (now almost twelve years of age), that Arran could be brought to consent that
Mary of Guise gains the regency. Mary of Guise, the queen-dowager, should be invested with the complete dignity and power of the Scottish regency †.

NOTES.

[8] That prelate had been recovered from a disease which had brought him to the point of death by Jerome Cardan, a wild philosopher, who, from having studied the powers of nature with an attention uncommon in his time, was reputed a magician, and was not averse from the charge. He received from the archbishop a reward of 1,800 crowns. It was Cardan, of whom it is told, that a friend observing him musing, and making most extraordinary grimaces, asked him the reason: 'I am endeavoring,' replied the sage, 'to form my face into the exact resemblance of him who is to judge a cause of mine, that I may also assimilate my sensations to his, and so dive into his sentiments.' He died of voluntary hunger in 1576, that he might fulfil a prediction of his own, as to the time of his decease. [Dict. Hist. &c.

* Buchanan, lib. xv. Lesly, lib. x. p. 410. † Holingshed's Scotland, p. 357.

During

During this period, the ſiſter-nations were in a ſtate of peace, except on the borders [9] and in the Channel, where Edmonſtone, a Scot, who had committed numberleſs piratical depredations, was taken by the Engliſh, and only ſaved from execution by the powerful mediation of the French adminiſtration. A. D. 1553.

The manners of the Scots (at this period more than commonly [10] turbulent) needed to be regulated by a ſtrong and even hand. Such was not that of the new-appointed regent. The love of her native country's intereſt, and an unlimited devotement to the will of her relations, were the chief features in her character; and theſe qualities, amiable in themſelves, became, in the poſſeſſion of the dowager-queen, the bane of her government. Blindly obeying the mandates ſent from France, ſhe beſtowed the firſt places in the ſtate on French noblemen; and thus at once made herſelf and her country, the objects of Scottiſh hatred *. 1554. Conduct of the regent. 1555.

A war now breaking out between England and France, the regent was directed by the French cabinet to raiſe a land-tax, which might enable her to keep in pay a body of diſciplined troops, ſufficient to cauſe an important diverſion on the Engliſh border. Mary of Guiſe, however, proceeded no farther on this ſcheme, than to propoſe that every landed eſtate ſhould be regiſtered; for the very intimation of her deſign had nearly cauſed a revolt. Three hundred of the leſſer barons, or 'lairds,' boldly remonſtrated againſt a plan which affected their minds, as unconſtitutional, unneceſſary, and con- Project of a land-tax.

NOTES.

[9] In the Engliſh council-books, at this period, particular directions are given to the border commanders to protect the Greames. This clan, not acknowleged either by England or Scotland, ſeems to have wandered like a horde of Tartars, and to have ſided with each ſiſter-nation by turns. Some antiquaries have thought them a remnant of the Meatæ. James I. of Great Britain took meaſures, at the beginning of his reign, utterly to annihilate theſe hereditary pillagers. [BORDER HISTORY.

[10] In 'Leſleus de Origine,' &c. may be found numerous inſtances of cool, deliberate murthers committed by divers of the Scots nobility at this juncture; concerning none of which there ſeems to have been any notice taken by government. The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and the Earl of Huntley were notorious among theſe titled aſſaſſins. The latter, on ſuſpicion only of a private injury, ſeized William Mac Intoſh, the head of a powerful clan, and of his own authority ſtruck of his head. [UBI SUPRA.

* Leſlie, lib. x. p. 521. Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 357.

A. D. 1555. ducive to ſlavery: and they expreſſed themſelves as more uneaſy at the thoughts of eſtabliſhing ſtipendiary ſoldiers, than at raiſing the fund to pay them. The prudent regent inſtantly gave way, and the odium of the intention fell on the foreign counſellors *.

1556. Mary had better ſucceſs in her next enterprize; that of ſtirring up a war between the ſiſter-kingdoms. She found, indeed, the nation unwilling to begin the conteſt; but here ſhe exerted her talents, and artfully, by fortifying a poſt near Berwick, provoked an attack from the Engliſh garriſon; an incident which, although juſtifiable by the laſt treaty, yet failed not to rouze the animoſity of the Scots. An army was ſtraightway raiſed and marched to the borders; but although D'Oyſel, who led the French auxiliaries, puſhed forward, croſſed the Tweed, and beſieged the often-diſputed caſtle of Werk, he found little hope of ſupport from his northern allies. The folly of ruſhing uninjured into a deſtructive war, and that merely to promote the intereſt of a foreign nation, had again preſented itſelf to their minds. They retreated from the Tweed, and the army diſbanded; nor (except a few ſkirmiſhes, and the uſual border-plunderings [11]) did the whole war afford any event worth recording.

War with England.

1557. It was about this time that the regent, to pleaſe the reformed party (which grateful for her tacit toleration had not oppoſed her late meaſures), recalled to their country and eſtates the long-exiled conſpirators againſt Cardinal Beatoun †. Norman Leſlie, their chief, had fallen in battle [12]; but William Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, ſurvived to ſhine in the annals of

Exiles recalled.

NOTES.

[11] At one of the meetings held on the borders, A.D. 1555, complaints were made *on each ſide* of more than a thouſand murthers, rapes, and robberies committed. The Lord Dacres, an old and turbulent baron, protected the Greames and the Armſtrongs, and encouraged them in their favorite employment, pillage; nor could the menaces of the Engliſh or the Scottiſh Mary reduce him to order. [Border History.

[12] Norman Leſlie had been protected and penſioned by Edward VI. but at the acceſſion of Mary he was driven from the kingdom; even the arrears of his penſion were denied him: 'I ſee not,' ſaid the old Duke of Norfolk at the council-board, 'why a Catholic prince ſhould maintain the aſſaſſin of a cardinal.' Leſlie repaired to France, where he was placed high in the military line, and after diſtinguiſhing his valor, fell at the battle of Renti, A. D. 1554. [Lindsay, Melvill.

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. Leſlie, l. x. † Buchanan, lib. xvi.

Scot-

Scotland. She then turned her thoughts to the eſtabliſhment of her authority, which, in the conduct of the Engliſh war, ſhe had found to be trivial and ill-ſupported. The completion of her daughter's union with the dauphin, promiſed to form her moſt natural and firmeſt bulwark; and to expedite that union, was the point in which her wiſhes centered. A. D. 1557.

To a marriage which conferred a potent kingdom on the bridegroom, even ſetting aſide the charms of the lady (indiſputably the greateſt beauty in Europe), there could, one might preſume, be no objection. Yet there were not wanting thoſe counſellors in the French cabinet, who heſitated as to the policy of the meaſure. At the head of theſe was the celebrated conſtable Anne de Montmorenci. He urged the certainty of a perpetual war with England, as the conſequence of the propoſed connection; and the extreme fierceneſs of the Scots, which would never be brought to obey the rule of an abſent monarch; and he rather wiſhed Mary to wed ſome French prince of the blood than the king himſelf. Probably envy at the fortunate houſe of Lorrain had more ſhare than policy in this advice; yet, as his influence was conſiderable, his being made a priſoner by the Germans at the battle of St. Quintin facilitated the marriage; and the ardor of the young king, encouraged by the counſels of the Duke of Guiſe, having ſurmounted every obſtacle, it was determined that the wedding ſhould be celebrated without delay. Diſſentions in France.

Nine commiſſioners [13] (moſtly of the Proteſtant faith) with difficulty reached the coaſt of France from Scotland [14], with the conditions which the nation and parliament had agreed to demand *. Nothing was omitted in theſe which could ſecure the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh crown to the Hamilton family, in caſe of Mary's failure of iſſue, and prevent their country, on any event, from becoming a province to France †. To none 1558. Scottiſh commiſſioners at Paris.

NOTES.

[13] The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; the Biſhops of Roſs and of Orkney; the Earls of Rothes and Caſſilis; the Lords Fleming and Seaton; the Prior of St. Andrew's, and John Erſkine of Dun. [BUCHANAN, &c.

[14] The voyage was ill-omened; a violent ſtorm ſeparated the fleet, and two of the ſhips periſhed. From theſe it ſeems, by Buchanan's account, that two of the commiſſioners were the only perſons ſaved. [LIB. XVI.

* Leſlie, lib. x. p. 533. † Keith's Appendix, p. 13.

A. D. 1558. French perfidy.

of theſe cautionary terms was the leaſt objection raiſed by the miniſters of the French court; every requiſition was unconditionally granted, and, had more been aſked, it had been the ſame. It might well be ſo; ſince, by the blackeſt perfidy ever exhibited in a civilized nation, they had provided, as they imagined, a remedy againſt every conceſſion which they might make, by perſuading the infant-queen privately to execute three deeds. By the firſt, in caſe of her having no children, ſhe gave the realm of Scotland to her huſband and his heirs; by the ſecond, ſhe thought fit to allow the Scots a power of redeeming themſelves and their country by paying to France a vaſt ſum of money; and, by the third, ſhe proteſted againſt any agreement which ſhe might ſign at her marriage to pleaſe her ſubjects, as null and void *. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that this diſhonorable act was kept as a profound ſecret. The king and the dauphin, conſcious of the fallacy, ratified the demand of Scotland with the moſt ſolemn oaths; and the marriage, introduced by the moſt groſs perjury, was celebrated with unexampled ſplendor and feſtivity; but ſcarcely were the marriage ceremonies performed, ere the crown and regalia of Scotland were demanded of the commiſſioners, that the dauphin might be crowned king of Scotland. The Scots denied their having the regalia or any power to beſtow them; and reſiſted with proper reſentment the propoſal of ſigning a promiſe to ſupport ſuch a demand when it came before the parliament. They then departed from Paris; but if their voyage to France had been unfortunate, their return was much more fatal: Four of the commiſſioners died, with many of their attendants, before they took ſhipping; and a fifth, Lord James Stuart, the queen's illegitimate brother, narrowly eſcaped with his life.

Marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin.

Theſe events were naturally attributed by the Scots to the effect of poiſon; nor did the looſe morals of the Lorrain family, and their hatred of the commiſſioners, as inimical to the French intereſt and to the Roman Catholic cauſe, render the ſuppoſition at all improbable.

The court of France, not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of its attempt on the commiſſioners, ſtill coveted the crown (ſtyled Matrimonial) of Scotland. The regent was appointed to manage the affair; and ſhe, with her uſual addreſs, perſuaded the Scottiſh parliament to conform to the dauphin's

* Keith, p. 73. Corps Diplomat. tom. v. p. 21.

wiſh.

wiſh. The houſe of Hamilton, with the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, in vain reſiſted the meaſure; and Arran, whoſe claim to the ſucceſſion it obliquely attacked, entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt it*. But while theſe, the moſt powerful of the Roman Catholic party, oppoſed the wiſhes of the French, the Proteſtants, lulled to acquieſcence by the regent's diſſimulation, united with her and France in this and every other movement; and actually agreed that the two moſt popular and powerful men of their party, the Earl of Argyle, and the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, ſhould carry the crown to the huſband of Mary. The acceſſion of Elizabeth to the throne of England, at this period, greatly influenced the religion and the policy of Europe. Her character for firmneſs, prudence, and enterprize, ſoon became the theme of every tongue. To her the Proteſtants of Scotland, a numerous and powerful body, had very ſoon occaſion to apply for protection. Policy had hitherto reſtrained the regent from ſhewing that deteſtation of their religion natural to her family. But, notwithſtanding the extreme and cautious regularity of their conduct, they had lately been perſecuted by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews [15], and by the convocation †; and now a new and greater ſtorm menaced their ſafety. The regent, who for her own ends had ſhielded them from the wrath of the clergy, and had even allowed them a tacit permiſſion to worſhip God in their own way, having gained the rank and power for which ſhe had panted, forgot the ſteps by which ſhe had climbed to ſuch a height; and liſtening to the violent counſels (or rather directions) of her brethren in France ‡, declared herſelf a foe to the reformed. Enraged at the public celebration of the Proteſtant worſhip at Perth, ſhe ordered the miniſters of that communion, throughout the realm, to repair to Stirling and take their trials. They obeyed the ſummons and advanced towards the place; but accompanied by ſuch numbers of friends, that the terrified regent intreated John Erſkine, of Dun, one of their own flock, to meet them, and diſperſe

A. D. 1558.

The Dauphin obtains the crown matrimonial of Scotland.

1559.

Mary of Guiſe treats the Proteſtants unkindly.

NOTES.

[15] It was on the head of a decrepit prieſt, aged 82, named Walter Mills, that the ill-judged zeal of the prelate was vented: 'And the ſtake at which he expired,' ſays a modern hiſtorian, 'proved to be the funeral pile of the Romiſh religion in Scotland.'

* Keith, p. 76. † Ibid. p. 81. ‡ Melvill, p. 48.

the

A. D. 1559. the tremendous aſſemblage. The intereſt of Erſkine prevailed, and the venerable paſtors diſmiſſed their ſupporters, and returned home; but the regent, when delivered from her fears, forgot her word, and pronounced the preachers, outlaws for not appearing to be tried at the day ſhe had appointed.

Riots at Perth. The ſtern virtue of Erſkine could not endure a court ſo void of honor. He haſted to Perth, and, ſeconded by the celebrated John Knox [16], he excited the party to vengeance. The lower orders ruſhed to outrage and irreſiſtible force. Not only the gaudy trappings of Popery were the victims of their zeal, but the ſolid habitations of the monks, and their magnificent places of worſhip * fell beneath their ſtrokes, and lay in indiſcriminate ruin.

The regent marches againſt the reformed: No ſooner was this riſing made known to the regent at Stirling, than ſhe marched with the French auxiliaries, and ſome regular Scottiſh bands, to the number of nearly 3,000 men well diſciplined, to avenge this inſult on her religion. But the party of 'The Congregation of the Lord,' for ſo it began to be ſtyled, was ſoon ſo much reinforced, particularly by the incredible exertions of the Lord Glencairn, as to exceed the forces of Mary of Guiſe in ſtrength. An agreement enſued to the advantage of the Proteſtants; but Mary, as ſoon as their troops were diſperſed, violated every article. As this breach of faith had been foreſeen, the lords of 'The

NOTES.

[16] John Knox was born in Scotland, A. D. 1515, and was obliged to quit his country early in life for the liberal and controverſial turn of his opinions. In England Edward VI. would have made him a biſhop, but he refuſed the offered ſee with ſome indignation. When Cardinal Beatoun was ſlain, Knox haſted to join the conſpirators, admoniſh them, and encourage their reſiſtance. When the caſtle was taken he fled for a while, but only to return with double vigour. At Perth he incited the people to the moſt violent outrages againſt croſſes, images, and edifices. 'Pull down their neſts,' ſaid the harſh reformer, 'and the rooks will fly away.' Yet he reſtrained his followers from blood; nor, even by way of retaliation, did a ſingle man of the Roman Catholic party loſe his life for his religion, if we except the cardinal, who fell as much on account of his deſpotiſm as of his bigotry. To a fierce, unpoliſhed race, like the inferior Scots, a ſtern, taſteleſs apoſtle like John Knox, was, perhaps, neceſſary. A book which he penned with great virulence againſt female ſovereignty, had nearly embroiled him with Elizabeth; but being convinced that it was only aimed at Mary, ſhe forgave and protected him. The title of the book was, 'The firſt blaſt of the trumpet againſt the monſtrous regimen of women.'

* Buchanan, lib. xvi.

Congre-

Congregation' (now joined by Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, both diſguſted by the regent's diſhonorable conduct) had concerted matters ſo as to form an immediate army, which obliged the regent to retire, and even to quit her capital. Then began again the demolition of Popiſh magnificence in almoſt every Scottiſh city, town, and hamlet; while John Knox, now the moſt admired preacher in Edinburgh, triumphed in the ſtorm his hardy eloquence had raiſed. A. D. 1559.

Treaties repeatedly violated.

A quick reverſe once more ſucceeded. The Proteſtant ſoldiers began to ſeparate for want of pay; and the regent (who had expected this event) advancing with her regular bands, compelled the reſidue to a treaty, which as uſual [17] ſhe only kept as far as it ſuited her convenience. This repeated perfidy, and her viſible deſign of ruling deſpotically by means of her French auxiliaries, had, however, given ſuch diſguſt to her two moſt powerful friends, Chatelherault and Huntley, that they determined to quit her party unleſs ſhe would diſmiſs theſe odious ſtrangers *.

Death of the French king.

The death of the French Henry II. at this period, by giving great additional ſtrength to the houſe of Lorrain, robbed it of its caution. Mary, the niece of the Cardinal of Lorrain, and of the Duke of Guiſe, was now Queen of France. By direction of her uncles ſhe had aſſumed the royal arms and title of England, and thus, with extreme want of policy, afforded her rival Elizabeth a fair pretext for interfering in Scottiſh affairs. The ſyſtem of violence was conſiſtently purſued in France; one thouſand ſoldiers were diſpatched to aid the regent of Scotland; Arran, the ſon of Chatelherault, with difficulty eſcaped from Paris, where his religion had marked him as a ſacrifice †; and the Scottiſh regent was directed to ſeize and deſtroy Argyle, and the Lord James Stuart, by any means whatever.

NOTES.

[17] 'The promiſes of princes,' ſaid the irritated Frenchwoman, being thrown off her guard when reproached with this failure, 'ought not to be ſo preciſely remembered; nor the performance of them expected, unleſs when ſuitable to their conveniency.' [BUCHANAN.

Mr. Hume ſeems to doubt the authority of this tale of inſolent perfidy. 'If,' ſays he, 'the papiſts have ſometimes maintained that "no faith was to be kept with heretics," their adverſaries ſeem alſo to have thought, that "no truth ſhould be told of idolaters."

* Knox, p. 154. † De Thou, lib. xxiv. p. 462.

The

A. D. 1559. The unſteady Duke of Chatelherault, urged by his irritated ſon, now joined the Lords of the Congregation, and became their nominal chief; but it was the Lord James who was really the head of the party. His ſpirit and addreſs, joined to great perſonal bravery, and a remarkable regularity of conduct, rendered him exactly fit for that ſtation. Senſible of this, the artful regent endeavored to undermine his popularity, by ſpreading reports that his ambition aimed at the throne of Scotland. No accuſations however, from ſo ſuſpected a ſource, could gain credit among a diſcerning people.

The regent fortifies Leith.

Mary of Guiſe had now received additional auxiliaries from France; ſhe had alſo retained ſeveral bands of Scots in regular pay; and, depending on her diſciplined ſtrength, ſhe had avowedly fortified the town and harbour of Leith, that ſhe might at any time receive aid from abroad. On the other hand, almoſt the whole body of Scottiſh nobility (except the Lords Bothwell, Seaton, and Borthwick who joined the garriſon of Leith, Morton who heſitated, and Erſkine who commanded in the caſtle of Edinburgh) were in arms againſt her; and Maitland of Lethington, the wiſeſt and moſt politic of her counſellors (although the youngeſt), had abandoned her party. The Lords of the Congregation, and their new allies, the Hamiltons, Gordons, &c. demanded, in terms not diſreſpectful, that ſhe ſhould ſend back the French auxiliaries, deſtroy the fortifications of her new fortreſs, grant a toleration, and reform her clergy; and on her refuſal they ſolemnly declared *, ſtill proteſting their loyalty to Mary their Queen, that ſhe had forfeited the regency, and with their numerous, but diſunited and ill-diſciplined, troops, ſurrounded her French allies and herſelf in Leith.

Routs the Proteſtant army.

They had here undertaken an enterprize far beyond their ſtrength; they had valour enough, but they had neither battering cannon, ammunition, nor money for their ſoldiers pay, except a ſmall and irregular ſupply from England. Their men grew mutinous; they failed in one attack, and loſt their few field-pieces; in another they were puſhed back to the gates of Edinburgh; and their ſpirits were totally ſubdued when they found that the regent's friends had intercepted † a bag with a thouſand pounds, which the governor of Berwick, privately authorized by his ſovereign, had ſent to their aid. They broke up the ſiege with unmilitary haſte; and, after having

* Mem. de Caſtelnau, p. 446.

† Buchanan, lib. xvi.

diſpatched

diſpatched the adroit Maitland to implore the protection of Elizabeth, each Lord of the Congregation retreated to his own diſtrict, that he might recruit his force, and prolong a defenſive war, until better times might arrive; while John Knox and Willock, his fellow-labourer in polemics, by zealous preaching, prevented the ſpirit of reſiſtance from ſinking into indolence *. A. D. 1559.

The regent was not diſpoſed to permit this cautious plan to take effect; a farther reinforcement of veteran French troops had arrived at Leith; from theſe, and from her original force, ſhe detached a ſtrong party, which had orders to enter by the way of Stirling the county of Fife, the richeſt of the Scottiſh provinces, and the moſt devoted to the Proteſtant cauſe. To ravage this, and to ſeize the town and port of St. Andrew's, would at once chaſtiſe her foes, and ſecure the beſt harbor and the moſt convenient ſtation for introducing forces into the heart of Scotland. Invades Fife.

The Lord James Stuart ſaw that all was now at hazard; and that, ſhould this enterprize ſucceed, the broken diſpirited friends of civil and religious liberty in the north, might probably never again unite. To prevent this evil, he determined, with about ſix hundred horſe, to oppoſe the invaders; and, aided by the Lord Ruthven, Kirkaldy of Grange, and a few more of his friends †, he exerted ſo much valor and ſkill, that, by harraſſing the enemy's marches, and cutting off their proviſions, he kept 2,000 veterans at bay during more than three weeks; and thereby gave time for the repreſentations of Maitland to operate on the diſcernment of the ſpirited [18], but cautious, Elizabeth of England. Bravery of the Lord James Stuart.

At length the gallant defenders of their country were forced to yield to the torrent; and the French, ruſhing into Fife, laid waſte the eſtates of their 1560.

NOTES.

[18] Scoré, an agent of France, had endeavored to perſuade the Engliſh queen that Chatelherault was at the ſame time negotiating with her and with the court of France. The irritated duke hearing this accuſation gave Scoré the lie, and offered either to fight him in perſon or to give him his choice among one hundred of his dependents for an antagoniſt, each of them equal in birth and deſcent to the calumniating Frenchman.

[BURLEIGH'S PAPERS.

* Knox, p. 180. † Ibid. p. 202.

A. D. 1560. foes [19]; and, like a flood of fire from a volcano, deſolated a wide road to the ſea coaſt. There, while ſpreading devaſtation, and purſuing their triumphant march to St. Andrew's, an advanced party, having mounted a ſteep rock *, exclaimed with exultation that 'their friends were come!' They had indeed deſcried a fleet of large veſſels not far from the ſhore; and, knowing that the Marquis D'Elbœuf was on the point of ſailing from France to reinforce them, they doubted ſo little of his approach, that they fired a joyful ſalute from their artillery, and ſent boats to invite the new-comers to feaſt with them on ſhore. The return of their meſſengers undeceived them. The ſhips were Engliſh; they were commanded by an experienced officer named Winter, whoſe inſtructions, although cautiouſly worded, warranted him to relieve the Scots at any rate.

Engliſh ſuccors arrive.

Convinced of their error, and dreading to be intercepted on their return, the baffled Frenchmen abandoned their enterprize; and, with great difficulty and conſiderable loſs, paſſing again by Stirling, rejoined the garriſon of Leith †; while Winter, taking advantage of ſome hoſtilities committed by the French, attacked their ſmall fleet, boarded and took their armed veſſels and ſtore-ſhips, and blocked up the harbor; while its garriſon received the melancholy tidings of a ſtorm which had diſperſed, and partly deſtroyed, the long-expected fleet and land-force which had been meant to relieve them.

An Engliſh army now appeared on the frontiers of Scotland, under the Lord Grey of Wilton. The commiſſioners of the Congregation repaired to Berwick, where the Duke of Norfolk met them; and a treaty was concluded, in which, although the intereſts of Scottiſh religion and liberty were aſſerted, great reſpect was paid to the Queen of Scots and her conſort.

Siege of Leith.

The Engliſh then advanced into Scotland and laid ſiege to Leith, whence the unfortunate Mary of Guiſe haſtily departed, and, entering Edinburgh, intreated and obtained leave of the Lord Erſkine to take up her reſidence in the caſtle. That independent nobleman received her with great reſpect

NOTES.

[19] In particular the houſe and village of Grange, belonging to the celebrated William Kirkaldie, was razed to the foundation; but the gallant owner falling on the marauders, ſlew their leader, Captain L'Abaſt and fifty of his men on the ſpot. [BUCHANAN.

* Buchanan, lib. xvi.

† Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 371.

and

and equal caution. She languiſhed ſix weeks and died philoſophically, A. D. 1560.
although broken-hearted, owning and lamenting the errors of her adminiſtration, and converſing familiarly on religious ſubjects with the moſt rigid of the reforming miniſters [20]*.

The ſiege of Leith was now begun by the Engliſh and Scots conjointly, and afforded a ſtriking example of the advantage which valor, ſupported by diſcipline and experience, may obtain over numbers gifted with mere perſonal courage. The garriſon mocked their efforts; the ſoldiers within were familiar with ſieges, and repulſed every attack; while the iſland troops, long unuſed to land-wars [21], and commanded by brave but unexperienced officers, expoſed themſelves with improvident gallantry, aſſaulted impracticable breaches, and fell by hundreds. Eight thouſand ſoldiers, on the part of the Engliſh and Scots, are ſaid to have found their graves before the haſtily-raiſed fortifications of Leith.

The garriſon, which had for ſome time ſubſiſted on horſe-fleſh only, Peace with France.
muſt however have yielded, had not a ſudden treaty, concluded at Edinburgh between England and France (including Scotland), ſaved its honor. By this peace the rights of Elizabeth to the Engliſh crown were acknowledged, and Francis and Mary engaged to lay aſide for ever the royal title and arms of England. The effects of this treaty were inſtantaneous; Leith was peaceably evacuated, and not a Frenchman left in Scotland; while the troops of Elizabeth, withdrawing at the ſame time, and re-paſſing the borders, evinced to the world the integrity and diſintereſtedneſs of her interference.

A parliament was now ſummoned, whoſe firſt care was to nominate twenty-four perſons from whom the council of regency was to be choſen; then the

NOTES.

[20] Mary of Guiſe might have been, perhaps, amiable, had ſhe not been driven by her attachment to her own unprincipled family into perjury and cruelty. Yet what ſhall we ſay to her unfeminine expreſſion, when the bleeding body of a lad ſhot by her ſoldiers as he ſtood in a balcony at Perth was brought before her? 'I cannot anſwer for accidents, but I wiſh it had been his father!' [BUCHANAN.

[21] The Engliſh ſeamen, impatient at the tardy ſiege, had nearly perſuaded Winter, their admiral, to aſk leave to attack the place with his men alone. He might have ſucceeded; for the garriſon having, on account of his harſh character, a rooted diſlike to the Lord Grey, wiſhed to yield to Winter. [ANON APUD GUTHRIE.

* Knox, p. 228.

A. D. 1560. terms of the late treaty were ſcrutinized, and the ſecurity for the church not being deemed ſufficient, ſevere laws, too much ſavouring of that ſpirit of perſecution which had rendered Popery odious, were promulgated againſt the old religion. A Preſbyterian government was eſtabliſhed in the church, but with the omiſſion of a proper proviſion for the clergy; and ambaſſadors were diſpatched to France for a confirmation of the acts which had paſſed. He was received with coolneſs, and failed of his errand; while the Lords Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland, who were ſent to thank Elizabeth, and to humbly recommend the Lord Arran, preſumptive heir to the crown, to her as a conſort, met with no better ſucceſs, although they were received with much more civility *.

Death of Francis II. of France.

The death of the French monarch, the ſpouſe of Mary Stuart, which fell out at this conjuncture, totally changed the face of affairs, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe.

1561. Mary is invited to Scotland.

It was now the general wiſh of the Scots to ſee their queen among them; and Lord James Stuart, her brother, was ſent by the regency to announce the requeſt of her people. He found his beautiful but ill-fated ſovereign driven from court by the neglect and apparent coldneſs of Catherine di Medicis, the queen-mother, who not only hated her arrival, but dreaded the extreme attachment which her ſon Charles IX. profeſſedly retained for his fair ſiſter-in-law. This gloomy reverſe of her late ſplendid ſtate had made her think with ſome pleaſure of viſiting her native kingdom. Leſlie (afterwards Biſhop of Roſs) had endeavoured to prejudice her againſt Lord James, and to perſuade her to depend on the Roman Catholic intereſt alone; but that counſel was judged to be too hazardous †. She received her brother with affection, and inſtantly prepared for her voyage, which was not altogether without hazard, as Elizabeth, diſguſted at the Scottiſh queen for not totally abandoning the inſignia of Engliſh royalty, had unkindly refuſed to grant her a ſafe conduct ‡.

She quits France with regret.

It was not without the moſt poignant ſentiments of grief that Mary could quit a poliſhed court and kingdom, where, during many years, ſhe had been treated with a reſpect little inferior to adoration. Brantome, who accompanied her in the ſame veſſel, has left us a minute deſcription of her anguiſh.

* Keith, p. 154. † Leſlie, p. 227. ‡ Keith, p. 171.

As

As ſhe left the port of Calais a veſſel ſtruck on a rock, and periſhed in her ſight. 'Alas!' ſaid the forlorn queen, 'what an unhappy augury for my voyage.' When her galley had left the harbor with a fair wind ſhe remained on deck, leaning on the gunwale ſeveral hours, and inceſſantly repeating, 'Adieu, France! Adieu, France!' When it grew dark, ſhe lamented, in the moſt affecting terms, the impoſſibility of ſeeing any longer the coaſt ſhe ſo truly loved. She would not quit the deck, inſiſted on having her bed brought up from the cabin, and an awning ſtretched over it, and directed the ſteerſman to wake her as ſoon as it was light, if France were ſtill in view. Chance favored her wiſhes; her beloved ſhore appeared again in the morn. The queen raiſed herſelf from her bed, and as the land ſoon diſappeared to her ſight, ſhe exclaimed, 'Adieu, beloved France! It is all over! Adieu, dear France! Never ſhall I ſee thee more!' A. D. 1561.

Her voyage was not unproſperous; ſhe eſcaped the numerous ſquadrons of Elizabeth, and landed ſafely at Leith; yet even there, although flattered by the acclamations of a people not accuſtomed to the preſence of their ſovereign, Mary met not with a reception calculated to make her forget the poliſhed pleaſures of the French court [22]. The Scots had not time, as ſhe came ſuddenly, to ſoften the aſperity of the views on her road. The ſtern John Knox preached againſt the 'Whore of Babylon, and the Anti- Her reception in Scotland.

NOTES.

[22] Mary could not eaſily reconcile herſelf to the ſimple manners of the Scots. She was by no means pleaſed at the little ponies (hacquenes guilledines) on which her new attendant lords and ladies rode; but, burſting into tears, compared their ill-accoutred nags with the pompous and ſhowy ſteeds of the French. Nor, when lodged in Edinburgh, was ſhe conſoled by the melody produced by a number of vagabonds (cinq au ſix cens marauts) who welcomed her by playing on ill-tuned fiddles and kits, and who ſung under her window Scottiſh pſalms, with voices utterly diſcordant to each other. [BRANTOME.

It is worth obſerving how very materially the account given by John Knox of this very ſerenade differs from that of the Frenchman.

'A cumpanie of moſt honeſt men, with inſtruments of muſick and with muſicians, gave 'their ſalutaciouns at hir chamber-window. The melodie, as ſche alleged, likid her weill, 'and ſche willed the ſame to be continued ſome nychts after with grit diligence.'

Randolph, Elizabeth's ambaſſador, wrote to Cecil at this time, ſpeaking of the Scots, 'I think marvellouſly of the wiſdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconſtant, and cumberſome people no more power nor ſubſtance, for they would otherwiſe run wild.' [KEITH.

chriſt

A. D. 1561. chriſt of Rome,' almoſt in her hearing; her ſervants were inſulted as they celebrated maſs in her private chapel; and the Lord James Stuart was forced to interpoſe, that his ſiſter and ſovereign might, in her own kingdom, have liberty of worſhipping God in her own way.

The violent zeal for reformation which prevailed at this juncture ſeems, in the moderate times of the 18th century, totally improbable; it even interfered in the amuſements of the day; and the very pageants contrived to amuſe the queen when ſhe made her public entry into her capital, exhibited various ſcenes of divine judgments falling on idolators [23]. Perhaps a moſt abſurd and ill-timed demand, delivered in by the French ambaſſador nearly at this time, helped to irritate the people *. He required the Scots to renew their alliance with France, renounce their treaty with England, and reſtore the Roman Catholic religion. The anſwer was manly, ſimple, and rational. 'The French had deſerved no kindneſs at their hands; they could not break with England, who had ſaved them from Popery and ſlavery; and, as to the third article, they were not mad enough willingly to load them again with more chains, from which they had with difficulty extricated themſelves.'

NOTES.

[23] A mock altar was erected in one place like that uſed in the maſs. On this were ſacrificed Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. A Romiſh prieſt alſo was to have fallen; but the Lord Huntley prevented that exhibition. [ANON AP. GUTHRIE.

Add to this the extreme reſentment which animated the nation on account of a trivial irregularity. Aliſon Craig, a celebrated woman of pleaſure, was viſited one evening by the Marquis D'Elbœuf, and a party of Scottiſh and French young noblemen, who had juſt quitted their bottle. They found no admittance; but not conceiving why ſhe ſhould bar her doors againſt her uſual viſitors, they forced their paſſage, broke the windows, and committed ſome diſorders in endeavoring to find the capricious lady of the houſe. This was taken up with great ſolemnity by the Aſſembly of the church then ſitting; and they preſented an addreſs on the ſubject to the queen, with this awful prelude, 'To the queen's majeſty, &c. The profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus's holy Evangil wiſh the ſpirit of righteous judgment.' In the addreſs they demand 'the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who had endeavored to kindle the wrath of God againſt the whole realm.' The queen received the addreſſer with politeneſs, but treated not the crime with that ſacred horror which was its due; nor was her impious apathy ever forgiven.

* Knox, p. 269, 273.

The

The lawleſs ſtate of the borders demanding immediate attention, the Lord James Stuart was ſent to reſtore good government; the militia of eleven counties attended him; he performed his duty with ſeverity, executed numbers, and left all in tranquillity. During his abſence from court, many artful and earneſt attempts had been made by the Lord Huntley, and the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, to induce Mary to favor the Roman Catholics; while Arran, on the other hand, who was deeply in love with his fair couſin, paſſionately and abſurdly publiſhing his wiſhes that ſhe might be reſtrained in the exerciſe of her religion, deprived himſelf of every chance of obtaining her regard, and in conſequence, after having alarmed her by a ſtrange ill-concerted project of carrying her off by force to his own eſtate *, utterly loſt his ſenſes. A. D. 1561.

A convention, which chiefly deliberated on religious matters, cloſed the year 1561. An allowance was there ſettled for the ſubſiſtence of the Proteſtant prieſts; it was very ſmall, and even that was by no means regularly paid. Proviſion made for the clergy.

Deadly feuds, and ariſtocratic inſurrections, the conſequence of that anarchy which had long prevailed in Scotland, embittered the ſecond year of Mary's reſidence in her kingdom. 1562.

The Earl of Arran, whoſe mind was declining apace into idiotiſm, accuſed himſelf and the Lord Bothwell of a deſign to aſſaſſinate their inveterate foe, the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrew's (who had juſt been honored with the Earldom of Mar), in his own houſe. In conſequence the parties were confined, and the Duke of Hamilton, father to the accuſer, was obliged to yield the ſtrong caſtle of Dunbarton to the power of the queen †, although it is probable that there were no grounds for the accuſation except the heated imagination of Arran.

A more dangerous attempt to ſubvert the preſent order of government was made by the potent family of Gordon. Sir John, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Huntley, had dangerouſly wounded Lord Ogilvie in a private quarrel; he eſcaped from confinement, and was protected by his ‡ father even againſt the queen, who at that juncture was on a progreſs into the

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* Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 379. † Keith, p. 202. Buchanan, lib. xvii.

‡ Keith p. 223.

north,

A. D. 1562.

north, where the eſtates of Huntley lay. A plan of the Gordons to deſtroy the miniſters of Mary being diſcovered, the clan took up arms; and, led on by the old earl, would have endangered the queen's ſafety, had not the gallant James Stuart, now Earl of Murray [24] (the title of Mar being claimed by his uncle, Lord Erſkine), by a ſteady exertion of perſonal bravery, at the head of a few ſpearmen, ſupported the attack of a numerous body of Highlanders armed with the broad ſword, and put them to flight. The Earl of Huntley, old and corpulent*, was trod to death in his haſty retreat [25]. His family fell into the hands of the royaliſts; Sir John was beheaded, but the other ſons were ſpared. The poſſeſſions of the Gordons (of which Murray [26] had made a part) were conſiderably leſſened, and their power was no longer formidable.

James Stuart made Earl of Murray.

Fall of Lord Huntley.

Mary had long wiſhed for an interview with Elizabeth, and meaſures had been taken for their meeting at York during the ſummer of 1562; but there is reaſon to believe that Cecil, the favorite miniſter of the Engliſh queen, perſuaded her that the meeting would have no good effect. It was accordingly evaded, avowedly becauſe the ſtate of French affairs required Elizabeth's conſtant attention and preſence in London †.

Nothing farther occurred within the year, except repeated and fruitleſs remonſtrances of the clergy concerning the failing payment of their ſmall ſtipends [27].

The

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[24] On the day of his receiving of the patent, the earl married Agnes, the daughter of the Earl Mariſchal; and, to the great ſcandal of John Knox and the ſtrict ones, he accompanied his wedding with ſongs, dances, and a kind of maſquerade. [HOLINGSHED, &c.

[25] The mangled body was kept without burial, as the cuſtom was in Scotland, until the parliament met, that it might be preſented before that aſſembly in order to the forfeiting of the eſtate, 'after that he was deid and departit frae this mortal lyfe.' [KEITH.

[26] There was an unhappy ſingularity in the fate of this earldom. It lay within the country which the houſe of Gordon claimed; and, being given to another family, it was perpetually plundered by the Highlanders allied to the Gordons. At a much later day than that we now write of, Sir Ewen Cameron, being charged with evil deſigns againſt the Grants, alleged, 'that he meant not to moleſt them, but only to make an incurſion into Murray land, *where every man was free to take his prey.*' [PENNANT.

[27] Chatelard, grandſon to the celebrated Bayard, a man of literature, and an elegant poet, who had long adored the beautiful Mary in ſecret, permitted his love at this juncture

* Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 381. † Keith, p. 216.

ſo

The chief potentates of Europe now ſought to tempt the blooming Mary, who had been two years a widow, to a ſecond marriage. The Archduke of Auſtria, the Duke of Anjou, and Carlos the ſon of the Spaniſh Philip, were offered to her acceptance; but, whatever might be her ſecret wiſhes, motives of policy urged her to take the advice of Elizabeth as to her choice *. That jealous ſovereign openly diſapproved of any foreign match, and, as the Scots were of the ſame opinion, the propoſals on behalf of the diſtant princes were all rejected. Probably the project which Mary had now formed of wedding a young nobleman of her own family, rendered her more attentive to the advice of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1563. Propoſals of marriage to Mary.

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the eldeſt ſon of Matthew, Earl of Lenox (who, exiled from his country, had long reſided in England), by the Lady Margaret Douglas, the niece of Henry VIII. and the neareſt rival to the Scottiſh queen in the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Margaret was daughter to Margaret the widow of James IV. by the Earl of Angus; a circumſtance which brought her one degree nearer the throne of England than Mary, who was that queen's grand-daughter. Her being a native of England too was in her favor [28]. Nor can it be a matter of wonder, when the perſon of Lord Darnley (which was remarkably elegant †) is conſidered, that a young princeſs ſhould eaſily be brought to think that a marriage with ſuch a competitor would be the beſt method of conſolidating the rival claims. The plan, however, lay dormant ſome time longer.

Account of Lord Darnley.

NOTES.

ſo far to overpower his prudence as to tempt him to hide himſelf in the queen's bedchamber. He was diſcovered and forgiven. The ſame inſult again repeated proved fatal. He was delivered up to the law, tried, and executed. [VIE DE MARIE PAR BRANTOME.

[28] A lawyer named Hales wrote about this time a treatiſe in favour of the claims of the Suffolk branch (deſcended from Mary of France, daughter to Henry VII.) in preference to the line of Margaret. What Elizabeth thought of his argument is uncertain, for his having dared to call *her* conduct in queſtion, concerning the Counteſs of Hertford, drew on his head the vengeance of her offended majeſty on her own account, and he ſuffered a long confinement. [CARTE, &c.

At a period not very far diſtant, one Thornton, a lawyer, was thrown into priſon for arraigning the title of the Queen of Scots. [CAMDEN.

* Melvill, p. 88. † Ibid. p. 101.

A. D. 1563. In the mean while Murray, whoſe open mind and martial diſpoſition had ſet him above the wretched and intolerant fanaticiſm of his reforming friends, had nearly loſt all his intereſt with the Preſbyterian party by refuſing to join in haſty and ill-concerted meaſures to deny the queen the private exerciſe of her religion. The fierce John Knox [29] ſolemnly renounced his friendſhip, and it was nearly two years before the ſtrange events of the changeable times forced them through policy to a reconciliation. Diſappointed of Murray's aid, the ſtern demagogue had recourſe to the people, and ſucceeded in exciting them to inſult the prieſts who officiated before the queen. Two of the moſt forward among the mob being ſeized, Knox diſperſed circular letters to convene all good Proteſtants to their reſcue. For this groſs attack on the civil power the turbulent eccleſiaſtic was impriſoned, and tried before the privy council *. There he judiciouſly reſted his defence on the numerous precedents which the late troubles had afforded, and pleaded his own cauſe ſo well, that he was acquitted; and Sinclair, Biſhop of Roſs, a zealous papiſt, approved of the acquittal †.

Violence of John Knox.

1564. It was early in 1564 that Elizabeth cauſed her favorite, the Lord Robert Dudley, to be propoſed as a huſband to Mary of Scotland ‡. Strange as was this propoſal, the rejection of it was clothed in the moſt reſpectful terms [30]. The fair Queen of Scots liſtened, however, with more pleaſure

NOTES.

[29] Mary ſometimes condeſcended to reaſon with this holy ſavage. 'Will ye allow,' ſaid ſhe, 'that the people ſhall take my ſword from me?' 'It is God's ſword,' replied he, 'and if princes uſe it not rightly, the rulers under them ought to do it. Samuel ſpared not to ſlay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had ſpared.' When this ſingular prieſt overheard perſons wondering at his bold familiarity in converſing with the queen, he anſwered, 'What! ſhould the pleaſant face of a lady affray me?' [Knox.

[30] It was about this time that Mary ſent to Elizabeth a diamond ring in the form of a heart. The great Buchanan honored this gift with an elegant but ſhort Latin poem. It may be thus tranſlated:

'This gem behold, the emblem of my heart,
From which my couſin's image ne'er ſhall part.
Clear in its luſtre, ſpotleſs does it ſhine;
As clear, as ſpotleſs is this heart of mine.

What

* Knox, p. 335, &c. † Ibid. p. 343. ‡ Melvill, p. 90. Keith, p. 251.

ſure to a requeſt made ſome time after by the Engliſh queen, 'that ſhe would reverſe the ſentence of forfeiture on the Lenox eſtates.' Mary, happy at having a pretext to oblige the family of one whom ſhe had thought of marrying, ſoon complied with this intimation. She did more; ſhe interpoſed to prevent the houſe of Hamilton from taking violent ſteps againſt their old enemies, the Stuarts of Lenox; and ſhe pacified the potent family of Douglas, who alſo abhorred that houſe, by perſuading the old earl of Lenox to abandon his pretenſions in right of his wife to the earldom of Angus. A. D. 1564. The Lenox family favored.

Towards the end of 1564, a diſpute between Maitland of Lethington and John Knox, on the right of the people to reſiſt a tyrannical ſovereign, was carried on before the General Aſſembly with great art and eloquence. Knox, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, took the popular ſide *.

Early in the ſucceeding year Lord Darnley, having obtained a tacit leave from Elizabeth to viſit Scotland, appeared at the court of Mary, and made a ſwift conqueſt of her ſuſceptible heart. He had, indeed, an advocate who was always near the queen, and had the poſſeſſion of her private ear. This was David Riccio or Rizzio, an Italian muſician, ſuppoſed an emiſſary from the Pope †, who at times officiated as ſecretary for the French tongue, and whoſe intimacy with Mary was ſo very cloſe, that it was only his homely figure, and [31] (as ſome ſay) advanced age, which prevented the tongue of calumny from exerting itſelf on the ſubject. 1565. Account of David Rizzio.

NOTES.

What tho' the ſtone a greater hardneſs wears,
Superior firmneſs ſtill the figure bears.'

James I. gave this ring to Sir Thomas Warner, whoſe deſcendent ſtill poſſeſſes it.

[LE CLERE'S LIFE OF BUCHANAN, APUD 'ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS,' &c.

[31] Nothing, ſays Buchanan, could make him look like a gentleman, although he tried to embelliſh his odious figure by fine garments.

'Rei indignior videbatur, quod non faciem cultus honeſtabat, ſed facies cultum deſtruebat.' [LIB. XVII.

Buchanan adds, he was young; but Blackwood, who alſo knew the man, ſays that he was elderly, and had a moroſe forbidding countenance.

* Knox, p. 349. † Melvill, p. 112, 114.

A. D. 1565. The crooked and myſterious policy of Elizabeth on occaſion of this marriage has been already deſcribed. Hiſtorians are at a loſs to conceive why ſhe ſhould with ſuch apparent earneſtneſs oppoſe a marriage which, at the ſame time that it prevented Mary from any foreign alliance, enabled the Engliſh queen to enlarge her influence in the Scottiſh court, by allowing or withholding at pleaſure the large income of the Lenox eſtates lying within the domains of England. Indeed there is great reaſon to believe that her whole oppoſition was a political fallacy. Yet ſhe carried it ſo far as to confine the Lady Lenox, mother to Darnley, and to excite the Proteſtant lords to take up arms againſt the propoſed alliance. The apparent motive was the warm attachment of the Lenox family to the Roman faith. The activity of Murray on this occaſion reconciled him to the ſevere Knox, who had before thought him a falſe brother. Murray had, indeed, ſome pretext for his diſpleaſure; his favor was waning at court; his ſiſter had viſibly ſlighted him, and cheriſhed his bittereſt foe, Bothwell (who had more than once attempted to murther him), and by her coolneſs had driven him from thoſe councils which he had been uſed to guide.

Unſucceſsful riſing of the Proteſtant Lords.

As a politician this great and popular leader was miſtaken in his meaſures. The gentle government of Mary had ſo far reconciled all parties to her ſway, that few could be perſuaded to riſe againſt her. Nor did Murray accurately calculate for the exertions of a woman in love. Inſpired by her paſſion for Darnley (who was barely twenty years of age), ſhe firſt raiſed him nearly to an equality with herſelf, by giving him the royal honors of Roſs and Albany; then ſhe married him, having the evening before the wedding proclaimed him King of Scots*; and then, having allowed only three days to nuptial [32] feſtivity, ſhe mounted her horſe, and leading her

Marriage of the queen.

NOTES.

[32] Randolph, the Engliſh reſident, writes ſome curious particulars of the marriage to Lord Leiceſter. 'She had on her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, &c. The rings, which were three, the middle a rich diamond, were put on her finger. They kneel together, and many prayers were ſaid over them; ſhe tarrieth out the maſs, and he taketh a kiſs and leaveth her there, and went to her chamber, whither, within a ſpace, ſhe followeth, and being required (according to the ſolem-

* Guthrie, vol. vi. p. 284.

her army (in which ſhe had 700 regular troops kept in conſtant pay) in perſon, armed with loaded piſtols *, ſhe ceaſed not from the purſuit of the revolted lords [33] until they had taken ſhelter at Berwick under protection of the Earl of Bedford, who received them with hoſpitality; and where Elizabeth, notwithſtanding the unpardonable duplicity of her conduct, which made her diſavow the meaſures that ſhe had urged, ſupported them until an opportunity ſhould arrive to reinſtate them in their former poſſeſſions. A. D. 1565.

On this expedition, and on her nuptial gaieties, Mary had expended large ſums; theſe ſhe raiſed by borrowing 50,000l. on her own credit, and by moderate fines on the towns and diſtricts which had taken part againſt her.

At this period the Roman Catholic party, although not openly eſpouſed by the queen, increaſed in power and number. The title and eſtates of Huntley were reſtored to Lord Gordon; the Earl of Athol was called to a high poſt; the maſs was publicly celebrated; and Monks were permitted to preach in public †.

When Mary had returned from her expedition to the ſouth, ſhe returned not to domeſtic enjoyment. Her choſen lord proved to be the vaineſt and weakeſt of men. Honored as he had been by the faireſt of ſovereigns, he thought that what ſhe had done for him was leſs than his due, and inceſſantly perſecuted her to give him the matrimonial crown. This requeſt Vicious folly of the new king.

NOTES.

ſolemnity) to caſt off her cares, and leave aſide theſe ſorrowful garments, and give herſelf to a more pleaſant life, after ſome pretty refuſal (more, I believe, for manerſake than grief of heart) ſhe ſuffereth them that ſtood by, every man that could approach, to take out a pin; and ſo, being committed to her ladies, changed her garments, but went not to bed; to ſignifie to the world, that it was not luſt that moved them to marry, but only the neceſſity of her country, not, if God will, to leave it long without an heir. Suſpicious men, &c. would that it ſhould be believed that they knew each other before that they came there; but I would not that your lordſhip ſhould ſo believe it.' And then the good Randolph, fired by the ſpirit of chivalry, declares in very plain terms, that he would not credit his own eyes againſt the virtue of the fair Queen of Scotland. [RANDOLPH'S LETTERS.

[33] The moſt known of theſe were Chatelherault (who obtained a pardon, though with exile), Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree; with the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, and many others. [KNOX.

* App. to Keith, p. 164. † Knox, p. 389, 390.

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A. D. 1565. the queen hesitated to grant, and with reason. The manners of the youth (now King Henry) were become gross and odious. He was perpetually intoxicated, and in company with the lowest and worst of women. Young and beautiful as she was, the health of Mary was injured by his brutality; nor could her laudably artful management conceal his vile propensities; since even at table, in public, he was wont to use expressions of boundless and vulgar profligacy. Just as this refusal was, Henry was inordinately enraged [34] at it, and laid the whole blame on Rizzio, of whose intimacy with the queen he on a sudden grew suspicious.

1566. The meeting of parliament drew near, and the sentences and forfeitures of the fugitive lords were on the point of being confirmed. The humanity or policy of Mary had, indeed, tempted her to listen * to the earnest request of Elizabeth, and the prayers [35] of many noblemen, in favor of Murray and his fellow-exiles; but a message from her surviving uncles (Guise had been slain at Orleans), and the counsels of Rizzio, steeled her heart against any measure of forgiveness. The ambassadors told her, that

Mary listens to French counsel.

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[34] The temper of the young King of Scots was childishly irregular. He had nearly stabbed the Lord Ruthven for bringing him news that his creation, as Duke of Albany, was delayed for a few days. David Rizzio was at first his greatest intimate and confidant; but it appears that the capricious king had soon forgot his services, by the following remonstrance which he addressed to the queen:

'Since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiaritie with your Majestie, ye regarded me not, &c. for every day, before and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and pass time with me; and this long time ye have not done so. And when I come to your majestie's chamber ye bear me little company, except Davie had been the third marrow. And after supper your majestie hath a use to set at the cards with the said Davie till one or two of the clock after midnight. And this is the entertainment I have had of you this long time.' [COMPLAINT OF THE KING IN RUTHVEN'S NARRATIVE.

[35] Guthrie quotes an excellent letter from Throgmorton, a minister of Elizabeth, but a real friend to Mary, which ought to have weighed with the ill-advised princess. He tells her the consequence of union at home; warns her against trusting to foreign connections; and tells her that she will only be respectable in proportion as she should unite the interest of *all* her subjects with her own. Above all, he very rationally advises her to prevent her subjects from receiving pensions from foreign princes, and rather to pay their debts for them than permit them to owe such favors to strangers.

* Melvill, p. 127.

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the fate of religion was in her hands; and that if ſhe re-admitted the Proteſtant lords, no hopes would remain of eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion in her dominions. They alſo earneſtly requeſted and obtained her approbation of the Holy League, formed under the patronage of Pope Pius IV. for the extirpation of Proteſtantiſm, under the title of Hereſy. A. D. 1566.

The friends of the exiles had no hope left unleſs in ſome reſolute counſel. Convinced of this, they determined to ſeize and deſtroy Rizzio. They would have had him tried before the parliament; but the capricious and brutal king, who had entered eagerly into all their ſchemes, inſiſted that the wretched muſician ſhould be ſlain in the preſence of Mary. Accordingly the plan for the murther was laid as he wiſhed it, and nothing could exceed the horror of the ſtyle in which it was performed. Mary (then twenty-three years of age), in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſitting at ſupper (as was her imprudent cuſtom) with David Rizzio and the Counteſs of Argyle *, when Henry entered the room, followed by Lord Ruthven, with a countenance rendered pale and ghaſtly by diſeaſe, and with a frame ſo weak, that the weight of his armor would have borne him to the ground, had he not been ſupported by two men. Morton, the lord high chancellor, and other armed followers crouded in. Ruthven [36], drawing his dagger, with a hollow voice bid Rizzio "retire from a place of which he was not worthy." But the hapleſs wretch, clinging to Mary for protection, was wounded, forced from his ſanctuary, and ſlain with fifty-ſix ſtrokes, in ſpite of the queen's tears, intreaties, and menaces. Rizzio ſlain.

A ſcene of confuſion followed this atrocious act. Murray, with the exiled lords, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, &c. had advice of what had been done, and, ſuddenly appearing, threw themſelves at the queen's feet; while ſhe, looking on their faults as trivial when compared to thoſe of the murtherers of Rizzio, received Murray with affection, only conjuring him not to protect the wretches who had inſulted her in a way ſo unmanly. Murray and the baniſhed lords return to court.

NOTES.

[36] It ſeems ſtrange that Ruthven ſhould be choſen as the executioner of Rizzio, when ſo wan in his countenance that he ſeemed (ſays one author) 'a moving death,' and ſo ill that he was forced to call for a cordial in the queen's preſence.

* Melvill, p. 130.

Mary

A. D. 1566.

Mary indeed exerted both art and ſpirit on this occaſion; by the former ſhe ſeduced the weak Henry from his confederates, and, as ſoon as ſhe had gained that point, ſhe drove the reſt of the party who committed the outrage to ſeek ſhelter in the Engliſh borders. The exiles were now well received at court, and thoſe, whoſe cruel and daring enterprize had reinſtated them, were themſelves compelled to fly.

Bothwell in favor.

It was about this time that James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, firſt appeared on the ſtage as a favorite of the fair Queen of Scots. He had, without doubt, in ſome degree, merited that favor by ſteady fidelity; for on no occaſion whatever had this nobleman ever taken part againſt * her. In recompence ſhe had made him Warden of the Marches, and, on his having been wounded in a private conteſt on the borders, ſhe had ridden through an almoſt impaſſable country to viſit him. His character was ambitious and daring to an extreme; and it is a tradition in Scotland, that the firſt impreſſion which he made on the ſuſceptible heart of his queen might be dated from his riding furiouſly down the ſteep hill of Calton, near Edinburgh, in her ſight. This man had been long an enemy to the Douglas family, and to all of Murray's party; but probably, ſeeing in Morton, Ruthven, &c. characters not unlike his own, he aſpired to their friendſhip, and by making uſe of his intereſt † with Mary (whoſe diſpoſition was far from implacable), obtained permiſſion for the return of thoſe who had ſo cruelly outraged her feelings, and endangered her life.

Mary, unhurt by the horrid ſcene to which ſhe had been a witneſs, was now far advanced in her pregnancy, and took up her abode in Edinburgh Caſtle; for ſuch was the ariſtocratic power in Scotland, and ſo feeble was the government, that the privy council thought her palace not a ſafe habitation at ſo critical a ſeaſon.

James VI. born.

She was delivered on the 19th of June of a prince, afterwards James I. of England, and VI. of Scotland, who proved the happy bond of union between two nations which nature had always meant to be friends and fellow-ſubjects, but into whoſe boſoms foreign policy had too often ſucceſsfully inſtilled the bittereſt enmity.

* Knox, p. 396.

† Melvill, p. 152.

Mean-

A. D. 1566.

King Henry neglected.

Meanwhile the worthleſs and unfortunate king ſometimes unheeded followed the court, and ſometimes wandered ſolitarily from place to place. His inexcuſable conduct had totally alienated the affection of his once doting wife. She had withdrawn her countenance from him, and the courtiers, alert at diſcerning a diſgraced favorite, had even ventured to intimate to Mary that ſhe might with eaſe obtain a divorce *. She would perhaps have embraced this expedient, had ſhe not dreaded leſt ſuch a meaſure might leave a ſtain on the legitimacy of her child, and perhaps prejudice him as to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. The manners of Henry rendered him every day more odious, and he now openly ſpoke of his deſign to quit Scotland, and relate his family complaints to every court in Europe; nor could his father the Earl of Lenox, nor the queen, ſucceed in diſſuading him from this wild project.

The ceremony of the young prince's baptiſm [37] was now performed with ſplendor [38] at the caſtle of Stirling. Bedford, who attended with a ſumptuous preſent from Elizabeth, brought likewiſe a conciliatory propoſal as to the rights of the Stuart family, which the Engliſh queen offered

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[37] The devices at the entertainment which accompanied the baptiſm were regulated by a Frenchman named Baſtien, and ſeem to have been ſingularly uncouth. Satyrs with tails, and whips in their hands, perſonated by the French ambaſſador's retinue, ran in ſkipping before the 'meate,' and muſicians dreſſed like 'maydes' followed after. Somewhat which occurred in this barbarous medley diſguſted the Engliſh; and Hatton, one of Lord Bedford's ſuite (afterwards high in the favor of Elizabeth) ſaid, that 'if it were not in the queen's preſence, he would put a dagger to the heart of that knave Baſtien, who' (he alleged) 'had done it out of ſpight that the queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen.' Melvill ſenſibly remarks, that the Engliſh were fools for taking the affront to themſelves, and Lord Bedford diſcreet for ending the affair without noiſe. [MEMOIRS, &c.

[38] Soon after the chriſtening, a ſingular accident chanced to Mary. She had ridden to the borders, and while Sir John Forſter, the warden, was talking to the queen, his horſe rearing to bite her's by the neck, ſtruck her majeſty's thigh with his hoof. Forſter jumped off his horſe and fell on his knees, but the good-natured and truly well-bred Mary ſmiled, and told him 'no harm was done.' Yet ſhe was two whole days confined to her room in conſequence of the hurt. [MELVILL.

* Anderſon, vol. iv.

A. D. 1566. to allow, provided Mary would promiſe not to diſturb her or her heirs [39]; while the ill-judging Henry, not invited to the ceremony, ſhewed himſelf in Stirling as if proud of the neglect he had ſuffered.

Roman Catholics favored.

A moſt unpopular meaſure *, dictated to Mary by the ambitious Bothwell, cloſed the tranſactions of 1566. She reſtored to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's that juriſdiction in the ſpiritual court, which had by act of parliament been taken from him, and lodged in the hands of commiſſioners. The reformed clergy, bitterly offended at this breach of faith (for the queen had confirmed the ſtatute), addreſſed a warm remonſtrance to the † whole body of the Proteſtant nobility. They were the more alarmed, as the queen had conſented to admit a nuncio from the Pope, and had accepted a preſent of 20,000 crowns from the treaſury of Rome. The archbiſhop, finding the univerſal diſlike to his new powers, had ſo much moderation and ſenſe as not to exert them for the preſent.

1567. Towards the beginning of the next year, Henry, who had retired to his father's houſe, from a chimerical dread of impriſonment, fell ſick at Glaſgow; poiſoned, as ſome ſuppoſed, by Bothwell, or worn out by his own noxious irregularities [40]. Yet although he was believed to be in danger, the queen was ſo much eſtranged from him as not to viſit him during the firſt month of his ſickneſs. At length, when ſhe found him recovering, though ſlowly, and ſtill determined to expoſe himſelf and her by travelling, ſhe repaired to his abode, treated him with uncommon tenderneſs, and perſuaded him to accompany her to Edinburgh. He was there lodged in a houſe ſituated in an open field remarkable for its ſalubrious air, but at the ſame time uncommonly well adapted for any illegal or murtherous

NOTES.

[39] Mary frowned on this plan, which, had ſhe approved it, might perhaps have given a more favorable turn to her fortunes. She was perſuaded that the will of Henry VIII. which diſinherited her branch of the Tudor family, was not genuine. Dr. Robertſon thinks otherwiſe, and that Elizabeth ſerved the intereſt of the Stuarts by not bringing that will forward. She never meant any prejudice to the Stuarts' claim. She only wiſhed, for her own intereſt, to make their ſucceſs dependent on her goodwill. [HIST. OF SCOTLAND.

[40] Biſhop Leſlie imputes the illneſs of Henry to poiſon adminiſtered by his ſervant, but Archbiſhop Spotiſwood attributes it to a diſgraceful malady.

* Knox, p. 403. † Keith, p. 567.

purpoſe.

purpoſe. There the affectionate wife watched over her convaleſcent, ſat by him during the day, and frequently ſpent the night in his chamber; her attention was ſuch, that an entire reconciliation with her huſband was generally believed to have taken place. A. D. 1567.

On Sunday February 9, 1567, Mary, and thoſe noblemen who uſually accompanied her ſteps, left the ill-fated Henry, to be preſent at a maſque-ball; and at two in the ſucceeding morn the city was alarmed by a loud exploſion of gun-powder. The houſe in which the king reſided had been blown up; and, after a ſlight ſearch, his body, and that of a domeſtic who lay near him, were found in an adjacent garden, without any marks of violence upon them, but apparently ſlain by ſuffocation or ſtrangling. Aſſaſſination of Henry.

Thus fell, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. His perſon [41] and accompliſhments had gained him the heart of the moſt lovely princeſs in Europe; and, had he poſſeſſed either ſenſibility, gratitude, or common ſenſe, his path might have been ſtrewed with flowers; but, like a viper, he ſtung the fair boſom which had cheriſhed him. Moſt unhappily he ſuffered not alone; his vices and follies drew down deſtruction, not only on his own deſerving head, but on his injured benefactreſs. Had he died in peace at Glaſgow none would have regretted him, nor enquired into the circumſtances of his deceaſe; but the alarming manner of his departure at his capital, kindled a flame which deſtroyed all order and government, and which at length conſumed one of the faireſt and moſt amiable, though not the moſt faultleſs, of beings. His character.

The cry of the nation was now raiſed againſt Bothwell as the murtherer of his king; loud voices during the night proclaimed his guilt; papers to the ſame effect were ſeen at the corner of every ſtreet; and portraits of the ſuppoſed aſſaſſin were every where ſet out to view. The queen, who had retired to a mournful ſolitude at Seaton, ſix miles from Edinburgh, in vain offered a large reward for the diſcovery of the murther. She herſelf was by many complicated in the accuſation; and it was obſerved with diſguſt, that although, on the earneſt application and complaint of the old Earl of Lenox, Bothwell was bid to prepare for trial, yet he was not only Bothwell ſuſpected.

NOTES.

[41] 'He was,' ſays Melvill, 'handſome, beardleſs, and lady-faced.'

A. D. 1567. permitted to remain at liberty, but was continued by the ill-judging queen in the ſupreme direction of all buſineſs. That dangerous lord had indeed almoſt all the force of the kingdom already in his hand; from the great offices [42] which he held; and Mary, at this critical time, moſt imprudently added to his other commands that of the caſtle of Edinburgh, which ſhe had perſuaded the Earl of Mar (late Lord Erſkine) to yield to her, in lieu of the royal infant James, whom ſhe committed to the charge of that ſteady and patriotic nobleman.

The trial of Bothwell now came on apace, for, at a meeting of the privy-council (in which he himſelf actually * ſat), on the 28th of March, it was fixed for the 12th of April. In vain did Lenox complain of this haſte, which allowed him no time to look out for evidence; he was anſwered by being ſhewn a letter of his own, demanding 'ſpeedy juſtice.' The wretched old lord, conſcious as he was with the reſt of the nation who it was that had ſlain his ſon, yet had no witneſs [43] to produce. He was alſo terrified at the vaſt number of friends and followers (or approvers as they were ſtyled) that were ready to accompany and ſupport the potent culprit. He ſtopped on his journey to Edinburgh, ſent a domeſtic to appear for him at the trial, and to proteſt againſt the proceedings, and took refuge † at the court of Elizabeth; who he knew had ſent in vain to adviſe Mary for her honor's ſake to defer the trial ‡, and who had juſt then ſet the Lady Lenox free from her confinement in the Tower.

NOTES.

[42] Bothwell was Great Admiral of Scotland, Lieutenant of the Marches, Governor of Dunbar, &c. &c.

[43] It was not until the execution of Morton, in 1581, that any ſtrong light was thrown on this myſtery. That reſolute but wicked peer left behind him in a paper (which appears to have been peruſed by Archbiſhop Spotiſwood), that Bothwell preſſed him to commit the murther, but that he refuſed it, although aſſured by the tempter that the queen earneſtly wiſhed the deed. When aſked why he did not inſtantly divulge the atrocious offer, 'To whom,' ſaid he, with an appearance of candor, 'ſhould I have told it? The queen was, as Bothwell averred, a party in the cauſe; and as for the king, he was ſo weak and childiſh, that he would have betrayed my confidence without ſecuring himſelf.'

[Appendix to Craufurd's Mem. &c. apud Guthrie.

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 50, 52. † Keith, p. 378, note d.

‡ Holingſhed's England, p. 1209, 60.

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The court was opened on the appointed day; Bothwell was arraigned at the bar; but as no one appeared againſt him he was of courſe acquitted. It is even believed, that, whatever witneſs had appeared, he muſt have been cleared, as the indictment was laid, probably on purpoſe, for the *ninth*, not the *tenth*, day of the month; at which latter date the affair really happened. A. D. 1567. Tried and acquitted.

Numerous intimations now gave the triumphant Bothwell to know, that by this irregular acquittal his cauſe had gained no ground in the public opinion, and he found that ſome farther ſteps were neceſſary to brighten his tarniſhed honor. His firſt attempt was made by a challenge to any gentleman of good fame who would ſtill accuſe him of the king's aſſaſſination. Afterwards he endeavoured, by a bold meaſure, to connect the intereſt of the Proteſtant cauſe with his own, and actually ſwayed the acceſſible mind of Mary (even at a time when ſhe was more than ever engaged to reſtore and ſupport the Roman Catholic faith), to paſs an act * in favor of the reformation, ſo clear and comprehenſive, that its greateſt friends could find nothing to add to it, but contented themſelves, when in power, with ratifying every clauſe.

There remained now but one ſtep for Bothwell to take that he might reach the higheſt ſtation in his country. To attain this he drew together moſt of the prelates and noblemen of Scotland at an entertainment; and when their hearts were exhilarated with his hoſpitality, produced a bond whereby the ſubſcribers, after fully acquitting him of King Henry's murther, and promiſing to ſupport him againſt all accuſers, joined together in recommending him to the queen as a huſband †. To this ſcandalous paper the whole aſſembly, although perſons of oppoſite ſentiments in religion and politics, united in ſigning their names; probably with the more alacrity, from conſciouſneſs that they were ſurrounded with armed men, poſted by order of the artful and ambitious planner of this diſgraceful meaſure. Murray was in France, but his name was added to the bond by a perſon preſent.

Armed with this important ſcroll, Bothwell waited not long inactive; but hearing that Mary had quitted her retreat at Seaton, and meant to viſit her ſon at Stirling, he rode to meet her on her return, accompanied by a thouſand of his dependents on horſeback, ſurrounded her, and having diſperſed

* Parl. 1 Jacobi VI. cap. 31.

† Anderſon, vol. i. p. 94.

her

A. D. 1567. Mary carried off by Bothwell.

her attendants, led his fair prey ('nothing loth', as Melvill *, who was of the party, intimates) to his caſtle at Dunbar, where he detained her ſome days as a priſoner, and, profiting by the advantages of his ſituation, ungenerouſly permitted the reſpect due to his ſovereign to give way to the warmth of his ſenſations as her admirer. At the ſame time he ſhook off his former wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, ſiſter to his beſt friend the Earl of Huntley, by a double ſuit of divorce. The firſt before the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, becauſe too nearly allied in blood; the ſecond brought by the lady herſelf, accuſing her huſband of adultery with a maid-ſervant. Both theſe ſuits ſucceeded, and Bothwell, being amply divorced, had leave to marry again. All this was done almoſt in an inſtant, and the queen conveyed by the triumphant raviſher to Edinburgh caſtle, where they were married by Adam Bothwell, Biſhop of Orkney †; but not before Bothwell had been made Duke of Orkney, and the Queen had exhibited a formal declaration before the ſeſſion, that 'although the violent conduct of Bothwell had at firſt given her diſpleaſure, ſhe had now forgiven him in conſequence of his reſpectful behavior, and from the memory of his former ſervices; and that moreover ſhe meant to raiſe him to higher honors.'

Who weds her.

No marriage was ever contracted under more unpromiſing auſpices; ſcarcely any nobleman appeared to grace it with his preſence; Du Croc, the ambaſſador of France, would not attend, and Craig, a private miniſter of Edinburgh, had refuſed to publiſh the banns, and had defended his conduct before the privy-council, by alleging the violence of Bothwell, and the improper and precipitate diſſolution of his former marriage. The courts of England and of France expreſſed equal diſguſt at this ill-ſorted [44] union;

NOTES.

[44] The character of Bothwell, odious in every light, muſt ſtrike an obſerver with wonder, as having been able to attract the affection of the delicate Mary. His language when he carried off the queen (as reported by an ear-witneſs) was vulgar and diſguſting; and the ſame perſon, Sir James Melvill, adds, 'Then he fell in diſcourſing with the gentlewomen, ſpeaking ſuch filthy language that they and I left him and went to the queen,' &c. He adds, 'He (Bothwell) was ſo beaſtly and ſuſpicious, that he ſuffered her not to paſs one day in patience, without making her ſhed abundance of tears.' And again, 'In preſence

* Melvill, p. 155, 156. † Ibid. p. 157.

union; and the honor in which the name of a Scot had been held throughout Europe, now gave way to ſentiments of diſregard and averſion. Paſquinades abounded at home, and the ſullen * and diſcontented air of the people pointed out the ſuſpicions with which their minds were agitated [45]. A. D. 1567.

The late tranſactions in the higher circles of Scotland had paſſed with ſuch rapidity, and were ſo unexpected, that the heads of the nation ſtood ſome time as petrified with aſtoniſhment; nor were they rouſed from this ſtupefaction until they were alarmed by an attempt of the Duke of Orkney (for Mary had not conferred royalty on her third conſort) to carry off the young prince from the cuſtody of the Earl of Mar †. Frighted at this enterpriſe, a large number of the Proteſtant noblemen met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation to defend the heir of the crown againſt any perſon whatever. To them Stuart, Earl of Athol, united himſelf, although a zealous Roman Catholic, and attached affectionately to the intereſt of the queen. It was eaſy for men of rank and popularity to raiſe an army, eſpe-

The Scottiſh lords aſſociate.

NOTES.

preſence of Sir Arthur Areſkine, I heard her aſk for a knife to ſtab herſelf. "Or elſe," ſaid ſhe, "I ſhall drown myſelf." Theſe laſt quotations prove that the ill-fated queen felt the diſgrace and horror of her connection. If, indeed, we could believe thoſe letters which appear as hers in Anderſon's collection to be genuine, Bothwell might appear no unworthy mate for ſuch a correſpondent. But who that has ever read the elegant ſtanzas written by Mary on the death of Francis II. will believe that the ſame pen could produce the groſs lines here alluded to.

[45] Volumes have been written in the 18th century for and againſt the imputed crime of Mary. To give judgment on a diſputed point like this is totally foreign to the plan of this hiſtory. Tindal, the commentator on Rapin, has made an obſervation which ſeems well-founded, and may ſerve to direct thoſe who ſtudy Scottiſh hiſtory to judge for themſelves. 'Camden,' ſays he, 'has ſpoke ſcarcely a word of truth; Buchanan the whole truth, and more than the truth; and Melvill has ſaid the truth, but not the whole truth.'

The hiſtorian feels himſelf happy that he is permitted to decline the painful taſk of ſearching into and expoſing the errors of a lovely but frail being, whoſe long and patient ſufferings ought in our eyes to atone for her faults; or, on the other hand, of employing ingenious, but not wholly juſtifiable, ſophiſtry, in excuſing palpable miſdemeanors by arguments which, when two centuries have paſſed, may be at any time produced by men of reading to contradict almoſt any event in hiſtory.

* Melvill, p. 159, 160. † Ibid. p. 157.

cially

A. D. 1567. cially as nothing could be more plauſible than their cauſe, and they omitted not to ſet this forth to the people by proper publications.

Mean while the wretched Bothwell (whoſe courage was that of a bravo, frantic when not oppoſed, but withering to nothing at the appearance of a foe) fled from Edinburgh, where he ought to have been prepared for reſiſtance, and where Balfour his dependent was maſter of the caſtle. He * led with him the Queen of Scots, in the indecent dreſs of a man, as the partner of his precipitate and ſhameful retreat. Arrived at Dunbar, he muſtered his adherents, and poſted them at Carberrie-hill, on nearly the ſame ground which the Engliſh occupied at the battle of Muſſelburgh. The troops of the aſſociated lords advanced with caution; the armies were nearly equal in numbers, but ſpirit and diſcipline had ranged themſelves with the mal-contents. In vain did Du Croc, the French ambaſſador, endeavor to effect a reconciliation; the lords ſmiled at the offer of a pardon, and demanded the head of Bothwell. At length, as the armies drew nearer to each other, ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of fear and diſcontent appeared among the followers of Bothwell, that Mary ſaw too plainly how little ſhe might expect from their diſheartened efforts. Her tears and reproaches were fruitleſs; nor had the vaunting challenge of Bothwell to the beſt knight among his enemies, a better effect. Kirkaldie of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and the Lord Lindſay, accepted the defiance. To the two firſt he excepted, as being his inferiors. To the third no objection could lie; but either the queen's commands, or want of ſpirit in her champion, prevented the combat †.

The queen meets them at Carberrie hill in arms.

Kirkaldie, obſerving the irreſolution of Mary's adherents, ſtepped forwards, and offered to the terrified queen, in the name of his party, honorable terms, would ſhe but ſeparate her intereſts from thoſe of her unworthy conſort. Bothwell, during the parley, had galloped from the field with a few followers [46]; his departure ſmoothed every difficulty, and Mary,

Bothwell flies.

NOTES.

[46] This wretched fugitive became a pirate for ſubſiſtence; but having been purſued by Kirkaldie, and driven from the Scottiſh coaſt, he attempted the ſame vocation on the ſhores of Norway; there he was taken and impriſoned. The diſcovery of his rank ſaved his life, but ten years confinement deprived him of his ſenſes, and he died frantic in a dungeon. [MELVILL, &c.

* Keith, p. 398.

† Melvill, p. 161.

embracing

embracing the offers of Kirkaldie, rode over to the army of the confederates, permitting her own ſoldiers to retire where they pleaſed.

A. D. 1567. Mary yields to the confederates.

The unfortunate queen, although reſpectfully treated by the leaders, was cruelly inſulted by the lower ranks of the army. Her ears were pained by the moſt taunting ſarcaſms, and wherever ſhe turned her eyes they met a ſtandard diſplaying the murther of her huſband Henry *. This ghaſtly [47] memorial was even carried before her in ſlow proceſſion to the houſe of the provoſt of Edinburgh, where ſhe lodged. Her ſtay was ſhort, for ſhe was almoſt immediately ſent in confinement to a caſtle ſituated on Loch Levin, and placed under the care of the mother of Murray, who had been the concubine of James V. and who boaſted of a marriage with that prince, prior to that which he contracted with Mary of Guiſe.

The high ſpirit of Kirkaldie could not brook the breach of articles which his own word had ſanctioned; but his reproaches were ſilenced by the ſight of an intercepted letter from the queen to Bothwell, in which ſhe promiſed 'never to abandon him, however long their ſeparation might endure †.' He peruſed the ſcroll with anguiſh, and wrote to the infatuated Mary a letter of advice, dictated by an honeſt heart, and conceived in the language of a ſoldier, not a courtier. The aſſociated lords, now ſtyled 'of the Secret Council,' having in their hands the ſupreme authority, proceeded to ſearch for the murtherers of the late king. But, although they tried and executed Captain Blackadder and a few more, no important or ſatisfactory diſcovery was made. It was about this time that a ſervant of Bothwell was ſeized while endeavouring to convey away a caſket which his maſter had left behind him in the caſtle of Edinburgh. The contents, viz. letters and poems, ſuppoſed to be the produce of Mary's pen, and directed to Bothwell, were of ſuch importance as, if genuine, to juſtify every ſtep of the revolted lords, and condemn the unhappy queen to the cenſure of indelicacy as well as of infidelity. Some time elapſed before any public mention was made of this very important caſket.

NOTES.

[47] In this vindictive banner the corpſe of Henry lay ſtretched on the ground, while the infant prince, kneeling before it, uttered, 'Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord!' [MELVILL.

* Melvill, p. 162. † Ibid. p. 163.

A. D. 1567. And resigns her crown.

The associated lords now wished to complete their work, by depriving the queen (with her own consent) of the regal authority. To accomplish this, she was prevented from corresponding with a party of noblemen who had met in her favour at Hamilton, and from all communication with foreign ambassadors; she was terrified with the idea of perpetual imprisonment, and, perhaps, of a trial for the murther of her husband. Besides, she was persuaded by the few friends who had access to her, that whatsoever concessions she might make while in durance, would be void when she regained her liberty.

Elizabeth of England acted on this occasion with more candor and affection towards her sister-queen than had been usual to her. The instructions given to Throgmorton speak much in her favor. She even wrote to the lords assembled at Hamilton, and alarmed the court of France in behalf of the distressed Mary. Perhaps the example of subjects righting themselves, might have somewhat alarmed the jealous sovereign. Her good wishes, however, were of little use; and Mary, not without floods of bitter tears, yielded up *, with all due formality, the rule and government of Scotland to her infant son, and the regency to her brother Murray. That wise and popular earl, who had retired to France at the time of the king's murther, now returned; and, after some deliberation, accepted the high office allotted to him by the voice of the nation.

Murray made regent.

It was not the character of the new regent to be remiss. His steps were hasty and yet prudent. He changed the seal of the kingdom, purchased Edinburgh Castle (the key of the realm) of Sir James Balfour, and forced Wilson, another of Bothwell's creatures, to surrender to him the castle of Dunbar. The last he delivered to the magistrates of the town, and trusted the care of the former to the high-spirited Kirkaldie. But if these precautions did honor to his penetration, a visit which he paid to his forlorn sister at her prison, did little credit to his sensibility, gratitude, or humanity. He received the affectionate and interesting confession of her faults and follies, which she eagerly poured forth into his bosom, with philosophical sternness †; advised her to patience; and only promised that he would endeavor to save her life. Affected by this faint effort of friendship, the forsaken Mary conjured him, for her son's sake and hers, to hold the

* Melvill, p. 165. † Keith, p. 96.

regency. A requeſt of which he failed not to make frequent mention in the ſucceeding part of his life. A. D. 1567.

A parliament cloſed the hiſtory of this buſy, eventful year. In this, every act in favor of the reformation was confirmed; the reſignation of Mary regiſtered; and every poſſible ſtep taken which could render ſtability and ſafety to the late aſſociators. The letters ſuppoſed to be Mary's, and found in Bothwell's caſket, were produced before this ſeſſion, and were received as genuine *.

1568. Murray loſes his popularity.

The popularity of the regent was now on the wane. His natural ſeverity of manners, prompted by the extreme neceſſity of unforgiving ſtrictneſs in every department, had diſobliged many. He found that many of his truſted friends began now to quit his ſide; that the adherents to the queen had again collected a ſtrong party; and that the houſe of Hamilton, and all the favorers of the old religion, were unanimouſly diſpoſed to pity and relieve her diſtreſs. A ſudden change of fortune placed Mary at the head of her friends. Her natural graces and talents for inſinuation had ſubdued the heart of George Douglas †, half-brother to the regent, and an inhabitant of Loch-levin caſtle. By his means ſhe had attempted an eſcape in the diſguiſe of a laundreſs, with a bundle of linen on her head, but had been diſcovered by the whiteneſs of her hands, to the boatmen; who, although they rowed her back to her priſon, yet had ſo much generoſity as not to make her enterprize known to her keeper. A ſecond trial ſucceeded better. On the 2d of May, 1568, the keys of the caſtle were ſecreted by George Douglas (a lad of eighteen), and thrown into the lake, when Mary had been by their means let out of her priſon: accompanied by one maid ſhe ſprang into the boat, and was rowed by Douglas to the ſhore, where ſhe was received by Lord Seaton, Sir James Hamilton, and their friends, who conveyed her quickly to Hamilton. Almoſt inſtantly ſhe found herſelf from a priſoner a queen, at the head of a numerous nobility, and 6000 ſoldiers. She renounced the reſignation of the crown, and every ſtep which terror had forced her to take; and ſhe ſaw an aſſociation ‡ formed in her favor, and ſigned by many of thoſe who had ſet their hands to one of a contrary nature a few weeks before.

Mary eſcapes from Loch-levin.

Raiſes an army.

* Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 206.

† Buchanan, lib. xix. Holingſhed's Scotland, p. 391.

‡ Keith, p. 475.

A. D. 1568. Numbers were now on the ſide of Mary, but neither prudence, ſubordination, nor union; her beſt ſtep, it ſhould ſeem, had been to march northwards, and to join Huntley and his numerous Roman Catholic dependents; but the Hamilton party prevailed, and it was determined to fight the regent in the ſouth. Had even this been done inſtantly, perhaps his party might have been cruſhed; but heſitation, diviſions, and negotiation, delayed the time, and gave opportunity for that diſcerning and experienced captain to poſt the daring Kirkaldie with a body of infantry (conveyed haſtily on horſeback behind troopers *), on an eminence called Langſide-hill, which commanded the deſtined field of battle.

Battle of Langſide.

The expectations of Mary's friends were high, as they brought to the field nearly double the number of their foes. The Hamiltons had already triumphed in imagination over their old enemies Murray, Morton, Glencairn, &c. and the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's already viewed in the victorious queen a wife for one of his nephews; but the event baffled this pregnant hope. The violent attack of the ſouthern infantry was repelled by the regent's ſpearmen, while the fire of Kirkaldie's muſquetry flanked the Hamiltons, and drove them to a total rout. Very few fell in this battle, through the particular humanity of the regent and Kirkaldie †, who rode about the field intreating the conquerors to ſpare their unfortunate countrymen.

The regent triumphs.

Mary, too confident of victory, had watched on a riſing ground each motion of the armies; at length, ſeeing her expected laurels blaſted by the event of the day, ſhe drew animation from deſpair, and hurried from the field. Goaded by terror ſhe rode towards England, nor ever reſted until ſhe had reached the abbey of Dundrenan †, in Galloway, ſixty miles from the place of action. She ſtayed not there; her fears ſtill preſſing her on, ſhe diſregarded the intreaties of her faithfulleſt attendants, the Lords Herries and Fleming, that would have guarded her from truſting to Elizabeth, whom ſhe had already diſobliged, and rendered miſtruſtful by perpetually refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and, throwing herſelf into a boat, entered Cumberland, before her ſervants had been able to apprize the Governor of Carliſle of his royal viſitor's approach.

Mary flies to England.

* Melvill, p. 175. † Ibid. p. 176. ‡ Keith, p. 481.

The

The reception which ſhe met with in the ſouth, where, inſtead of a ſiſter, ſhe found a rival; inſtead of protection, impriſonment; has already been related in the Hiſtory of England. 'With Elizabeth and her counſellors,' writes a modern hiſtorian, 'the queſtion was not what was moſt juſt or generous, but what was moſt beneficial to herſelf and to the Engliſh nation?' And, indeed, the extreme hazard both to church and ſtate from any other meaſure than that which ſhe embraced, is the only excuſe which can be alleged in defence of the ſtern daughter of Henry VIII. A. D. 1568.

In the mean while the regent was not idle; he reduced ſeveral caſtles belonging to the party of Mary, and ſhewed ſo formidable a countenance, that Huntley, who was advancing towards the capital with 2000 men, thought it beſt to retire. Murray now marched towards the weſt, and the eſtates of thoſe who had adhered to the queen would have been laid waſte, had not Elizabeth at her earneſt intreaty interpoſed [48], and perſuaded him to diſband his forces; and the friends of Mary having at her requeſt conſented to the ſame meaſure, he found leiſure, in ſpite of the endeavors of his enemies, and even of the wiſhes of Elizabeth, to convoke a parliament. There he found a great majority of friends to the cauſe he had ſupported; little favor was ſhewn in this aſſembly to thoſe of the other party; and whatever moderation appeared, was owing to William Maitland of Lethington, who had already, from generoſity or verſatility of ſpirit, formed reſolutions in favor of his fair, oppreſſed queen.

Not long after this, the regent, with Morton, Lindſay, and ſeveral other noblemen, aſſiſted by two of the firſt men of the age for literature and abilities, Maitland and Buchanan, met the Duke of Norfolk and the other commiſſioners of Elizabeth, and the friends of Mary, at York. Murray would not have attended in perſon, could he have prevailed on the other lords to have taken the charge upon them, nor would he have taken Maitland with him, had he not dreaded the commotions which his popularity and intriguing ſpirit might have ſtirred up at home. After ſome time ſpent

Conferences at York.

NOTES.

[48] John Knox had exerted his influence juſt before to ſave ſix of the queen's chief friends who had been taken at Langſide, and after a trial had been doomed to execution as traitors. [CALDERWOOD.

without

A. D. 1568. without gaining ground, a private negotiation was commenced, and a marriage was cautiouſly planned between Mary and Norfolk, with the participation of the regent; at length, Elizabeth, uneaſy at finding no pretence to detain her ſiſter-queen, removed the conferences to Weſtminſter. It was there that the Earl of Lenox ſolemnly accuſed Mary as the murthereſs of his ſon, and that the regent was prevailed on, by promiſes of protection if he made good his charge, and by menaces if he ſhould ſtop half-way, to produce the fatal ſilver caſket given by Francis II. to Mary, and by her to the worthleſs Bothwell; and the letters, contracts, and other MSS. which, if genuine [49], were completely ſufficient to cover the wretched Mary with a cloud of infamy *.

Caſket of letters produced.

1569. The regent was now anxious for permiſſion to return to Scotland, where the ſituation of his party was growing critical; beſides the promiſes of aſſiſtance which were daily ſent by Mary to keep her friends from being diſheartened, they had juſt heard of a new bulwark added to their cauſe. France, unable from her own civil wars to add much to the miſeries of Scotland by an armed force, tried at leaſt to form one new diviſion in the country, by ſending them the late regent, Chatelherault, with a ſum of money to raiſe forces. He paſſed through England and conferred with Mary †, who delegated to him an almoſt kingly power, and treated him as her father. Elizabeth detained him under various pretences ſome weeks, but at length he ſet out for the north at the ſame time with the regent; who, although he could gain no public declaration from the Engliſh court in his favor, was conſoled by fair promiſes and a large ſum of money ſecretly committed to his charge. Elizabeth was, indeed, driven to the ne-

Return of the regent, and of Chatelherault.

NOTES.

[49] Whoever wiſhes to enter into the conteſt and convince himſelf as to the proper degree of credit which theſe celebrated letters may command, they find them and the poems in Anderſon's collection; and may read on the one ſide Dr. Robertſon's Diſſertation, and Hume's Hiſtory of Tudors, p. 499, 500; on the other ſide, he may examine the ſeventh volume of Guthrie's Scotland. The ſtrongeſt evidence that Mary never wrote the poems, &c. in queſtion, may be deduced from their internal evidence. Surely the elegant authoreſs of the Elegy on Francis II. could hardly have written the groſs lines with which thoſe performances abound!

* Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 179, 183, &c. Buchanan, lib. xix. † Buchanan, lib. xix.

ceſſity

ceſſity of ſupporting him; as ſhe found by an intercepted letter, written by the incautious Mary, that ſhe was looked on by that queen and her friends as an irreconcileable enemy. The Earl of Murray reached Edinburgh in proper time; by exerting his uſual ſpirit and addreſs, he prevented the revolt meditated by the old Chatelherault, but with his accuſtomed moderation granted him an honorable treaty; by virtue of which, the priſoners of Langſide regained their liberty and eſtates, on the eaſy condition of paying their allegiance to the ſon of their queen. The head of the Hamiltons, with his uſual inſtability, ſoon endeavored to raiſe new commotions; but the active regent met him half way, ſeized his perſon, and confined him and the Lord Herries in the Caſtle of Edinburgh *. His accomplices, Argyle and Huntley, with their clans, were ſoon diſperſed; and Murray, who was never accuſed of inhumanity, permitted them to make their peace on moderate terms. It was ſoon after this diſturbance, that the engagements entered into between the Queen of Scots and Norfolk became known to Elizabeth. They had indeed proceeded ſo far, that the ſuſceptible Mary had warmly intreated the regent that he would render her acceſſible to the addreſſes of a fourth huſband, by annulling her inauſpicious union with Bothwell. The Engliſh queen, with her uſual activity, impriſoned the daring Norfolk, and ſpeedily routed his two revolting friends, Percy and Nevil, of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland †. A. D. 1569.

The Scottiſh regent had juſt at this period a reverſe of fortune. He had long ſuſpected that Maitland, of Lethington, had betrayed his counſels, and ſeduced from his intereſt his firmeſt friends; he meant to confine him for this conduct, and found a pretence to ſend him to Edinburgh Caſtle. Unhappily, the gallant Kirkaldie, of Grange, who had been placed to command that fortreſs by the regent, was one of thoſe whoſe fidelity the art of this adroit tempter had ſhaken from its foundation. He releaſed Maitland as ſoon as he had entered his walls, and afterwards acted only by his direction. Still the generous Murray truſting to his honor, viſited him unguarded in his caſtle, and left him in poſſeſſion of that important fortreſs while he went to the borders, where he exerted ſuch prudence and activity, in quieting the turbulent and puniſhing the plunderers, that every one

The regent loſes his friends.

* Melvill, p. 193. Buchanan, lib. xix. † Camden's Eliza, p. 422, &c.

ſpoke

A. D. 1569. ſpoke loudly in his praiſe *. The ſituation of the Scots, in point of civil government, was, at this period, and for many years after, truly deplorable. Aſſaſſinations [50] were frequent, and men were forced to depend for preſervation on their own ſtrength, and that of their caſtles and dependents, ſince the laws, overpowered by the din of arms, were totally ſilent.

1570. The regent ſlain. The aſſaſſination of 'The Good Regent' † (for ſo ſays Melvill he was, and ever will be, deſervedly called), clouded over the dawn of 1570. He loſt his life for a fault not his own; he had, at the intreaty of Knox, ſpared the forfeited head of a Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh; but had given his eſtate to a friend, Sir John Ballentyne, who had taken poſſeſſion of it in ſo harſh a manner as to drive the unhappy wife of the culprit to madneſs. Determined on revenge, and unhappily pointing that revenge at the regent, and not at the man whoſe brutality had immediately done the

NOTES.

[50] The ſtory of one of theſe outrages, nearly of this date, related in Mr. Pennant's Tour to Scotland, is intereſting. John and Robert Innes, two lairds, joined to aſſaſſinate their relation Alexander Innes, at Aberdeen; the ſon (named alſo Alexander) eſcaped. After the murther, John and Robert having by a bribe corrupted a ſervant of the deceaſed, ſent him to the caſtle of Innes on his maſter's horſe, with his ſeal as a token, to demand an important box of writings. The widow apprehending no fraud, delivered them to the traitor. It luckily chanced that a young man of the family deſired the bribed ſervant to let him ride behind him to Aberdeen: the ſervant refuſed, but ſhewed ſuch marks of confuſion that, the young Innes ſuſpecting him, a broil enſued, the treacherous ſervant was killed, and the box of writings carried back to the widow; by which an eſtate in diſpute between Alexander and John, the title to which depended on thoſe writings, was ſaved to the family of Alexander.

The whole affair ſoon became public; and, notwithſtanding the complaint of the widow, yet John and Robert lived in peace and impunity on their eſtates, above two years after the murther. At length, the widow not ceaſing her complaints, they were declared outlaws, and the young Alexander went with a party to ſeize their perſons. John was ſoon taken, and compounded for his life by the gift of an eſtate; but Robert ſtood on his defence, and was at length taken by that very young man who had providentially puniſhed the treacherous ſervant. He was ever after ſtyled, 'Craig in Peril,' becauſe of his combat with the deſperate aſſaſſin. As to Robert, 'there was no mercy for him, for ſlain he was; and his hoar-head cut off, and taken to the widow of him whom he hade ſlain, and carried to Edinburgh, and caſten at the king's feet; a thing,' adds the narrator, 'too maſculine to be commended in a woman.' [APPENDIX TO FIRST SCOTTISH TOUR.

* Buchanan, ubi ſupra.

† Spotiſwood, p. 234.

injury,

injury, the enraged Hamilton watched every ſtep he took, and purſued his deſign with an openneſs which might have been fatal to him, had the object of his reſentment been more ſuſpicious. At Linlithgow *, he found an opportunity he had long ſought; he ſhot his enemy through the body as he rode (although warned of his danger) ſlowly along the ſtreet, and mounting his horſe, eſcaped to the ſea-ſide and thence to France [51]. A. D. 1570. The regent ſlain.

The regent died, after a few hours pain, with philoſophic firmneſs. He earneſtly commended the care of the infant-king to the lords around him, and hearing thoſe who ſtood near lamenting that he ſaved Hamilton from death to become his murtherer, uttered with his dying voice a ſentiment which would have done honor to an Antoninus:

'Nothing can make me repent of an act of clemency †.'

Thus fell James Stuart, Earl of Murray, the ſon of James V. of Scots, by a private marriage, as his mother (the daughter of Lord Erſkine) and her relations ſteadily affirmed. 'He was,' ſays one of the ſteadieſt friends to Mary, 'at firſt, of a gentle nature, well-inclined, wiſe, and ſtout; in his firſt upriſing his hap was to light on the beſt ſort of company; he was religiouſly educated, and devoutly inclined.' He did eminent ſervices to Scotland and to the Proteſtant faith; and could he be abſolved from the charge of harſhneſs and cruelty to a ſiſter, who ſeemed diſpoſed to love him tenderly, his character would be without a flaw [52]. His character.

The

NOTES.

[51] The precautions taken by the aſſaſſin argued uncommon coolneſs and ſolicitude for ſucceſs and ſafety. He poſted himſelf in a wooden room (or as it is called gallery), near which the regent was obliged to come; he covered the floor with a feather-bed that his motions might not be heard, and he hung up black garments facing the window that his ſhadow might not be ſeen: then with his knife he cut a hole in the wall of the chamber for his gun to paſs through. The murtherer was forwarded in his flight by the Hamiltons, the deadly foes of Murray. The horſe that waited for him even belonged to Lord Claud Hamilton.

It is ſaid that the fugitive refuſed a large premium offered to him in France, if he would ſlay the great Coligny. 'He had dipped his hands once in blood,' he ſaid, 'to take vengeance for an injury; but that no mercenary motives ſhould tempt him to commit a murther.' [SPOTISWOOD.

[52] The teſtimonies in favor of this great man from the pen of the eloquent Buchanan may be thought intereſted, as the regent had the honor of being his patron; but the venerable

* Melvill, p. 196. † Spotiſwood, Buchanan, lib. xix.

A. D. 1570. The party of Mary received the news of Murray's death with immoderate and indecent triumph; the Hamiltons, in particular, loudly avowed their joy, and the very next day, Scot and Buccleugh, two of Mary's warmeſt adherents, invaded the Engliſh border and ravaged it with uncommon barbarity; a circumſtance which made many ſuppoſe that the regent's murther had been concerted by the whole party, ſince, had they not been certain of his death, the plunderers had not dared to violate the peace between the nations.

Elizabeth, with her uſual policy, made great advantages of this imprudent incurſion. After declaring that ſhe only blamed a party and not the Scottiſh nation for what had been done, ſhe bade her troops invade the ſouthern diſtricts and lay waſte the eſtates of the queen's party [53]. Suſſex and Scroop led two armies beyond the borders; while a ſmaller corps, under Sir William Drury, penetrated to Glaſgow and joined the royaliſts, as the favorers of the king's authority in oppoſition to Mary were now called. The effect of this powerful ſupport was immediate. Lenox, whom England recommended, was choſen regent and began his adminiſtration with vigor. He prevented the meeting of a parliament convened by the queen's friends at Linlithgow; he diſperſed a body of troops raiſed by Huntley; he diſplaced Maitland (who, from a priſoner, had been made ſecretary of ſtate), and made the parliament attaint him, Chatelherault, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, Huntley, and others of Mary's adherents, as traitors. He was ſupported in theſe ſpirited meaſures by the advice of Randolph, the moſt active * of Elizabeth's emiſſaries. Diſcouraged and depreſſed, the

Lenox made regent.

NOTES,

rable Spotiſwood has commended him highly, and the claſſical praiſe of De Thou, a diſintereſted contemporary, will remind the reader of a Tacitus recording an Agricola: 'Dum viveret, ſciſſo factionibus regno, ſiniſtris rumoribus ab æmulis laceratus; ſed poſt quam mortuus eſt, veres laudibus etiam ab inimicis laudatus; qui, et preſentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in præleis, injure dicendo æquitatem, morum gravitatem cum liberalitate humanitate ſummâ conjuctam, prædicabent.' [THUANI HISTORIA SUI TEMPORIS.

[53] Some authors carry their ideas of Elizabeth's policy ſo far as to ſuppoſe, that ſhe directed the lands of particular noblemen (*e. g.* the Lord Hume's) to be deſolated, in order to drive them into the queen's faction, and by that means keep the Scottiſh parties in a kind of equilibrium. [MELVILL.

* Melvill, p. 203, 207.

friends

friends of the Scottiſh queen applied to France and Spain for aid, but in vain; and it was only the particular intereſt of Elizabeth, which led her to wiſh for a peace, that prevented their total deſtruction *. Lenox, who wanted not ſpirit and activity, would have driven them to extremities, but was curbed by the ſtrong arm of his potent ally and protectreſs. A. D. 1570.

The negotiations carried on between Elizabeth and her priſoner, at this ſeaſon, have been before deſcribed. Mary was indeed ſo compliant, as to give to the Engliſh queen no opportunity to break off a treaty which ſhe was determined ſhould never have effect. The Scottiſh royaliſts, however, who dreaded the return of Mary, afforded her a fair pretext for a rupture, by refuſing to permit the authority of the infant-king to be diminiſhed †. The commiſſioners thought new powers neceſſary; and the treaty broke off at the ſame time nearly that the ceſſation of arms expired. 1571. Treaty with Mary at a ſtand.

Scarcely had a day elapſed after that period, ere the caſtle of Dunbarton, the ſtrongeſt of the Scottiſh fortreſſes, and the beſt ſtation for landing ſuccors from foreign parts, garriſoned with choice troops, and ſituated on an inacceſſible rock, was ſurprized and taken by a daring handful of royaliſts. Captain Crawford, who contrived this aſtoniſhing enterprize ‡, mounted the rock where it was higheſt and ſteepeſt, as the feweſt guards were there to be found. The firſt ladder broke with the weight of the aſſailants, yet the garriſon were not alarmed; a ſecond ladder was raiſed, but the aſcent of the party was ſtopped by the convulſive diſorder of one man, who clung ſeemingly lifeleſs to the middle of the ladder. Crawford, unwilling to kill his comrade, contrived to bind him to the ladder, and to turn his body round in ſuch manner as to permit the party to climb over him. The enterprize ſucceeded; Lord Fleming, the governor, alone eſcaped; but his lady, Verac the French ambaſſador, and Hamilton Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, were made priſoners. The government of the caſtle he had ſo gallantly taken was with juſtice given to Crawford; Lady Fleming was treated with politeneſs; and Verac with a reſpect which he had no right to claim, as he had degraded the ſacred character of an ambaſſador by meddling in party diſputes. A worſe fate attended the ill- Surprize of Dunbarton caſtle.

* Spotiſwood, p. 243. † Haynes, p. 524, 528.

‡ Buchanan, lib. xx.

A. D. 1571. ſtarred prelate; his great abilities, his activity and firmneſs in his patroneſs's cauſe, deprived him of every chance for favor; he was led to Stirling, where he was charged before a court of juſtice with the murther of his king *: no proof, however, appearing of that fact, his former attainder was brought forward, and, on the fourth day after the ſurprize of Dunbarton, he was executed on a gallows †; a mean end, 'from which' (ſays a celebrated hiſtorian) 'the high offices which he had enjoyed both in church and ſtate ought to have exempted him [54].'

Kirkaldie's conduct.

Mean while Kirkaldie ſtrengthened himſelf in Edinburgh caſtle and awed the townſmen, who were ſtrongly inclined to the party of the king. He had received from France money and proviſions; the Hamiltons, and other friends of Mary, reſorted to him; the reſignation of the queen was publicly declared to be null and void; and his force became ſo conſiderable, that he meditated an enterprize which might well repay the diſgraceful loſs of Dunbarton, by ſtriking a deciſive blow to the party of the king. Morton, on the other hand, who led the royaliſts, had fortified Leith, and ſtraitened Edinburgh. He had gained ſome advantage in various ſkirmiſhes, and the war proceeded with incredible animoſity, although the forces in pay on each ſide hardly exceeded the number of 700. A parliament had been convened by each faction. The queen's was ſmall, and ſat at Edinburgh; three peers and two prelates formed the Upper Houſe; and, few as they were, they attainted 200 of the king's adherents. The royaliſts (who, although they for form-ſake opened their parliament alſo at a ſpot within the limits of Edinburgh, but diſtant from the caſtle, ſoon prorogued it and ſat at Stirling) were numerous, and their appearance ſplendid.

NOTES.

[54] The following diſtich was addreſſed to the tree which ſerved (at Stirling) as a gallows for the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's:

'Vive diu, felix arbor, ſemper que vireto,
'Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.'

Imitated,

'Hail, happy tree! may verdure ever crown
'Thy boughs, while penſile fruit like this they own.' I.P.A.

* Spotiſwood, p. 252. † Ibid.

The

The potent Earls of Argyle, Eglinton, and Caſſilis, had joined this ſenate; and, like their rivals at Edinburgh, they began with forming acts inimical to the other party. But their deliberations were unpleaſantly interrupted by a camiſade from Edinburgh; 400 choſen men, under Lord Huntley and Lord Claud Hamilton, early one morning entered Stirling with ſilence; and ſurrounding the principal quarters, ſurprized the regent in his bed, and every lord of the king's party, except the Earl of Morton, who defended his houſe with deſperate valor until it was ſet on fire. He yielded then; but his reſiſtance had given time for the Earl of Mar to be alarmed, to ruſh down from the caſtle with a few reſolute ſoldiers, and, by a gallant exertion of deſperate valor, to reſcue the captive lords. In vain did the aſſailants endeavor to rally their men; they had diſperſed for the ſake of plunder, and fled in confuſion. Not one of the officers of the queen's party could have eſcaped, had not the borderers ſeized and rode off with every horſe in Stirling* at their firſt entrance, and ſo prevented any purſuit.

A. D. 1571.

Stirling ſurprized.

The regent was the only royaliſt who ſuffered; he was ſlain in ſpite of the endeavors of Sir David Spence [55], to whom the care of him had been particularly recommended by Kirkaldie, who planned the enterprize; and who, had he been permitted by his anxious friends to command in it, would certainly on that day have completely ruined the party adverſe to Mary. The death of Lenox gave no great concern to any but Kircaldie; he was on the whole a well-meaning man, and a lover of peace, but too paſſionate and unſteady for a commander in chief. The Lord Mar,

The regent ſlain, and Mar choſen in his place.

NOTES.

[55] Sir David Spence was a gallant and ſucceſsful leader; he eagerly endeavored to ſave the regent, as he knew that Kirkaldie depended on gaining him to his cauſe. He even was wounded in his defence. When the party under Mar reſcued the captives, the dying Lenox endeavored to repay the kindneſs of Sir David by protecting him; it was too late, and the generous conteſt ended in the death of both. The confuſion was ſo great in the retreat from Stirling, that moſt of thoſe who had ſeized the lords in their beds, yielded themſelves as priſoners to their lately-made captives. The word of the aſſault was, 'The Queen! and Remember the Archbiſhop!' The regent, when carried to a couch and told that his wounds were mortal, only ſaid, 'If the babe' (the king) 'be well, all is well.'

[SPOTISWOOD, BUCHANAN, &c.

* Melvill, p. 215, 216.

an

A. D. 1571. an honeſt and patriotic peer, who could plead great merit in his attention to the young king's education, and in his late conduct in the reſcue of the lords, was choſen regent in his room, in preference to Argyle and Morton, his competitors.

Elizabeth hoſtile to Mary.

Juſt at this time the whole weight of Elizabeth's power was thrown into the ſcale of the king's partizans. By the timidity [56] of the Biſhop of Roſs, whoſe fear of the rack extorted from him all his royal miſtreſs's ſecrets, ſhe had diſcovered Mary's negotiation with Norfolk and with foreign powers; ſhe had no longer, therefore, any meaſures to keep; but reſolved openly to ſupport the young king's authority, and to humble the friends of Mary, whom ſhe now looked on in the light of a determined foe.

1572. Wretched ſtate of Scotland.

The civil war was now carried on in Scotland with an inhumanity beyond example; no quarter was given in the field, and numbers of priſoners taken in the country were put to death in cool blood. No rank could command humanity; the ties of nature yielded to the blind zeal of party; ſons ravaged the lands of their parents, and brothers calmly witneſſed the execution of their brethren.

Edinburgh (which, contrary to its principles, took part through fear with Kirkaldie), was reduced to great ſtraights by Morton's blockade; that active commander had deſtroyed the mills * all around the town, and placed garriſons in every church or houſe which could be defended. The city and caſtle were by this meaſure prevented from receiving any ſupplies, and muſt ſoon have ſurrendered; had not a truce, ſtrongly recommended by England and France, and agreed to by the Scots for two months, reſtored plenty to the garriſon and inhabitants †. This was the conſequence of a peace between England and France, concluded under deplorable auſpices, as it was immediately followed by the maſſacre of Paris. It ſerved, how-

A truce.

NOTES.

[56] It muſt be owned, that the viſible confuſion of the terrified biſhop's communications diminiſh in ſome degree their credit. He accuſes his miſtreſs of crimes which were never alleged againſt her, nor (on account of their abſurdity) can ever be credited for a ſingle moment. Such as, 'that ſhe poiſoned her firſt huſband, Francis II.;' 'that ſhe led Bothwell to the field of battle that he might be ſacrificed,' &c. &c.

[MURDEN'S STATE PAPERS.

* Buchanan, lib. xx. † Camden, p. 444.

ever,

ever, to prove the insincerity of Mary's foreign allies; the ambassador scarcely mentioned her name to the English queen; he desired, indeed, visibly for the sake of form, that the rigor of her confinement might be softened, but never repeated the request nor urged the performance. A. D. 1572.

Killigrew and Drury were, at this time, joined to Randolph in commission, that they might assist the French ambassador, Du Croc, in pacifying the Scots. Their success was not immediate; for, just at this time, a large convoy of necessaries for the castle was taken by the royalists, and every man of the party slain or hanged; while almost, at the same instant, fifty-six of the king's party were executed under the castle walls at Edinburgh.

The horror of these frequently-repeated scenes of studied inhumanity, weighed down to the ground the spirit and health of the patriotic regent. He saw himself crossed in every endeavor to form a union of parties; he saw the power of Morton superior to his own; and he found himself utterly unable to stem the torrent of misery which overflowed his country. He sank [57] beneath the load of woe; and left Morton without a rival to dispute his title to the regency. Supported by Elizabeth, there could be no doubt of his success; and he became the fourth regent of Scotland within the space of five years. He had not long before given up to the governor of Berwick the Earl of Northumberland, who had fled for refuge to Scotland. Could Morton have refused any thing to Elizabeth it should have been this demand, as he had peculiar obligations to the unfortunate nobleman.

The Regent Mar dies.

Morton succeeds.

Before the close of 1572 the celebrated John Knox, the founder of Scottish reformation, died at the age of seventy-five. The daring and unprincipled Morton, whom that stern teacher had frequently censured with uncourtly civility, witnessed his funeral, and thus pronounced his eulogy: 'There lies he who never feared the face of man [58] *.'

NOTES.

[57] It is a curious circumstance, and marks the anarchic turn of the times, that the Regent Mar should have left the tuition of the young king and the government of Stirling castle to persons of his own name and family *by will*; and that the regularity of the bequests was not disputed by the new regent.

[58] 'His severity,' says Randolph in one of his dispatches, 'keepeth *us*' (meaning the queen and court of Scotland) 'in marvellous order.'

* Spotiswood, apud Robertson, vol. ii. p. 36.

Morton

A. D. 1573. Morton had now reached the ſummit of his ambition; and ſeemed to wiſh to enjoy in quiet that pre-eminence to which his turbulent ſpirit had exalted him. Elizabeth, too (without whoſe directions he proceeded not a ſtep), at this period, ſhewed a deſire to afford peace and union to thoſe Scots, whoſe diviſions ſhe had ſo long and ſo aſſiduouſly fomented. She ſaw her danger from the firm, though private and impolitic, connection of France and Spain, and was deſirous of finding in Scotland an ally and ſupport againſt foreign attacks.

Peace with Chatelherault.

To bring about an advantageous agreement, Morton, with his uſual dextrous duplicity, treated ſeparately with the two diviſions of Mary's party. He had found Kirkaldie too much on his guard; but thoſe in diſtricts diſtant from the capital, headed by Chatelherault, by Huntley, and Sir Adam Gordon (a leader more fortunate than humane [59]), liſtened readily to his propoſals, abandoned the intereſt of Kirkaldie and his brave garriſon, and conſented to acknowledge him as regent, provided that every act by which the partizans of Mary were attainted, ſhould be repealed *.

Kirkaldie holds out.

Not ſo the party headed by the intrepid Kirkaldie, and the adroit and ſanguine Maitland of Lethington. They held the firſt fortreſs in the realm, and kept the capital in awe; they had alſo received ſome ſmall ſupply from France, and had fair promiſes of more: to theſe promiſes, and to chances which might fall out in their favor, did they chuſe to truſt, although ſhamefully and abſurdly forſaken by their party, rather than confide in the offers of Morton, of whoſe perſonal enmity they were both apprehenſive. But Elizabeth, who was determined that no place in Scotland ſhould remain in ſuch hands as would willingly receive auxiliaries from France, ſent a ſtrong body of troops under Sir William Drury, well provided with artillery, to reduce the caſtle. During one month it reſiſted a

NOTES.

[59] This nobleman, under the name of 'Edom o' Gordon,' had been charged with heinous deeds of cruelty in an affecting ballad, which may be found in one of the moſt elegant of modern collections, 'The Reliques of Antient Engliſh Poetry.' The real infamy of the deed is ſaid, by ſome, to belong to a Captain Care or Ker, who probably fought under Lord Adam's banner; but Archbiſhop Spotiſwood poſitively charges it on Lord Adam.

[HIST. OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

* Melvill, p. 225.

reſolute

reſolute and ſpirited attack with conſtant bravery; but the water failing, the garriſon mutinied, and forced their gallant leader to ſurrender. Kirkaldie delivered himſelf to Drury, who treated him kindly, until he was directed by Elizabeth to give him to the cuſtody of the regent *; but Morton, dreading his active and daring ſpirit, cauſed him [60] and his brother James to be executed on a gallows in the market-place of Edinburgh. Lord Hume, and other officers of the garriſon, quitted their country and ſerved abroad; and Maitland, knowing what doom he had to expect, put an end to his own life by poiſon. A. D. 1573. Kirkaldie taken and put to death.

The regent, now poſſeſſed of unlimited authority, and delivered by death from his only dangerous competitors, Chatelherault and Argyle, permitted his naturally avaritious diſpoſition to unfold itſelf, and turned every thing to his own profit. He performed however, ſome important ſervices to the country. At his acceſſion to command, anarchy prevailed in every diſtrict; and a firm government like that of Morton, was needed to ſtop the courſe of that unbridled licentiouſneſs which, protected by one or the other faction, had overrun the realm. Theſe diſorders he repreſſed with a ſtrong hand; and, by a ſeries of vigorous exertions, reſtored order and a due adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom: but he tarniſhed the luſtre of theſe great works by the inſatiable deſire of gain, which he manifeſted on all occaſions. He debaſed the coin, oppreſſed the church †, encouraged monopolies, and ſhewed his adminiſtration venal in every branch. 1574. Virtues and vices of Morton.

Mean while the unfortunate Mary, now more than ever obnoxious to her powerful rival, continued under the care of Lord Shrewſbury. She was, as an eſpecial favor, permitted to drink the waters of Buxton, but ſo extremely jealous was Elizabeth of thoſe who went near her, that ſhe had nearly

NOTES.

[60] Sir James Melvill dwells with affection on the character of William Kirkaldie of the Grange. 'In the houſe' (ſays he) 'he was humble and meek as a lamb, but like a lion in the field. He was a luſty, ſtrong, and well proportioned perſonage; hardy, and of a magnanimous courage; ſecret and prudent in all his enterprizes:' 'I heard,' he adds, 'Henry II. of France point unto him and ſay, "Yonder is one of the moſt valiant men of our age." Morton demanded his death of Elizabeth, declaring, that neither his perſon nor authority were in ſafety while Kirkaldie ſurvived.

* Melvill, p. 228, 229. † Spotiſwood, p. 273.

A. D. 1574. disgraced the old and faithful Lord Burleigh, for paying a visit to those wells at this time, although merely as a valetudinarian *.

1575. Dispute on the borders. A dispute on the borders, such a one as would a few years before have involved the sister-nations in a war, was compromised early in 1575, by the deliberate and decent conduct of Elizabeth and the regent. The English had been worsted, and Forester the warden, and many others, made prisoners. Sir John Carmichael, the Scottish warden, repaired to London, and answered so well for his conduct, that Elizabeth treated him with respect and dismissed him with honor.

The death of the profligate Bothwell [61] in a Danish prison, and a declaration (of disputed authenticity) which he left behind him, were topics of discourse towards the close of the same year: but still more interesting was an attack made by a private clergyman (named Andrew Melvill) on the Episcopal order. But this will be related in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

1576. A quarrel between the Earls of Athol and Argyle had nearly proved, in 1576, the destruction of both these noblemen. The vassals of the one had committed depredations on the other; he was demanded in vain by the injured party, and arms were snatched up on both sides. The contest would have been decided by battle, had not the regent obliged both parties to lay down their arms. Eager to break the force of two such potent chiefs, the insidious Morton summoned both to court, meaning to involve both in a charge of treason; but their good genius tempted a clerk named Campbell, who had been intrusted, to reveal the plot: in consequence, the invitation was disregarded, and the bearers dismissed with contempt by each of the summoned earls †.

Plot of the regent fails.

1577. The tide of the regent's prosperity had now passed its utmost height, and began to ebb apace. Besides Athol and Argyle, the house of Hamilton de-

NOTES.

[61] It seems strange that an author so respectable as Mr. Guthrie, should allow any credit to the asseverations in a will, in which the testator affirms, 'that, as he had from his youth addicted himself much to the art of *enchantment* at Paris and elsewhere, he had bewitched the queen (Mary) to fall in love with him,' &c. &c. &c.

* Strype, vol. ii. p. 248, 288. † Crawford's Mem. p. 285.

tested

teſted him, and earneſtly ſought his ruin; yet did he daily add to their enmity by new provocations. He even pretended to ſuſpect the Lord Claud Hamilton of a deſign to murther him; and actually put Semple, one of that nobleman's dependents, to the torture, under pretence of clearing the innocence of his patron. A. D. 1577.

It was to the young but promiſing James, that the nobility looked for protection from this artful, daring deſpot. James, though but twelve years of age, afforded a fair proſpect of futurity. He had been well educated by the regent Mar, and ſince his death by his brother Alexander Erſkine; and the great George Buchanan was his preceptor *. He had a ſtrong appetite for learning; and, young as he was, a ſtill more eager wiſh for power. The regent Morton was never in his favor, and he liſtened with delight to every intimation of his delinquency. Athol, Argyle, and the Hamiltons, found means, by the connivance of Erſkine †, to be admitted to his preſence, and to acquaint him with the unjuſt rigor of Morton's government, and the aſpirations of the Scots for a change. They even prevailed on him to iſſue his letters to ſummon a council, and they took care that only thoſe who hated the regent ſhould be ſummoned. Character of James.

The diſcontented lords could not have choſen a fitter time for the conteſt. Morton's avidity had diſguſted many; the clergy deteſted him for his oppreſſive treatment of their community, and only united with him in abhorrence of the impriſoned Mary; and his patroneſs, the Engliſh queen, was too deeply engaged in protecting the United States againſt the deſigns of the Spaniard, to be able to ſpare a force ſufficient for his ſupport. All theſe circumſtances preſaged the fall of the regent. The regent in danger.

But the ſtrong mind of Morton had penetrated the ſchemes of his foes, and pointed out to him that he muſt give way, in order to return with the greater force. He at once, and with no bad grace, reſigned the regency to the young monarch, who, ſolemnly before the inhabitants of his capital, took upon himſelf the ſupreme government, and accepted a full approbation of his ſervices, and an indemnity for all offences ‡. Yet, the eagerneſs of his enemies (a council of twelve appointed to aſſiſt the king with their advice), which prompted them to attack his vaſt property, had nearly 1578. Morton reſigns.

* Melvill, p. 234. † Ibid. p. 236. ‡ Crawf. Memoirs, p. 289.

A. D. 1578. turned him from the ſober path of a temporary ſubmiſſion, to the folly of a fruitleſs reſiſtance. The king, young as he was, who dreaded as much as he hated him, interfered in his favor, and Morton retired to a diſtant caſtle on a ſolitary lake. A new turn of affairs was at hand; Glamis, the Chancellor, fell by the enmity of the Crawfords, in one of the common brawls of the times; and Athol, a reputed papiſt, being promoted to his office, the cautious Proteſtants ſoon began to remark, that Roman Catholics, whom they abhorred ſtill more than they did the late regent, had totally ſurrounded the king; and the tide of popularity began to turn again in favor of the lately deteſted Earl of Morton, whoſe ſteady adherence to the reformation was never doubted, although it did little credit to a good cauſe. That great politician, who had watched in his retirement every ſtep of his enemies, now iſſued from the caſtle of Loch Levin, ſtyled by the people his 'Lion's Den;' and, with his uſual artifice, prevailed on the Earl of Mar to deprive Alexander Erſkine, his uncle, a moſt determined foe to Morton, of the cuſtody both of the king and of Stirling caſtle. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed, the artful inſtigator of the enterprize entered the caſtle *, took the command, and by his aſtoniſhing talents became once more arbiter of the privy-council, and even procured himſelf to be, in ſome degree, favored by the unſteady James.

Re-aſſumes his power.

Athol and Argyle flew to arms; at the head of 7000 ſoldiers they marched to deliver, as they vaunted, their king from durance; on their banners were inſcribed diſtichs [62], expreſſive of their upright intentions. Morton, by means of his nephew Angus, the warden of the borders, raiſed 5000 ſouthern men, who waited the coming of his foes without terror. A civil war was on the point of breaking out, when Sir Robert Bowes, arriving from Elizabeth, proved a ſucceſsful mediator; and a peace was ſettled and confirmed by a convention of noblemen. Morton, without the

NOTES.

[62] On one was a ſhort dialogue between the king and the aſſociated lords:

King.—'Captive I am, liberty I crave.'

Lords.—'Our lives we will loſe, or that ye ſhall have.'

[MSS. Mem. of Balfour.

* Melvill, p. 237.

title,

title, retained the power of the regency; and the infant James, though nominally king, ſubmitted like the reſt to this re-aſſumed ſway. A. D. 1578.

The ſudden deceaſe of the Chancellor Athol, after a banquet given by Morton, awakened thoſe ſuſpicions which had lain dormant ſince the equally ſeaſonable death of the Regent Mar [63]. Morton, by this opportune event, loſt a bitter enemy, and, by giving his poſt to Argyle, in ſome degree made a friend. 1579.

Cruelty of Morton.

Together with the capacity to oppreſs, Morton found the will return in full force. The houſe of Hamilton had been ſuſpected of practices againſt the regents Murray and Lenox; he accuſed the Hamiltons of murthering both, and having driven the lords John and Claud out of Scotland, he cruelly included Arran, their eldeſt brother, in the proſcription, although, ſince his love for Mary of Scots had met a repulſe, he had never enjoyed the uſe of his ſenſes. Yet was his eſtate forfeited with thoſe of his brothers, and the forfeiture was confirmed by act of parliament.

The unfortunate Mary was ſtill kept in cloſe confinement by her cautious rival. She contrived, however, to ſend a letter to her ſon, accompanied by ſome jewels of conſiderable value, and a veſt embroidered by her own hands. But the unfeeling Morton, taking advantage of the direction, which was, 'To the Prince of Scotland,' not 'the King,' ſent the whole back untouched.

1580.

Two Stuarts are favored by James.

The ſtrange and abſurdly-warm attachment which bound James of Scotland during his whole life to a ſucceſſion of favorites, had already begun to appear. Two young men at once gained his affections and guided his ſteps. Eſme Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, was his near relation, being nephew to the Regent Lenox, the grandfather of the king; he came from France to be preſented to his royal couſin; and was made in a ſhort ſpace of time Duke of Lenox, firſt Lord of the Bed-chamber, and Governor of Dunbarton caſtle.

NOTES.

[63] Archbiſhop Spotiſwood writes, that the body of Athol was opened, and that no ſymptom of poiſon appeared. Moyſes intimates the contrary. Morton was capable of any act of cruelty. He cauſed two men of poetical talents, Turnbull and Scott, to be executed at Stirling for uttering ſarcaſms againſt his perſon and government. Morton was, indeed, the Leiceſter of the North, with a better capacity, and a more daring mind.

[CRAWFORD'S MEMOIRS.

Many

A. D. 1580. Many other places were beſtowed upon him, nor was his promotion accompanied by the public hatred, as he was of an amiable * and mild character, although not fit for the intrigues of a court. Captain Stuart (ſon to the Lord Ochiltree), the rival of Lenox, was of a character totally different. Every vice which could render a favorite odious to a nation, or dangerous to a government, he poſſeſſed. He was raſh, unprincipled, and ambitious. The reſtraints of religion, morality, or honor, he deſpiſed; yet he had dexterity enough to gain an aſcendant over the unexperienced mind of an infant king, and for a long ſpace ſucceeded in all his deſigns, however unattainable they might at firſt appear.

Their characters. Both theſe diſſimilar courtiers joined in the deſign of ruining Morton; whoſe ſtrong diſcernment made him foreſee the miſhap which he could not prevent, unleſs by ſome courſe too deſperate for the temper of the nation. It was once rumored, that he meant to carry off the king and deliver him to the cuſtody of Elizabeth; but, as he earneſtly preſſed to have an enquiry made into the tranſaction, it is probable that this report only was meant as a pretext for the eſtabliſhment of a Lord-High Chamberlain, to be always near the royal perſon, and of a life-guard conſiſting of twenty-four young men of noble birth. Lenox was honored with this office, and with the command of the guard.

The falling ſtateſman had in vain attempted to intereſt the prieſthood of Scotland in his behalf, by exclaiming againſt the new favorite as a Roman Catholic. But Lenox guarded againſt this attack by publicly embracing the Proteſtant faith. The ſupport of England was all that now remained to him; and nothing except the inexperience of the one, and the audacity of the other minion, could have rendered Elizabeth's interceſſion on Morton's behalf ſo completely inſignificant as it was found to be. Indeed, it appeared, that the too warm interference of Bowes, the Engliſh miniſter, rather haſtened the fall † of the obnoxious earl, than guarded againſt it.

1581. Early in 1581, the great miniſter who had ruled Scotland with the tyranny of a deſpot, but who had guarded it from all ills except thoſe of his own creation, was ſeized and committed firſt to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and then to that of Dunbarton. It had been difficult to reach his life, ſo well had his pardon been drawn; but the murther of Henry, the father

Morton accuſed of K. Henry's murther.

* Melvill, p. 240. † Ibid. p. 238.

of

of James, having been from decency left out of the crimes pardoned, the violent and brutal Captain Stuart, at once accuſed him of being his aſſaſſin *. A. D. 1581.

The Earl of Morton appeared greater in his misfortunes than he had ſeemed in the plenitude of his power. Conſcious as he declared of his innocence, he refuſed the aſſiſtance of his nephew Angus; who, thinking the honor of the Douglas name at ſtake, offered to head a warlike troop of borderers and riſque his life and fortune for his deliverance. Elizabeth was not unconcerned. She remonſtrated to James; ſhe made the Prince of Orange remonſtrate; ſhe even cauſed a large body of troops to advance towards the northern frontiers, and had the miniſters of James been old and cautious, theſe precautions might have ſaved her faithful dependent; but the two Stuarts had no ſuch diffidence. They prepared to repel force by force; and the Engliſh queen, ſenſible that ſhe had carried her interference ſomewhat too far, withdrew her army. And now Morton, deſerted by thoſe who owed their fortunes to his patronage, and tried and condemned by a packed jury, and on evidence wreſted by torture from his ſervants, and even from his nephew Auchinleck, of Balmerino, was brought to the ſcaffold †, where he died with firmneſs worthy a better man [64]. Soon after this event the two favorites, to whom their mutual dread of Morton had been a band of union, diſagreed, and gradually came to an open rupture. Captain Stuart, from being guardian to the unhappy lunatic Arran ‡, was permitted by the king, with a total diſregard to juſtice, to poſſeſs himſelf of his title and eſtate. He gained a wife by a method ſtill more diſ-

Condemned and executed.

The favorites diſagree.

NOTES.

[64] The confeſſion of Morton has been mentioned before. His excuſes for not revealing the plot againſt the king, might, from a better man, be judged admiſſible. Opulent as he had been, he was ſo plundered while in priſon, that he was forced to borrow twenty ſhillings on the ſcaffold to give among the poor. He was executed by 'a maiden:' an inſtrument which, having ſeen accidentally at Halifax, he drew on the ſpot, and cauſed one to be made by that pattern when he reached his home. In later times, the engine has been denominated the 'Guillotine.' The extreme contempt with which Morton treated the wretched Arran, when he aſked his pardon on the ſcaffold, would furniſh a good ſubject for a hiſtorical picture.

* Crawford's Memoirs, p. 323. † Spotiſwood, p. 313, 314, 315.
‡ Melvill, p. 240.

honorable;

A. D. 1581. honorable; he ſeduced her from the boſom of his beſt friend, Lord March, to whom ſhe had been married ſome years; and ſhe had had the audacity to demand a divorce for the moſt indelicate of reaſons, that ſhe might wed Arran. To regain their characters, this deteſtable pair became fanatics in religion, affected more than common attachment to the Proteſtant faith, and even objected to Epiſcopacy, in order to gain the favor of the moſt violent among the Preſbyterian clergy. Lenox, on the other hand, was the avowed protector of the biſhops, and by his counſels encouraged in James that ſtrong propenſity which he ever retained towards a regulated hierarchy.

1582. The lords of Scotland alarmed.

The quarrel between the favorites of a young and timid prince, threw the government of the country into general confuſion; and an interference in eccleſiaſtical matters, in which the head-ſtrong Arran had preſumed * to engage, excited the turbulent temper of the times. Many circumſtances, indeed, at this criſis, conſpired to raiſe diſcontent † in the moſt powerful barons around the throne; they knew that James received from his favorites leſſons of deſpotiſm, which he wanted only opportunity to put in practice: they ſaw the moſt oppreſſive of the feudal tenures revived, and ſevere fines levied on land-owners for trifling errors; they had alſo good reaſon to think, that Lenox had a deſign to bring about the accompliſhment of Maitland's favorite ſcheme, that of a government carried on by Mary and James united; and they obſerved that the friendſhip of Elizabeth was ſlighted, and dreaded the revival of thoſe ruinous wars which had deſolated their faireſt diſtricts. They conſulted together without diſtinction of party, and determined to apply a ſure, though bitter, remedy.

The Raid of Ruthven.

The king was engaged in a party of hunting, his beſt-loved diverſion, after having in ſome degree reconciled the two thoughtleſs young men who governed him and the nation. At Ruthven caſtle, whether the love of ſport had allured him, he was ſurpriſed to ſee a long train of nobles enter his bed-chamber at an early hour one morning, and after receiving a ſtrong remonſtrance on the follies and faults of his minions, to find them firmly demanding the diſmiſſion of two perſons, whoſe inexperience, they averred, would ruin the realm of Scotland. James liſtened patiently; but with a

* Melvill, p. 245. † Spotiſwood, p. 320.

childiſh

childiſh diſlike to reprehenſion, preſſed to be gone; and, on finding his way obſtructed, burſt into tears. 'Better,' ſaid the ſtern tutor of Glamis, 'that bairns ſhould weep, than bearded men*.' The ſeverity of this apophthegm was never forgotten by the terrified monarch, who inſtantly, though ſadly, yielded his conſent to the diſmiſſion of his minions. Arran, violent and fierce as uſual, rode up haſtily to the caſtle; and, with only two ſervants, braved the anger of thoſe aſſociated peers, whoſe contempt alone of his preſent inſignificance ſaved his life. He was diſarmed and ſent as a priſoner to Stirling caſtle. The milder Lenox was, after ſome delay, ordered by James to depart the realm. It was long before he could bring himſelf to obey a command given, as he knew, moſt unwillingly. At length, ſlowly paſſing through England, he reached France, and died of a heart broken by his diſappointment in his ambitious friendſhip [65]; affirming, with his laſt words, his ſtrict attachment to the reformed religion†. A. D. 1582. Death of Lenox.

In the mean while, an embaſſy from England confirmed the wavering James in his ſubmiſſion to 'the Raid of Ruthven' (as the late revolution was named), and he was even perſuaded to agree in opinion with a convention of the eſtates, and to declare, that the lords concerned in the 'Raid' had done the ſtate good ſervice. The Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland concurred in the ſame declaration‡; while the great reſpect with which the king was treated, and his apparent acquieſcence, induced his ſubjects to hope that he was not inſincere in his profeſſions. But in a country governed by a capricious youth, divided by factions, and headed by turbulent peers, no dependence can be placed on the duration of any political ſyſtem: and, by another of thoſe miniſterial revolutions ſo common in Scotland, the month of January had not paſſed, ere James was, by the contrivance of Colonel Stuart, commander of the body-guards, delivered from the honorable confinement in which 'the Raid of Ruthven' had 1583. James regains his authority.

NOTES.

[65] The conduct of James to the five children of Lenox was parental and affectionate; he ſent for them from France, and beſides loading the two ſons with honors, he married one daughter to Huntley, another to Mar, and the third might have had as reſpectable an alliance, but choſe a cloyſter. [SPOTISWOOD.

* Spotiſwood, p. 320. † Ibid. p. 322. ‡ Ibid. p. 324.

A. D. 1583. entangled him, and enabled him to eſtabliſh a new ſet of adminiſtrators of government. Argyle, Huntley, and a few more, now poſſeſſed his favor, and Gowry was, on his ſubmiſſion, admitted to forgiveneſs; while Angus, Glencairn, and the reſt of the lords of 'the Raid,' were exiled or impriſoned; nor did a ſplendid embaſſy [66] from England, with the ſubtle Walſingham at its head, prevail on James to pardon the offenders, moſt of whom had fled to England, or to permit them to plead the amneſty granted by the convention. It was the malicious Arran, now re-inſtated in his power and his place in the royal favor, who had hardened the heart of James, otherwiſe diſpoſed to moderation, againſt all applications in favor of theſe two hardy patriots. The embaſſy of Elizabeth had no good effect. James anſwered the complaints of England by recrimination; and, when reproached with breaking his promiſe to the exiled lords, pleaded the force he was under at that time, and charged Elizabeth with having neglected to notice a ſtrong intimation which he had then given to her ambaſſador, Cary, of his want of liberty; and Walſingham returned to London, after his ineffectual negotiation, with no bad idea of James's capacity for reigning.

1584. As the noblemen exiled on account of 'the Raid of Ruthven,' were much too potent and too active to ſit down contented with their lot, they intrigued for their reſtoration both with the court and the church. In the former, they gained the aſſiſtance of their old aſſociate Earl Gowry *, whoſe penitence had not placed him in ſo high a ſtation as he thought his merits in deſerting the confederacy might have claimed. In the church they had many friends; the preachers with one accord eſpouſed their cauſe, and thoſe who were moſt popular went greater lengths than reaſon and loyalty ſeemed to juſtify; but James, encouraged by the fierce Arran, exerted himſelf, and drove the boldeſt declaimers from their pulpits. Dury, who in a ſermon had praiſed 'the Raid' as a ſalutary meaſure, was ſilenced; and Melvill, who had drawn odious compariſons as to reigns, and had

The clergy of Scotland humbled.

NOTES.

[66] A ſhort time before this embaſſy, the Engliſh queen had by a letter ſchooled James for his unſteadineſs, and envenomed her ſtrictures with a paſſage from Iſocrates; and James, with pardonable pedantry, had out-reaſoned her by returning two paſſages from the ſame rhetorician, which militated againſt her argument. [Melvill.

* Spotiſwood, p. 330.

likened

likened James VI. to James III. was obliged to take ſhelter in England *; advantage too, was taken of theſe imprudent rhapſodies, to fetter the church with laws which prevented the clergy from interfering in political meaſures. Nor were the military attempts of the friends to the baniſhed lords more ſucceſsful than thoſe of the eccleſiaſtics. Gowry, who was ſuſpected of treaſonable deſigns, was ſeized by Colonel Stuart at Dundee, after a ſharp reſiſtance, and beheaded; and the baniſhed lords, Angus, Mar, Glamis, &c. who had ſurprized the caſtle of Stirling, were forced to leave it precipitately, and take ſhelter again in England.

A. D. 1584.

Gowry executed.

Arran was now ſupreme Lord of Scotland, and had a full opportunity of gratifying his cruelty and his avarice, by the ruin of the baniſhed lords, and the forfeiture of their eſtates. But his fall in its turn approached. He had, with an uncommon want of policy, introduced to James the Maſter of Gray, a young man equal to the favorite in perſonal accompliſhments, equal to him in profligacy, and much his ſuperior in decent hypocriſy. The childiſh favor of the king inſtantly attached itſelf to this new object; and Arran, who had now recognized his own abſurdity, could only delay his impending diſgrace by diſpatching this new minion on an embaſſy to England. There, too, the policy of the elder favorite failed. Elizabeth (who had condeſcended to bribe Arran, and who had found him ready to enter into the moſt traitorous engagements to betray the councils of his royal maſter to the Engliſh cabinet, and to prevent him from marrying during three years) ſaw with a diſcerning eye in the Maſter of Gray, an object more likely than the boiſterous Stuart to retain James's ſettled affection, and equally ready to receive a bribe and to betray the confidence of his maſter. She with wonderful good policy ſtrengthened his intereſt at the Scottiſh court, by permitting him to obtain the removal of the baniſhed lords into the interior of England; and ſent him back to James, engaged and determined to ſerve her intereſt, in deſpite of gratitude, honor, and loyalty.

Arran's weak conduct.

The tranſactions of 1584, in which the ſtill unfortunate Mary was implicated, have been told in the Engliſh hiſtory, with which they are immediately connected.

* Spotiſwood, p. 333.

A. D. 1585.

Profligacy of Arran.

A new revolution impended over the fragile ſtate of James's miniſtry. Arran, who was now Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and held the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, had reached the ſummit of profligacy as well as of power, and was become ſo deteſted, that his vaſt authority hung by a ſingle thread. The catalogue of his oppreſſions is odious, and too long for admiſſion here. The Earl of Athol he impriſoned for refuſing to divorce his wife, and to ſettle his lands on him; Lord Home, becauſe he would not give up an eſtate which lay commodiouſly for the tyrant. Two of the Home family, and two other gentlemen of high credit, he ſacrificed at the gallows to his private enmity, under falſe and trivial pretexts, unſupported by evidence *. Inſtruments to deſtroy ſuch a miniſter (perhaps the moſt atrociouſly wicked that hiſtory has ever recorded) could not be wanting. Elizabeth, who abhorred Arran, formed the plot and directed the actors. She ſent to the court of James as her ambaſſador the dextrous Wotton, who had been employed at the age of twenty to deceive the Conſtable de Montmorenci in France †. His gay and amuſing converſation, and his ſingular ſkill in ſporting, ſoon acquired the favor of the thoughtleſs king, although warned of his arts by the more experienced courtiers ‡. The Maſter of Gray, Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Juſtice Clerk, and Sir John Maitland, the ſecretary, each bought by Elizabeth, were employed gradually to weaken the affection of James towards Arran, whoſe monſtrous vanity had now led him to intimate, that, in right of his pretended anceſtor, Murdo, Duke of Albany, he had a claim to the Scottiſh crown prior to that of James himſelf.

Matters were well arranged for an exploſion, when an incident haſtened the cataſtrophe. Sir Francis Ruſſel was ſlain in a border-quarrel; and, on Elizabeth's peremptory demand of ſatisfaction, the Scottiſh warden, Ker, of Fernihurſt, and his patron Arran, were, on the perſuaſion of Gray and his aſſociates, thrown into confinement §. At this criſis the exiled lords (whoſe mutual misfortunes had ſoftened old feuds, and united in one enterprize the hoſtile ſtocks of Douglas and of Hamilton), advanced into Scotland. They were met by their numerous dependents in arms; the young king was ſurrounded in Stirling and taken, but treated with the higheſt

Return of the baniſhed lords.

* Spotiſwood, p. 337.
† Melvill, p. 293.
‡ Melvill, p. 296.
§ Spotiſwood, p. 339.

reſpect;

reſpect; and the lords of 'the Raid of Ruthven,' the friends of Scotland's true intereſt, amity with England, once more became the directors of their monarch's conduct. A. D. 1585.

Warned by adverſity, they acted with ſenſe and moderation. The reſtitution of their own honors and lands contented their rational wiſhes; they aimed at no forfeitures, nor recalled the memory of paſt injuries. Colonel Stuart was ſilently diſmiſſed; it was at the wretched Arran alone that they pointed the bolt of their vengeance; that may-game of fortune, ſtripped of his eſtates and titles, reduced to the denomination of Captain James Stuart, and proclaimed an enemy to his country, dropped quietly into that obſcurity for which nature had intended him. Wotton, who preſided over the whole affair, dared not ſtay to enjoy the ſtorm which he had raiſed *. He had refined on his commiſſion, and plotted other deſigns [67], the diſcovery of which haſtened his return to England. Before his departure he had propoſed to James a ſtrict league of friendſhip between the ſiſter-realms, a meaſure highly approved by the country in general as well as the king, whoſe good will to England was by no means diminiſhed, on finding that Elizabeth meant to allow him a penſion of 5000l. per annum; a conſiderable ſum at that period, and exactly what ſhe had herſelf received before ſhe became queen of England, a circumſtance which ſhe communicated to the needy prince. Ruin of Arran.

The parliament, which was called on this occaſion, confirmed every meaſure which the baniſhed lords had propoſed; reſtored their eſtates; and ratified their pardon. Every thing wore a tranquil appearance; and the good-natured king [68], after owning that 'he never did like the violence of Acquieſcence of James.

NOTES.

[67] Wotton was ſuſpected of plotting to carry off the king of Scots, in order to place him in the cuſtody of the queen of England. He had alſo with great art circumvented a matrimonial engagement, which ambaſſadors from Denmark came to propoſe, by perſuading the unobſerving and haughty king, that they were people in buſineſs; and that Denmark, like Holland, was a country of merchants. [MELVILL.

[68] Arran had always plundered James's ill-furniſhed treaſury without ſtint; and the king at length diſcovered that the ungrateful minion had carried away jewels worth 200,000 crowns. Huntley, who was ſent to ſeize the robber, narrowly miſſed him; but the terror of Arran prompted him to ſend back to the king the richeſt piece which he had ſtolen. [SPOTISWOOD, &c.

* Melvill, p. 307.

Arran,*

A. D. 1585. Arran *,' acquieſced in every reaſonable meaſure, and of his own accord haſtened the ſettlement of the popular alliance with Elizabeth.

The preachers alone, who had been driven from Scotland for their ſevere language againſt the meaſures of the court, thought themſelves neglected, and ſpoke their minds freely [69]; ſince the dread of diſguſting the unſteady James had prevented the lords of 'the Raid' from taking an early opportunity of re-inſtating them in their charges.

1586. The melancholy detail of Babington's conſpiracy, in which the unfortunate Mary's fate was fatally involved, has already been told in a former book. The mind of James was, at this time, ulcerated againſt a mother whom he had never known; and who (as it was the intereſt of each among his vaſt variety of ſucceſſive miniſters to keep them aſunder) had generally been repreſented to him in an odious light, as an adulterous murthereſs, leagued with his foes againſt him. He had even written to her a letter which, inſtead of dutiful expreſſions, contained bitter taunts; and ſhe, in return, had threatened him with her curſe, and with a transfer of her rights to a potent heir (probably Philip of Spain), who would revenge her cauſe on an ungrateful and diſobedient child †.

Anger of Mary.

It was, perhaps, this diſſenſion which made James ſo little attentive to his mother's ſafety, as to ſend as an envoy to the court of Elizabeth ‡ Archibald Douglas, one who had been employed in the murther of King Henry, and was the bittereſt foe that Mary ever knew. Nor did the Maſter of Gray, who ſucceeded him in the embaſſy, ſhew a better will towards her ſecurity: on the other hand, he is ſuppoſed to have haſtened her fate

1587.

NOTES.

[69] 'Captain James and his wife Jezebel were taken hitherto,' ſaid a hot-headed prieſt in his pulpit, 'to be the perſecutors of the church. It is now ſeen to be the king himſelf; but, like Jeroboam, he ſhall die childleſs, and be the laſt of his race.'

It was on this occaſion that the King of Scots uttered a ſentiment which ought to be ever recorded to his honor. A courtier had adviſed him to leave the clergy to their own courſes. 'They will become,' ſaid he, 'ſo odious, that the people will riſe and chace them out of the country.' 'True,' ſaid the good-natured prince, 'and if I meant to undo the church and religion, your counſel were good; but as I mean to preſerve both; for their own ſakes I ſhall take ſome pains to reform them.' [SPOTISWOOD.

* Spotiſwood, p. 342. † Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 346. ‡ Spotiſwood, p. 348.

by

by ſtrongly intimating to Elizabeth the apathy of her prejudiced, poor, and greedy ſon *. The criſis was ſo extremely delicate, and the ſituation of the Engliſh queen ſo very dangerous, that had ſhe expected real and ſettled reſentment [70] in James for the death of his mother, ſhe would have found it convenient to have ſpared her. A. D. 1587.

But as ſhe knew that the king was ſurrounded by perſons in her pay, that he was himſelf her penſioner, and that the intereſt of his kingdom and the voices of his ſubjects united in favor of perpetual peace with England, ſhe ventured to ſtrike that ſtroke, which, although we may forgive it to the *queen*, makes us ſurvey the *woman* with horror. Death of Mary.

At hearing of his mother's execution, James breathed nothing but war with England, and appeared to liſten with pleaſure to the ſuggeſtions of the noblemen who repreſented to him the indelible diſgrace of paſſing by ſuch an inſult unrevenged. But cooler conſideration, an unanſwerable letter drawn up by Walſingham, and the advice of the Engliſh envoy, bringing to his mind the certain loſs of his penſion, and the probable failure of his hopes of ſucceeding to the Engliſh crown, he accepted the excuſes of Elizabeth, laid the blame, as ſhe wiſhed, on the ſecretary Daviſon, and became as much as ever the creature of the Engliſh cabinet. To this the James pacified.

NOTES.

[70] There are letters in Murden's ſtate papers which prove that James was ſomewhat affected when he found that his mother's death was reſolved on. 'His opinion,' ſays Gray to Douglas, 'is, that it cannot ſtand with his honor that he be a conſenter to take his mother's life; but he is content how ſtrictly ſhe be kept, and all her old knaviſh ſervants hanged; chiefly they who be in bands.' Some time after, when the Scottiſh ambaſſadors propoſed to Elizabeth that Mary ſhould be ſpared on making over all her claims to her ſon James; 'Is it ſo?' ſaid the peeviſh queen, 'Then I put myſelf in worſe caſe than before; by God's paſſion that were to cut my own throat.'

James himſelf ſtates his own reaſons for acquieſcence to have been, '1. His tender youth, not trained up to arms. 2. His exceſſive povertie, which made him live from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to greedie and greedie.' [STRYPE.

A letter is exiſting from the needy monarch of this date, begging for the loan of 1000 marks, or 54l. 3s. 4d. from John Boſwell of Balmonto, and preſſing his requeſt thus ſtrongly upon him: 'Ye will rather hurt yourſelf very far than ſee the diſhounour of your prince and native country, with the povertie of baith, ſet downe before the face of ſtrangers.' [PENNANT.

* Spotiſwood, p. 352.

politic

A. D. 1587. politic generoſity of the Engliſh queen greatly contributed, by ſending him frequent preſents of hounds, horſes, and books written on thoſe ſubjects which he moſt delighted in.

The Maſter of Grey, whoſe intereſt with the king had much declined, was now accuſed by Sir Robert Stuart *, the brother of Arran, of having adviſed and contrived the death of Mary, and of being a bigoted Papiſt, and keeping up a correſpondence with Rome. His defence was trivial, and his life would have paid the forfeit of his duplicity, had not the gratitude of the late exiles protected him. He was permitted to ſink gently down from power and affluence, to diſgrace and baniſhment. An attack of a ſimilar kind, made by Captain James Stuart (the late Arran) on the ſecretary, Sir John Maitland, did not ſucceed; and his innocence was illuſtrated, by the king's beſtowing on him the Chancellorſhip of Scotland.

Propoſes to marry.

James had now attained to the age of twenty-one, and ſhewed as much eagerneſs to wed a Daniſh princeſs, as Elizabeth did zeal to prevent him. Denmark had always a cloſe connection with Scotland, and the embaſſy in 1585 had been intended by the Daniſh monarch rather to bring about a matrimonial alliance than to demand the Orkney iſlands, which was the oſtenſible motive. The death of King Frederic, which happened about this time, was indeed the only circumſtance which prevented the projected marriage taking place almoſt immediately †.

A feſtival of pacification, which the peace-loving king celebrated on his coming of age, did him real honor. After taking great pains to ſettle the contentions which had grown to deadly feuds, and had made many of the nobleſt houſes foes to each other, he found means to form at leaſt a temporary reconciliation. After witneſſing this happy event, and confirming it by a ſplendid entertainment at Holyrood-houſe, he conducted the parties in ſolemn proceſſion, each holding the hand of his perſonal enemy, through the ſtreets of Edinburgh to the Market Croſs; where they found a collation of wine and ſweetmeats. They drank to each other, and departed in apparent, but unhappily not durable, friendſhip.

Reform of parliament.

James, who had penetration enough to admire the conſtitution of England, now made an important ſtep towards bringing his own parliament to re-

* Spotiſwood, p. 364. † Ibid. p. 366.

ſemble

ſemble that of his neighbour-country, and by reviving an act procured by the firſt James in 1427, but diſregarded, as all that wiſe prince's regulations were, he brought the leſſer barons to appoint two commiſſioners for each ſhire, to repreſent them. The noblemen were ſhocked at this innovation, which they foreſaw would gradually annihilate their illegal power. Lord Crawfurd loudly oppoſed it, and* (ſays Archbiſhop Spotiſwood) 'the noblemen did work him (the king) great buſineſs in all the enſuing parliaments.' They could not, however, prevent the regulation, ſince James might have overpowered them by ſummoning the tenants of the crown to vote. A.D. 1587.

The year 1588, although a very buſy period in England, produced few incidents in the realm of James, but gave him a fair opportunity of diſplaying his diſcernment and honor. Convinced of the pernicious conſequences of Philip's enterprize, ſhould it ſucceed, he acted a firm and manly part; he impriſoned the envoy from the Netherlands, Colonel Sempill, on finding him to be a treacherous ſubject of his own. He liſtened not to the counſel of a ſecond, turbulent, Bothwell (Francis Stuart, a grandſon of James V.) who had already raiſed men to invade† England; he diſcouraged the Popiſh prieſts, particularly the Jeſuits, who ſwarmed in his realm, and baniſhed ſome of them; he rejected every propoſal from Philip; and, by a ſudden and ſpirited march, diſperſed the followers of the Lord Maxwell; who were arrayed in readineſs to join the Spaniſh forces, had they landed in the North. As Maxwell was cloſely connected with the powerful lords Huntley [71], Errol, and Crawfurd (who were all zealous Roman Catholics, and who all abhorred the league with Elizabeth, and wiſhed to provoke a war), this exertion was of the utmoſt conſequence to the peace of the country, and to the welfare of England. Yet ſo little were the laws reſpected, and ſo weak was the government of Scotland, that Sir William Stuart, who was remark- 1588. Spirited conduct of James.

NOTES.

[71] Huntley proteſted his innocence as to intention of evil, and James received his excuſes and made him captain of his guard; but his violence of temper and bigotry ſoon drove him again into rebellion. Yet a Scottiſh writer moſt ſtrangely paints him as a mild, peaceable man. 'Huntlæus, homo minimè ambitioſus, minimè turbidus, ſed ad quietem proclivis.' [JOHNSTON.

* Spotiſwood, p. 366. † Ibid. p. 370.

A. D. 1588. ably active on this expedition, was, with impunity, pierced through the heart by the ſword of the impetuous Earl of Bothwell, almoſt in the king's preſence.

Not contented with theſe efforts, the friendly monarch wrote to Elizabeth to aſſure her that he had an army at her devotion; while ſhe, ſenſible of the value attached to ſuch a friend, thanked him affectionately, and made him great and ſplendid promiſes; among theſe are to be numbered an Engliſh dukedom, and a guard for his perſon, maintained by the queen.

Covenant firſt framed.

It was upon this occaſion firſt that a Covenant (a name afterwards uſed for a very different ſpecies of aſſociation) was brought forward. It was a ſpirited reſolution to defend the religion, the king, and the laws, and was ſigned by people in every rank and ſtation *.

In this year died the Earl of Angus, a nobleman of known bravery, great abilities, and of an amiable and reſpectable character; but one who had ſuffered the extremes of fortune, and lived half his years in exile; by the ſteady friendſhip of Elizabeth, however, he ſpent his latter days in peace on his own eſtate. His death is introduced in this place as a proof of the

Inſtance of credulity.

blind ſuperſtition of the age. He died (ſays a venerable author) 'of ſorcery and incantation.' A wizard, after the phyſicians had pronounced him to be under the power of witchcraft, 'made offer to cure him, ſaying (as the manner of theſe wizards is) "that he had received wrong." But the ſtout and pious Earl declared, "That his life was not ſo dear unto him, as that, for the continuance of ſome years, he would be beholden to any of the devil's inſtruments," and died.'

Before the cloſe of 1588, the total diſperſion of Philip's enormous fleet delivered[72] Elizabeth from her fears of an invaſion. She wrote a grateful letter

NOTES.

[72] The defeat of the Armada gave the Scots an opportunity of ſhewing, in one inſtance, an exertion of ſpirit, in another, of humanity.

Off Mull, one of the Hebrides, the Florida, a Spaniſh carack, was blown up, as tradition ſays, by the deſperate reſolution of a Scot. Many attempts have ſince been made to recover the loſt treaſure, as the exact ſpot is known. A Mr. Sacheverel is ſaid to have had great ſucceſs in this purſuit, by means of diving bells, in 1688. [PENNANT.

Seven hundred naked wretches eſcaping from the wrecks of ſeveral ſhips were humanely fed and clothed at Edinburgh. They were then embarked for Spain. Ill fortune ſtill purſued

* Dunlop's Collection, vol. ii. p. 108.

letter to the King of Scots; but though ſhe praiſed his fidelity, ſhe was not forward to reward it *. A. D. 1588.

Diſappointed by the diſcomfiture of his Armada, in his views on England, the artful Philip thought to find an eaſier way into that realm, by engaging Scotland in his intereſt, and invading Elizabeth's territories from the borders. The Roman Catholic lords were eager to ſerve him, and Bothwell, merely from turbulence of diſpoſition, joined the party. It was ſettled among them, that Maitland the chancellor, the friend of England and of the Reformation, was firſt to be made away with; and he very narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination † even in the king's preſence, where he was ſurrounded by Huntley, with a band of aſſaſſins ‡. The very ſlight notice which the pacific James took of this conſpiracy emboldened the actors; and after ſuffering a ſlight confinement they fled each to their eſtates, where they raiſed armed men, and in a ſhort time took the field with 3000 ſoldiers. The king, irritated at their ferocious ingratitude, purſued them gallantly; but having leſs troops by one third than the rebels, he might have ſuffered in the conteſt had their men been hearty in the cauſe. The ſpeech which he made to his little army would have done honor to an Elizabeth. 'If benefits or good deeds could have made theſe men loyal,' ſaid the irritated prince, 'I have been ſparing of neither §. They have drawn me into the field againſt my will, and I truſt that you will not forſake me. I ſhall deſire you to ſtand no longer than you ſee me at your head. I think they will not dare to fight me; but let us order things as if they meant to make a powerful ſtand againſt us.' 1589. Popiſh lords revolt. Gallant conduct of James.

It fell out as James had propheſied. The army diſperſed, and the chiefs ſurrendered themſelves to the royal mercy. They acted wiſely. No provocation from the Pope, no reproaches from Elizabeth, no groſs abuſe from his own clergy, could make the King of Scots act with ſeverity againſt The lords ſubdued, and treated with lenity.

NOTES.

purſued them, and they were forced by ſtreſs of weather into Yarmouth, where the general deteſtation had nearly proved fatal to them. Their miſery, however, heightened by famine, ſickneſs, and deſpair, ſaved their lives and liberty, and a remnant of them at length reached Spain. [STOW. STRYPE.

* Camden, p. 548.
† Spotiſwood, p. 374.
‡ MS. apud Guthrie.
§ Spotiſwood, p. 375.

A. D. 1589. the Roman Catholics. He cauſed, indeed, the lords to be tried, but he adjourned the paſſing of the ſentence; and they all, after ſuffering a very moderate term of impriſonment, were delivered from bondage, and joined in the feſtivities of the royal marriage.

That important [73] event approached in ſpite of Elizabeth's intrigues to prevent it. She had made the King of Denmark think that James was not in earneſt, and he had given his eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Brunſwick; yet Anne, a younger, ſtill remained, and to her the royal addreſſes were transferred. The Engliſh Queen had tempted James with the Princeſs Catharine of Bourbon *, ſiſter to Henry IV. but in vain, for he was conſtant; ſhe had engaged all the Scottiſh council to oppoſe the match; this too was fruitleſs; James, with aſtoniſhing preſence of mind and contrivance, found means to incite the populace of Edinburgh to riſe and threaten deſtruction to the cabinet miniſters, if they did not ſend for the princeſs Anne. In conſequence of this ſedition, the Earl Mariſchal ſailed with a fleet of ſhips of war to convoy the fair Dane; but a ſtorm having driven her into a Norwegian port, the active and ſpirited James ſprung into a veſſel, and ſetting ſtorms and all the powers of the air [74] at defiance, croſſed

James ſails to Denmark and marries.

NOTES.

[73] James had good reaſons to think of marriage. He was the laſt perſon by whom England and Scotland could be united. Should he be childleſs, that union could not take place. Arran, the next heir to the Scottiſh crown, was a lunatic, and a diſputed ſucceſſion might involve the nation in a civil war. [ROBERTSON.

[74] That the wary Elizabeth ſhould endeavor to fruſtrate the matrimonial plans of James, we cannot wonder. She hated and envied all that married; ſhe dreaded, too, leſt a ſenſible wife might open his eyes to the corruption which enſlaved his miniſters; but why the powers of the air ſhould be leagued againſt his marriage is by no means ſo clear; yet we find that with ſuch intent, Agnis Tompſon (as ſhe confeſſed before the king and council) with other witches to the number of 200, 'went altogether by ſea, each one in her riddle (or ſieve), with flaggons of wine, making merry and drinking by the way, to the kirk of North Berwick in Lothian, where, when they had landed, they took hands and danced, ſinging all with one voice,

'Commer † go ye before, commer goe yè,
'Gif ye will not go before, commer let me.'

'That

* Melvill, p. 322. † Goſſip.

croſſed the German ocean *, completed his marriage [75], and ſpent his winter on the Baltic ſhore in convivial amuſement; the court of Denmark munificently ſupplying his expences. A. D. 1589.

Applauſe due to James.

And here it is appoſite to remark, that were a hiſtorian to judge of James's character from his atchievements in 1589, he would paint him faithful, brave, active in war, and humane in peace; ſteady, politic, and regardleſs of dangers by ſea or land, when a point of importance was at ſtake.

1590. Coronation of Anne.

The next year, 1590, preſents no event in the Scottiſh hiſtory worth recording, except the ſafe return of the king and queen from Denmark, and the ſingularity of her coronation being performed by a Preſbyterian miniſter and not by a biſhop. A diſpute concerning unction had nearly ſtopped the ceremony: it was at length agreed 'not to be a mere Jewiſh rite,' and was adminiſtered by Mr. Robert Bruce, in the Abbey-church of Holyrood-houſe †.

The hoſpitality which James had found in Denmark was now to be returned; but the means were wanting, ſince there never lived a poorer prince

NOTES.

' That Geilis Duncane did go before them playing ſaid reel on a Jew's trump ‡. That the devil met them there; here the diſcerning monarch ſhewing ſymptoms of doubt, Agnis taking him a little aſide, 'declared unto him the very words which had paſſed between him and his queen on the firſt night of their marriage, with their anſwer each to other; whereat the king wondered greatly, and ſwore by the living God that he believed all the Devils in Hell could not have diſcovered the ſame. Agnis then proceeded with the account of the ſolemn chriſtening of a cat, 'which cat,' ſaid Agnis confeſſed, 'was the cauſe that the king's ſhip coming from Denmark had a contrary wind;' and the king ſtanding by, did acknowlege that, 'when the reſt of the ſhips had a fair and good wind, then was the wind contrary and altogether againſt his majeſty.' And ſaid witch declared, 'that his majeſty had never come ſafely from the ſea, if his faith had not prevailed againſt their intentions.' A great deal more ſuch nonſenſe, much of inhumanity and ſome ludicrous ſtories intermixed, may be found in a ſcarce pamphlet, called 'Newes from Scotland,' &c. &c. from which many extracts are taken in the 49th volume of the Gentleman's Magazine.

[75] The firſt interview between James and Anne is minutely deſcribed by Moyſes, who ſeems to have been an attendant of the court; the royal lover's approach to the fair bride was free, even to boiſterouſneſs. She repreſſed his indelicacy with decent rigor, but ſoon forgave the offence.

* Melvill, p. 331. † Spotiſwood, p. 382.

‡ On this James ſent for Geilis Duncane, 'who upon the like trump did play the ſaid dance before the king's majeſty,' &c.

than

A. D. 1590. than the ſon of Mary of Scots; luckily Elizabeth, who wiſhed to keep him [illegible] with a conſiderable donation; and a loan among his richeſt lords completed the ſum wanted for reciprocal feſtivity.

1591. Impunity of criminals.

The eaſe and placability of James's temper in a ruler was fatal to good government, although it might have been amiable in private life. For many years the criminal code had been little reſpected in Scotland, and each man when able had thought himſelf juſtified in taking the law into his own hands. The Scottiſh nobility were formed into parties, and ſupported each in murther and rapine. Bothwell was the moſt notorious among this turbulent race, and the abſurd credulity of the age had added ſorcery to his other evil qualifications. Unfortunately for him, Agnis Tompſon, ſtyled 'The wiſe Wife of Keith,' 'a woman'* (ſays Archbiſhop Spotiſwood) 'not of the baſe and ignorant ſort of witches, but matron-like, grave, and ſettled in her anſwers, which were all to ſome purpoſe,' had confeſſed that he had united with her in magical enquiries; witchcraft was, indeed, the only charge which met with attention from the unſuſpicious eye of James; and while aſſaſſinations were perpetrated with impunity, and property was unguarded and plundered, all commerce with Satan was ſo ſtrictly watched, that many perſons not quite in the inferior ranks of life were confined, tortured, and even put to death, for this fancied enormity. Accuſed † of employing witchcraft in obſtructing the king's voyages, and in ſearching into his fortune and the time of his death, Bothwell loſt every ſhadow of favor with his royal maſter, and became an object of horror to his ſight. He was committed to priſon, but broke out; and gaining, by favor of the young Duke of Lenox, a ſecret paſſage to the inner court of Holyrood-Houſe, he encouraged his followers to aſſault the palace; the king fled for ſafety to a tower which had ſome ſtrength; and Sandilands, an attendant, giving the alarm, and the citizens of Edinburgh, rouzed by the danger of their inoffenſive king, aſſembling, and ſurrounding the palace, the Cataline of Scotland (as the profligate and fierce Bothwell was generally ſtyled), found great difficulty to eſcape; and owed his ſafety only to the uncommon darkneſs of the night.

Witchcraft alone, perſecuted.

Temerity of Bothwell.

* Spotiſwood, p. 383.

† Ibid. p. 384.

It

It was ſome time after this, that Captain Stuart, late Earl of Arran, was aſſaſſinated without making the leaſt reſiſtance, by a Douglas; in revenge for the death of the regent Morton [76]. A. D. 1591.

1592. Character of Anne of Denmark.

The character of Queen Anne began now to unfold itſelf, and by no means to her advantage. She appears to have been a buſy, inſolent, vindictive woman, artful to an extreme, connected with the court and principles of Rome, proud of her perſon, and not totally inattentive to thoſe who admired it.

To this laſt propenſity the 'bonny' or handſome Earl of Murray (as he was ſtyled) owed an untimely end. He had been ſuſpected of accompanying Bothwell in his laſt illegal enterprize; and the king, who, as has been intimated, thought that he meant to injure him in a tender point [77], commiſſioned the Earl of Huntley, his inveterate foe, to bring him to juſtice. Huntley executed his commiſſion in a manner which he ſuppoſed was intended. He ſurrounded the houſe * and ſet fire to it; ſome of Murray's

NOTES.

[76] The remark of Sir James Melvill on this murther points out the wretchedneſs of a country where penalties ſleep, unleſs exacted by private revenge. 'Little diligence was made to revenge the ſame, many thinking it ſtrange that he was permitted ſo long to live,' &c. &c. &c. [MEMOIRS.

'What is the name of this field?' ſaid the ſuperſtitious and cowardly ruffian, when he found himſelf purſued by the vengeful Douglas. Being told the name, 'Alas!' exclaimed he, 'I thought ſo; I wiſh I could get over it,' referring, probably, to ſome fanatical preſage. [SPOTISWOOD.

[77] In the elegant collection called 'Reliques of Antient Poetry,' we find the following obſervations: 'In a popular ballad made on this tragical event, after the perſon, &c. of the murthered nobleman had been highly praiſed, it is farther added,

'He was a brave gallant,
And he played at the gluve;
And the bonny Earl of Murray
He was the queen's luve.'

'A deſcendent of this earl has in his poſſeſſion a picture of the body naked, and covered with wounds, which had probably been carried about to inflame the populace. He appears by that to have been a very handſome man.'

'Gordon, of Buckie, forced Huntley, with his dagger at his breaſt, to wound the poor defenceleſs body, ſaying "you ſhall be as deep as I."

* Spotiſwood, p. 387, 388.

followers

A. D. 1592. followers were burnt, ſome yielded. The Earl endeavoring to eſcape in a boat was overtaken by a determined aſſaſſin, Gordon of Buckie, who wounding him deſperately in the viſage, he had juſt ſtrength to ſay, with a laſt effort of vanity, 'ye have ſpoilt a better face than your own,' and expired.

Murther of Murray.

Another plot of Bothwell, and another conſpiracy of the Popiſh Lords, encouraged by Spain, but ill-concerted, and broken in pieces by the ſagacity of Maitland and Sir Robert Melvill, filled up the remainder of 1592, except certain tranſactions in the church-government, which will appear in another place.

1593. The turbulence of the northern Roman Catholics being ſuppreſſed, James found it difficult to ſcreen them, as his ſyſtem of moderation prompted him, from puniſhment; nor could he ſave Graham of Fintry, one of their confederates, from an ignominious death. Lord Burgh, too, was ſent by Elizabeth to urge him to make ſome ſacrifice to offended juſtice; and the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the modern Saul who ſpared the devoted Agag. But the Engliſh ambaſſador weakened his own cauſe, by ſupplicating at the ſame time for the pardon of Bothwell. That artful, though impetuous traitor, had now ranged himſelf under the Engliſh banner, and Elizabeth knew his value too well to heſitate on ſhielding ſo apt a fire-brand, from extinction *.

Bothwell had another protectreſs, Anne of Denmark. She had favored him ever ſince his attempt to murther the ſecretary Maitland, whom ſhe hated; and never ceaſed ſupplicating James for the pardon of the one, and the diſmiſſion of the other. She prevailed in part, and Maitland was diſplaced; but the king, conſcious of having loſt in him his ableſt counſellor, meant to recall him. He was prevented from executing this deſign by Bothwell, who, with Lenox and others, having by the connivance of Queen Anne ſeized the gates of James's palace, ſurprized him, and on his knees requeſted a pardon, which he could now command. The king's reſentment was raiſed to the higheſt pitch by this inſolent enterprize; it overpowered his natural timidity, and he told Bothwell to kill him on the ſpot rather than prolong ſuch a diſgraceful ſcene †. He conſented, how-

Daring enterprize of Bothwell.

* Spotiſwood, p. 393. † Ibid. p. 395.

ever,

ever, to his demands, but on condition that the earl (whom he actually dreaded more as a *magician* than a conſpirator) ſhould not appear in his ſight unleſs commanded. A. D. 1593.

The good fortune of the profligate and daring Bothwell laſted not long; James ſoon ſhook off his fetters, and by aid of a parliament recovered his independency; and his perſecutor, after a new but fruitleſs endeavor once more to ſeize the perſon of the king, loſt his courage, and fled to the Engliſh border.

Popiſh earls forgiven.

At this period, the three Popiſh earls threw themſelves at the king's feet and ſued for pardon; nor would the placable James have refuſed it, but he dreaded his ſtern ally, and he dreaded his parliament. He managed the latter, however, with ſo much art, that the lords were forgiven under condition of becoming Proteſtants, or retiring to Spain.

1594. They take arms again.

In 1594, the Scottiſh hiſtory affords no incidents, except a repetition of troubles raiſed by the three Roman Catholic earls, and Elizabeth's earneſtneſs to have them driven from Scotland. She ſent a new ambaſſador, the Lord Zouch, to haſten this important buſineſs; but that nobleman gave great and juſt offence by treating, not only with the king, but with his malcontent ſubjects, and with his petulant prieſts. At length the fickle Bothwell having quitted the intereſt and protection of Elizabeth, and united with the Popiſh lords, Argyle, a gallant but young and inexperienced nobleman, marched againſt them with a ſuperior force and fought them at Glenlivat: unluckily his Highlanders, ſtartled at the appearance of the revolters' train of artillery and cavalry, broke and fled; while their boy-commander (for he had ſcarcely ſeen eighteen years), raving at the cowardice of his ſoldiers, and crying * out for death rather than diſhonor, was forcibly carried from the field by his friends and ſervants. Alarmed at this unhappy defeat, the king marched at the head of a few troops (to raiſe which he had been forced to pawn his jewels) to the place of action; his appearance changed the ſcene; the ſoldiers of the earls would not fight againſt their king; and the royaliſts having ſubdued all the country belonging to the three lords, thoſe violent ſpirits at length agreed to quit the realm, and give no more diſturbance to the well-affected †. The birth of

And defeat Argyle.

But at length are forced to fly.

* Spotiſwood, p. 409. † Calderwood, p. 373.

A. D. 1594. a ſon, named Henry, at this criſis, gave great addition to the weight of the Scottiſh king in the courts of Europe, and particularly in that of Elizabeth, whoſe opinion of James's fidelity as to his tranſactions with the Popiſh earls had been ſo low, that ſhe had for ſome time paſt refuſed him any pecuniary aid; ſhe now ſent the Earl of Suſſex [77] to the prince's baptiſm with magnificent gifts; and every prince of Europe (except Henry IV. of France, who owned himſelf too poor) followed her example *.

1595. As the turbulent Bothwell had accompanied the Popiſh earls in their exile, there ſeemed reaſon to hope that tranquillity might for ſome time

Anarchy in Scotland. flouriſh in Scotland, but there were ſtill many obſtacles. The feuds among private perſons had been ſuffered to reign with impunity ſo long, that they raged beyond the power of a ſceptre like that of James to reſtrain. The Highlands and the Weſtern Iſles afforded repeated ſcenes of deliberate barbarity; in theſe remote diſtricts, family animoſities raged beyond the comprehenſions of civilized people [78]; and as the protecting arm of

NOTES.

[77] The preſents from the ſtates of Europe were magnificent. Elizabeth ſent 'a faire cupboard of ſilver, overguilt, cunningly wrought, and ſome cups of maſſy gold.' The Dutch ſent two cups of maſſy gold and a parchment, binding themſelves to pay five thouſand pounds per annum to the prince. It was the greedy poverty of James which had incited him to ſend ambaſſadors all over the Continent to announce the baptiſm of the prince. He expected preſents like theſe, and he ſoon found uſes for them. 'I leave it to others,' ſays Melvill with ſenſibility, 'to ſet down the weight and value; but I ſay theſe which were of gold, and ſhould have been kept in ſtore to poſterity, were ſoon melted and diſpoſed of. But if they had been preſerved as they ought to have been, thoſe who adviſed to break them would have wanted their part.'

[78] Inſtances are much too frequent of ſuch horrors, the following is well-atteſted: In or about 1595, the M'Gregors having defeated the Colquhouns of Dunbartonſhire, at Glenfrone, purſued their laird, Humphry Colquhoun, to his caſtle, and having made themſelves maſters of it, they put him to death with circumſtances of uncommon cruelty. A number of young noblemen and gentlemen of different families, who were at Dunbarton-ſchool, had thronged to ſee the fight at Glenfrone, but the Colquhouns, to prevent their being ill-treated, ſhut them up in a barn, and prevented their coming to the field. Nevertheleſs, the M'Gregors after their victory ſet fire to their aſylum, and burnt them all together.

[ACTS OF COUNCIL, &c. APUD PENNANT.

The very name of the ſanguinary race was aboliſhed by law in conſequence of this atrocious deed. Towards the cloſe of the 18th century the appellation was by act of parliament permitted to be reſumed, as 'the cauſes for ſuppreſſing it are now little known, or have ceaſed.'

[PUB. ACTS.

* Spotiſwood, p. 407.

government

government was indolent and palſied, each man of power avenged his real or fancied wrongs by his own ſtrength, and according to his own ideas of juſtice. On the borders matters were, if poſſible, in a worſe ſtate. The Maxwells and the Johnſtones had long carried on an uninterrupted and ſanguinary civil war, and the treatment which the peaceable inhabitants received from the roving, unprincipled warriors on each ſide, forms a ſtory unprecedented in the annals of a civilized country [79]. A. D. 1595.

Schemes of Anne of Denmark.

The ſubtle and dangerous machinations of Queen Anne were alſo the ſource of great uneaſineſs to her conſort, who, indolent and peaceable as he was, frequently found himſelf obliged by her intrigues to make unpleaſant exertions.

Diſappointed.

The cuſtody of the Prince-royal of Scots was by hereditary cuſtom the right of the houſe of Erſkine, and the Lord Mar had the infant now under his care. As the queen, who wanted not diſcernment, clearly ſaw the great increaſe of power which ſuch a charge in an ill-ſettled government muſt confer on the perſon truſted, ſhe at once dropped her hatred to the ſecretary Maitland, and condeſcended to plot with him the means of gaining poſſeſſion of the important child. But James having diſcovered her deſign, ſeverely * reprimanded her, and gave ſuch warning to Mar, as placed the prince totally beyond the danger of a ſurprize. He then viſited Maitland,

NOTES.

[79] Strange as it muſt appear it is nevertheleſs true, that before the junction of the two crowns on the head of James, England had never enjoyed the advantages of her inſular ſituation. The barbarous tenants of the borders had, ever ſince the departure of the Romans, kept that part of the iſland in a ſtate of civil war; and had produced a race of monſters ſcarce to be parallelled in modern hiſtory. Geordie Bourne, one of them, and not a man of *uncommon* villany, confeſſed, before his execution, 'that he had violated forty men's wives, and had cruelly, in cold blood, murthered ſeven Engliſhmen.

[CARY'S MEMOIRS.

Other inſtances of profligate ferocity in abundance may be found in the Border Hiſtory, in Burn's Northumberland, &c.

The following names belonged to ſome of thoſe worſt of borderers, called Moſs-troopers: Tom Trotter of the Hill, Goodman Dickſon, Ralph Burn of the Coit, George Hall, called Pat's Geordie, Tne Lairds Jok, Wanton Sym, Will of Powder-lampat, Arthur Fire-the-braes, Gray Will, Will the Lord, Richie Graham the Plump, Priors John and his Bairnes, Hector of the Harlaw, The Griefes and Cuts of the Harlaw, &c. &c.

* Spotiſwood, p. 411.

A. D. 1595. who was much indiſpoſed, and repreſented the impropriety of his conduct in ſo ſtrong a light, that the days of that long-truſted and high-ſpirited miniſter are ſuppoſed to have been much ſhortened by his feelings on the occaſion. The good-natured monarch was deeply concerned at the effect of his anger, and honored his deceaſed favorite with an epitaph [80] *.

1596. Inſtitution of the Octavians.

The taſte for expenſive amuſements which both the king and queen poſſeſſed, and perpetually gratified, obliged the thoughtleſs James, in ſpite of his indolent turn, to deviſe ſome way of increaſing his finances, eſpecially as he found that he could not entirely rely on Elizabeth for money when ſuddenly needed; that diſcerning princeſs expecting a conſiſtency and fidelity in her penſioner, qualities in which the unſteady diſpoſition of James too frequently failed. Eight men of the law (ſtyled from their number Octavians †) were therefore ſupplied with ample powers to regulate the Scottiſh finances, and reſtore order to the confuſed accounts of the treaſury. It does not, however, appear that any immediate advantage reſulted to the king's coffers from this experiment. The Octavians, who deſpaired of clearing up the accounts, confuſed as they found them, contented themſelves with obliging the peculators to compound, and repay a part of their gains. The public accuſed theſe miniſters of converting the fines to their own uſe, and the divines preached againſt them as Papiſts, but they nevertheleſs retained their ſtations; and, allowing for the ſhortneſs of their reign, conſiderably improved the fiſcal department of Scotland.

Dangerous tumult at Edinburgh.

It was not long after this appointment ere the timid and irreſolute character of James, and the extreme violence of his clergy, cauſed a diſturbance of a dangerous kind. The Popiſh earls, the unceaſing ſources of Scottiſh diſcord, once more moved every engine to gain admittance again to their country [81] and eſtates; nor was James a verſe to their requeſt, ſince he found that his late exertion of ſpirit againſt the Northern rebels had terrified the Roman Catholics both in England and Scotland, and had indiſ-

NOTES.

[80] See the Appendix.

[81] Two of the earls lurked in Scotland, the third (Errol) was ſeized in the Low Countries, betrayed by his ſingularly fine perſon and lofty ſtature.

[ANON APUD GUTHRIE.

* Spotiſwood, p. 412.

† Melvill, p. 348.

poſed

posed many to his dominion. But on his hinting his design, the clergy of Edinburgh took fire [82] and communicated the flames of their resentment to the citizens *. The preachers, with a furious demagogue, named Black, at their head (who had denounced Elizabeth as an atheist), raved from their pulpits against their reprobate king; the magistrates of the capital shut their ears to the disloyal acclamations which resounded through the streets; while many citizens, with the Lord Lindsay and other hot-headed fanatics, surrounded James in the sessions-house, and, by behavior which deserved a worse name than disrespectful, forced him for his safety to quit the city. He retired from the disloyal metropolis to Linlithgow; and there, with uncommon intrepidity, planned cool and decisive measures against those who, as he properly expressed it, had reduced him to be 'the cypher of a king.' A. D. 1596.

In the mean while the spirited action of a chief on the borders had almost caused a fatal rupture. Scot of Buccleugh, one of the most active of the partisans on the Marches, had received an unwarrantable affront from the English warden, who, in despite of that custom which had rendered the place of conference an asylum to all criminals, had carried off one Armstrong, a celebrated plunderer, prisoner to Carlisle. The irritated Scot followed him with 200 men, surprized the castle of Carlisle, rescued the captive, and returned home without spilling a drop of blood. Elizabeth stormed on hearing the tale, and the pacific James condescended to let the gallant Scot attend her court, and defend his own cause before her in person. He did so, and the not ungenerous queen sent him back with an honorable acknowledgment of his innocence. Carlisle surprized.

The reflections of James, after his retreat from Edinburgh, appear to have inspired him with a determination to seize this fortunate opportunity, and rescue the crown from the extreme subordination into which the church had gradually reduced it. No sentiment had indeed been too treasonable for the favorite preachers to promulgate from their pulpit, nor for their 1597. Resolute conduct of James.

NOTES.

[82] When James endeavored to soften Robert Bruce, one the most moderate, 'I see,' said the haughty priest, 'that ye wish to have Huntley back. Ye cannot have him and me. Look that ye take your choice.' [SPOTISWOOD, &c.

* Birch's Memoirs of Eliz. vol. ii. p. 230, 250.

pupils

A. D. 1597. pupils in politics to defend by rioting and the ſword. Welch, a noted declaimer, had delivered the king over to perdition as a perſon poſſeſſed by Beelzebub; he had urged the legality of wreſting the ſword from his polluted hand; and, although the houſe of Hamilton had refuſed to head the mal-contents, yet Lord Lindſay, Lord Forbes, and others, having been aſked by the king 'How they could dare to diſpute his proclamation?' anſwered, 'That they dared do that and more to preſerve their religion unſullied by Popery *.'

The church humbled.

The firſt ſtep of the juſtly irritated king was an order to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to arreſt the moſt inſolent of the preachers; and at the ſame time all the well affected were ordered to withdraw from the diſloyal capital. He then aſſembled a convention, and laying before the members what provocations he had received, eaſily ſucceeded not only in cauſing the late diſturbances to be ſtyled treaſon, but in procuring ſuch ordinances as might re-inſtate the civil power in its rights. By theſe, all miniſters of the church were ordered to ſubſcribe a declaration of obedience to the royal authority; magiſtrates might ſeize and impriſon ſeditious preachers; no eccleſiaſtical court of judicature might meet unleſs by the king's direction; and, laſtly, an alteration was made in the mode of electing the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, which took the power from the popular party, and ſubjected the whole to the approbation of the ſovereign †.

The metropolis corrected.

This firm and prudent conduct of the king completely humbled the violent eccleſiaſtics and their hot-heated hearers; the magiſtrates, being told that their offices were forfeited by their paſſive indulgence of treaſon, threw themſelves at the feet of James, profeſſing unlimited obedience for the future; while the ſeditious preachers, timid in deed as loud in declamation, fled to the borders, and left their pulpits to reſound with the doctrines of more loyal declaimers. So much did the conſcious inhabitants of Edinburgh dread the penalties which might be levied on their heads for their indefenſible conduct, that they thought themſelves happy when the natural moderation of James, ſupported by the earneſt recommendations of Elizabeth, procured them forgiveneſs on the mild conditions above-mentioned, and the payment of a conſiderable fine. The pardon of the three Popiſh earls naturally followed theſe events, but they were firſt obliged

* Spotiſwood, p. 429. † Ibid. p. 434, &c.

to

to make ſome conceſſions to the church, and to find enormous bail for their good behavior. A. D. 1597.

The Octavians retire.

At this juncture the Octavians, finding themſelves hated by the people, neglected by James, who thought little but of church government, and teazed by Queen Anne for money which the treaſury could not ſupply, abandoned their new vocation, and left the finances to regain that ſtate of confuſion from which the beſt authors think they were under their management in a train, to be reſcued *.

Enterprize of Barclay.

An event of a romantic caſt cloſed the tranſactions of 1597. There lies on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, at ſome diſtance from the land, a vaſt rock named Aylſa, with the remains of a fortreſs on its ſide, but no inhabitants. To this ſolitary aſylum Barclay of Ladyland, a proſcribed partizan of Spain and of the Popiſh earls, led a ferocious band of armed outlaws; with theſe he ſilently abode in the hoſpitable ruin, and waited there unheeded ſome weeks for the promiſed help from Philip, who was ever ready to ſupport the rebel, or encourage the aſſaſſin. While Barclay was one day cautiouſly treading the ſhore, and eagerly looking out for the ſails of Spain, he was alarmed by the ſight of a ſtranger juſt landed from the main land; and although he ſaw no armed force in his company, his courage gave immediate way to deſpair; he ruſhed headlong into the ſea and was drowned. His party, abandoned by their leader, ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and the earls were deprived of every chance except that of ſubmiſſion †.

Witches perſecuted.

It ought not to be forgotten, that the annals of Scotland were diſgraced in 1597 by a violent procedure againſt witches [83]. So many, indeed, were diſcovered, that their perſecutors were aſtoniſhed, remitted the penalty to ſome, and prevented any farther executions unleſs after confeſſion.

NOTES.

[83] Margaret Atkin undertook to diſcover witches by their eyes. She met with ready belief; and at Glaſgow, through the credulous folly of John Cowper the miniſter, many ſuffered death on her evidence. At length, being narrowly watched, ſhe was found out to be an impoſtor, and to ſay different things of the ſame perſon when brought to her more than once. She was brought to a trial, confeſſed her complicated villany, and was executed. [SPOTISWOOD.

* Spotiſwood, p. 435. † Ibid. p. 447.

No

A. D. 1598. No particular events in Scottiſh hiſtory diſtinguiſhed the next year, except the birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth (on which occaſion the Earls of Hamilton and Huntley, having aſſiſted as witneſſes, were made marquiſſes), and the arrival of the queen's brother from Holſtein at the court of James. The entertainment of this prince, and the baptiſmal ceremonies of the infant, were far more coſtly than the purſe of the thoughtleſs king could ſupport, although his penſion had been enlarged by Elizabeth. It was therefore found neceſſary to create a new board of ſixteen members, to regulate the royal income, and to raiſe a conſiderable impoſt on the people to ſupport the expence of ſending and receiving embaſſies. The want of a ſtrong government [84] was ſtill ſeverely felt in every remote diſtrict, where murther, inſtigated by private feuds, ſtalked abroad with impunity.

Poverty of James.

1599. As the Queen of England now viſibly [85] declined in health and ſpirits, James took the eccentric ſtep of ſending to gain the ſilent ſuffrage of every Proteſtant court for his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne. The anſwer which he received from each to this very delicate communication was uniformly reſpectful, but ſtrongly diſſuaſive of haſty meaſures, which might ruin an intereſt that otherwiſe no foreign or domeſtic event could injure.

Singular embaſſies.

NOTES.

[84] In 1598 was fought one of the laſt battles among the Scottiſh clans. Sir Laughlan Maclean of Mull invaded Jay with 1500 men, intending to deprive his nephew, the Lord of the Iſles, of that patrimony. A witch, the oracle of Mull, had given him three counſels, each of which he was obliged to counteract. He was bade not to land on a Thurſday, but he was compelled by a ſtorm; he was not to drink of a certain ſpring, but he did it through ignorance; laſtly, he had directions as to chuſing his field of battle, which he could not obey. The ſagacious reader will anticipate the event—Sir Laughlan was defeated and ſlain. [Pennant.

[85] Elizabeth, however old, was not of a temper to put up with any diſreſpect, even at this late period of her life and reign. On ſurmiſing that ſhe was ſlighted, ſhe encouraged writers to attack James's title to her ſucceſſion. But an anecdote told by Guthrie (without naming his authority) is ſtriking and characteriſtic.

In a diſpatch which that ſpirited queen ſent (at the age of ſixty-four) to her miniſter in Scotland, Bowes, ſhe inſerted with her own hand, between the ſignature of her name and the firſt line of her inſtructions, the following nervous words: 'I wonder how baſe-minded that king thinks me, that with patience I could digeſt ſuch diſhonorable treatment! Let him therefore know that I *will* have ſatisfaction, or elſe ———.' James pacified the angry virago with ample ſubmiſſion, and received 7000 l. from her during that year.

Hist. of Scotland.

The

A. D. 1599.

Prudent conduct of James.

The extreme earneſtneſs of James to ſecure his Engliſh ſucceſſion carried him ſtill greater lengths; anxious to gain the good will of every party, he raiſed the jealouſy of the Proteſtant ſtates, by the indiſcriminate attention which he paid to the profeſſors of both religions [86]. Elizabeth was at this period particularly hurt by the diſcovery of a letter to the Pope, ſigned by the Scottiſh prince, in which, after many expreſſions favorable to the Roman Catholic faith, he recommends Drummond [87], a Scot, to fill a vacancy in the ſacred college. A copy of this paper (which had been obtained by the humble diligence of the Maſter of Gray, who now acted as a ſpy for Elizabeth at Rome) was ſent to James *. At firſt he denied all knowledge of it, but afterwards owned his name, but averred that he had ſigned it careleſſly, without having examined the contents [88]. With this excuſe the queen found it prudent to acquieſce; ſhe ſaw indeed, with unutterable anguiſh, that her people began viſibly to look towards her ſucceſſor; and that Bruce of Kinloſs, his ambaſſador, a man of great addreſs and abilities, had made innumerable proſelytes among her greedy, ungrateful courtiers. She had endeavored, by ſeizing a low culprit, named Valentine Thomas, to intimate a ſuſpicion of his being employed by James to haſten her deceaſe; but the manly and open conduct of the prudent heir made her aſhamed of the ſhallow plot. As Elizabeth, however, did not wiſh him to be too certain of ſucceſs, ſhe did not diſcourage the polemic politician, who publiſhed fugitive pieces arraigning the title of James to the Engliſh throne; but the cautious Scot, inſtead of complaining to the queen,

NOTES.

[86] The Pope was ſo ſteady a friend to James's rights, that that grateful prince made a public acknowledgement on that head ſome years after. [CALDERWOOD.

[87] The houſe of Drummond, ſays Mr. Pennant, took its origin from the pilot of the veſſel which conveyed the royal Saxon family of England, at the æra of the Norman conqueſt, to Leith. Mauritz was his name, a Hungarian of royal blood. In gratitude for his ſkilful care, Malcolm Canmore gave him a grant of lands, and the appellation of 'Drymen,' or 'The high Ridge,' referring to the waves over which he had ſafely conducted the future Queen of Scotland. [PENNANT.

[88] Although the blame fell on Elphinſtone, a Roman Catholic, ſecretary to the king, yet it has been ſtrongly hinted that Anne of Denmark was principally concerned in the buſineſs; ſhe was buſy and mercenary.

* Spotiſwood, p. 456.

A. D. 1599. caused each treatise to be answered with such spirit and strength of argument, that his cause gained ground by the very cavils of his enemies.

Basilicon Doron.

Nor did the publication of the 'Basilicon Doron,' at this juncture *, hurt the interest of the King of Scots, its author. The sentiments which it contained had been misrepresented, and it became necessary to let the world see, that the principles of the work neither tended to bigotry nor despotism. It proved to be a well-written treatise on the arts of government, clothed in as pure a style as the age would admit, and not more chargeable with pedantry than contemporary books of a serious kind.

Comedians sent for from England.

The study of letters naturally led the well-informed prince into the walks of Parnassus; and he manifested his attachment to the Muses by requesting Elizabeth to send him a company of English players to Edinburgh. But, as the gaiety of the stage, and the free manners of the comedians, formed too strong a contrast to the solemn discipline recommended by the stern followers of Calvin, a warm opposition was made by the clergy against a measure which tended to substitute wit and cheerfulness in the room of formality †. The king had however gained too strong an ascendance over the church to be passive under an opposition to a favorite project. The preachers were ordered by the throne to be silent, and the theatre, disburthened of an anathema, became the resort of every rank of society. A modern historian ‡ affirms, that he has reason to think the great Shakspear to have been one of the party that migrated to the North on this expedition.

1600. Precautions of James.

The nearer the King of Scots approached to the English throne, the more diligence he exerted in smoothing the path which led to that exalted station. He wished most ardently to conciliate the Roman Catholics, and with that view made the Popish Archbishop of Glasgow § (after the convention had been persuaded to restore his temporalities) reside at Paris as his ambassador; and he employed Lord Home, a Roman Catholic peer, in a private negotiation with the pope; while Sir James Lindsay, familiarizing himself with those of that religion in England, disposed them to expect great indulgence at the accession of James.

The cautious prince paid equal attention to the ministry and favorites of Elizabeth; and, while he listened with a polite but incredulous ear to the

* Spotiswood, p. 457.
† Ibid. p 457.
‡ Guthrie.
§ Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 147.

wild

wild fears of a Spaniſh pretender, with which the Earl of Eſſex perplexed him, he had begun to form a much more certain and uſeful connection with Cecil, the right hand of the declining queen; a connection which, after the unfortunate Eſſex had ruſhed on his deſtruction, ſtill ſilently ſupported the cauſe of James, and at length introduced him peaceably to the throne of Great Britain. A. D. 1600.

At this juncture, when every thing and every party concurred to promote his intereſt, when the church interfered not with the exerciſe of his authority, and when the private quarrels of the nobility were gradually ſubſiding, a ſtrange incident, hitherto totally unaccounted for, and indeed hardly credited by many, had nearly deprived the king of life, and involved the iſland in confuſion. If a conſpiracy exiſted, it was aſſuredly one of the worſt concerted which hiſtory can produce; but ſo wild are the circumſtances which are handed down to the preſent age, that it does not appear what advantage could accrue to any of the conſpirators had the plot ſucceeded. The account beneath is copied from the narrative which James himſelf gave to the public. Gowrie's conſpiracy.

Lord Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were the ſons of the Earl of Gowrie, put to death in 1584 for treaſon. They were accompliſhed young men, of amiable characters, had a more than common ſhare of learning, were much favored by the king, and exceedingly beloved in the northern counties of Scotland.

On the 5th of Auguſt, 1600, James was at his hunting palace, called Falkland, not far from Perth, the ſeat of the Gowrie and Ruthven popularity; he was at an early hour proceeding in ſearch of ſport, when Alexander Ruthven met him, and with great confuſion and earneſtneſs informed him, that he had ſeized a ſuſpicious fellow, who had under his cloak a large pot full of money, and that he detained him for his Majeſty's examination *. Money was an irreſiſtible bait to the needy prince, and, although not ſatisfied, he was perſuaded by his informer to ride without attendants to Lord Gowrie's, where the bearer of the treaſure (whom James immediately ſuppoſed to be an emiſſary from the Pope, or King of Spain) was kept in hold. They entered the caſtle by a private way, and, aſcending a blind ſtaircaſe to a ſmall obſcure room, where they found a man ſtanding, armed at all

* Spotiſwood, p. 459.

A. D. 1600. points, Ruthven, ſuddenly altering his behaviour, told the king, that, as he had ſlain the father of Gowrie, and of him, he muſt die to expiate his offence. James reaſoned with him, defended his own conduct, and ſo far ſtaggered his ſanguinary plan, that he left the room, but ſoon returned, denouncing death to the hapleſs prince, and endeavoring to tie his hands, while he held a dagger at his breaſt. The armed man, who had been argued by the king into an agony of terror, ſtood trembling by, when James, exerting his utmoſt ſtrength, and overpowering Alexander Ruthven, gained the window, and calling to his attendants, they forced a paſſage, relieved the king, and ſlew both the Gowries. And thus James concludes his own narrative: 'While theſe ſpells were about him (Gowrie), the wound of which he died bled not, but when they were taken away the blood guſhed out in great abundance; an infamy which has followed and ſpotted the race of this houſe [89] for many deſcents,' &c. &c.

Clergy incredulous.

So ſtrange and unexpected an event, although vouched by royal authority, met with ſlow and unwilling belief. The Gowrie family had been beloved by all, and eſpecially by the clergy of Scotland; and it was with the greateſt difficulty that the preachers could be perſuaded to publiſh from their pulpits the king's own narrative of the plot; at length however all, except Robert Bruce, acquieſced. But that ſturdy demagogue could only be brought to ſay, that, although he *reſpected* the king's account of the affair, he would not anſwer for *believing* it. In vain did James condeſcend to reaſon with the obſtinate ſceptic; he retained his incredulity, and was baniſhed to England *.

More courtly in their faith, the members of a convention, which was immediately called, lamented over the peril of the king, and loaded its

NOTES.

[89] This ſarcaſm on the houſe of Ruthven perhaps refers to the execution of Jane Douglas, Lady Glamis, who had ſome relationſhip to that family, and who was burnt on a charge of ſorcery about twenty-five years before. This poor lady is alſo hinted at in a ballad which may be found in the 'Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry,' entitled, 'Northumberland betrayed by Douglas.'

'My mother ſhe was a witch ladyè,
And of her ſkill ſhe learned mee,
She would let me ſee, out of Loch Leven,
What they did in London citiè.'

* Calder. vol. v. p. 389.

authors

authors with disgrace. The mangled bodies * of the two young men were, as the custom ordained, produced to the house, and condemned as guilty of treason; their lands were forfeited; the name of Ruthven declared infamous; and an annual day of thanksgiving for the royal escape unanimously directed to be held by all good subjects [90]. A. D. 1600.

Before the close of this year, we must notice the birth of Charles, an ill-starred prince, doomed to supply a melancholy page to the annals of Great-Britain. Birth of Prince Charles.

NOTES.

[90] This whole story is so absurd and improbable, that it can only be explained (say most writers) by one of the following methods: Either James's detestation of the Ruthven family made him invent the whole story, or else the plan was laid by the Ruthvens with a view not to kill the king, but to frighten him into acquiescence, and then to deliver him up to Elizabeth.

Both these solutions are highly improbable. James's turn was not sanguinary, nor had he ever shewn signs of malice against younger branches of the Ruthven family. On the other hand, Elizabeth, declining in spirits and in health, was not likely to encourage an undertaking so perilous and so little necessary.

There is one other way of solving the mystery. If we can suppose Alexander Ruthven to have been seized with a sudden fit of insanity, then most part of the tale may be accounted for. At any rate the earl seems to have had no concern in it. He had a large armed force, yet he made no use of it against the king; but, as soon as he heard a cry that 'the king was slain,' he dropped two swords which he had in his hands, and suffered his heart to be pierced without resistance. Nor could Alexander Ruthven have designed the murther of James, since, when his dagger was at the king's breast, he only made use of it to terrify him that his hands might be bound. The armed man too (who on promise of pardon surrendered himself) proved to be one Henderson, a timid honest man, totally ignorant why he was clothed in armor, and so frighted that he was a long time recovering the use of his senses.

When every other surmise has failed, may we not ask whether the unprincipled intriguing Anne of Denmark might not somehow be concerned in this strange affair? There are hints given among Winwood's papers of her attachment to Alexander Ruthven, whose personal beauty was extraordinary, and of the king's uneasiness on that account.

About nine years after this strange event, one Spratt, a notary, having prated imprudently, as if he had been concerned in the plot against the king, was seized and tortured, on which he made an inconsistent wild confession, charging two dead persons (Logan and Bour) as his accomplices. He was hanged; and, having promised to the spectators that he would give a token of his veracity, he clapped his hands thrice after the executioner had thrown him off the ladder. Yet Archbishop Spotiswood treats the confession with contempt. [ROBERTSON.

* Spotiswood, p. 462.

That

A. D. 1601. That unhappy disturbance at London which, in 1601, cost the gallant Earl of Essex his life, and his royal mistress her peace of mind, gave great uneasiness to the King of Scots, in whose favor the rash, unthinking earl avowedly raised his standard. The ambassadors (Mar and Kinloss) who were sent in haste to save * if possible the friend of James from the axe, arrived, perhaps fortunately, after the blow was struck; and turned into congratulations the intended remonstrances. These were received by the dispirited Elizabeth with kindness, and rewarded by an addition of 2000l. per annum to the usual pension. The Pope at this juncture, displeased with James for thus strengthening his connection with the foe of Catholicism, forbade, by a privately-distributed bull, all persons to acknowledge any successor to the throne of England who should not promise to tolerate, and even to establish, the Roman belief. By some this prohibition has been looked on as the progenitor of the gunpowder-treason conspiracy.

Amity with Elizabeth.

James now received an ample proportion of professions of loyalty and support from his future English subjects; and Cecil, the hereditary foe of the Stuarts, heartily but secretly espoused his cause. Yet he was anxious to know the sentiments which Henry IV. of France had formed of his right to the English crown, and sent the Duke of Lenox, splendidly equipped, to sound his opinion. The answer of the ruminating Bourbon (with whom James never was a favorite, and to whom his supposed negotiations with Rome and Spain had given suspicion and disgust) was so dry and unpromising, that the ambassador was ordered abruptly to repair to the court of England. There he offered to the infirm and aged sovereign the aid of the whole Scottish force, if necessary, to quell the Irish rebels. She accepted not the offer, but thanked James with affectionate gratitude.

Cecil a friend to James.

1602. The story of Scotland as a separate kingdom now draws apace to its close. James saw the termination of his residence in the North approach, and wished to leave behind him some testimony of his affection which might endure †. To introduce new sources of provision and commerce to the Western Islands (then over-clouded with barbarism) was an object worth his attention. But although there are only dark accounts of his endeavors towards its accomplishment, yet these are worth relating, as they prove the independence of those isles, and the weakness of James's

Unfortunate attempt to civilize the Hebrides.

* Birch. Mem. vol. ii. p. 410.

† Basil. Doron. p. 159.

govern-

government. It appears that he drew from Fife, where the inhabitants were induſtrious in huſbandry, and good fiſhermen, an efficient colony (headed by Sir James Anſtruther and other gentlemen), and planted it on the iſle of Lewes. Murdoch Macleod, a baſe-born but potent and ferocious chief, was at this time lord of Stornoway, a diſtrict where the new comers landed, and him they expelled, probably with inconſiderate haſte. His people on ſhore ſubmitted, but the active deſpot putting to ſea with a little fleet compoſed of *birlings*, a bark peculiar to the Weſtern Iſles, ſoon found an opportunity to ſurprize one of the colonial ſhips which a calm had prevented from taking meaſures for flight or defence. The whole crew were hanged by the inhuman captor, except the Laird of Balgomie, who was on board, and he, after a rigorous confinement, was ranſomed, and died at Orkney. Soon after Murdoch was ſeized by his own brother, Neil Macleod, who ſold him to the Scots, and he was hanged at St. Andrew's. The colony in the mean while was ſurrounded and harraſſed by the natives under a third brother, Norman Macleod; and, when moſt of the adventurers were ſlain or ſtarved, the reſidue yielded themſelves priſoners, and the unſteady king, inſtead of revenging the inſult, bought the freedom of the few ſurvivors with a promiſe that the iſlanders of Lewes ſhould remain unmoleſtedly ſavage *.

A. D. 1602.

Savage iſlanders.

This was the laſt incident which the reign of James VI. produces as king of one half of Great Britain. On the deceaſe of Elizabeth he aſcended her throne, not only without oppoſition but with the complete approbation of all; as no title was ever more indubitably eſtabliſhed than that of the King of Scots to the crown of England [91]. It was indeed a title clearly ſuperior to that of the Plantagenets; being derived from David I. of Scots, who was heir to St. Margaret, the ſiſter and heireſs of Edgar Atheling;

1603. James becomes King of Great Britain.

NOTES.

[91] The pedigree of James was a laſting feaſt for the ſtudents of genealogy. The author has now before him a book in quarto, compiled by 'George Owen Harry, Parſon of Whitchurch in Kemeis,' comprizing the deſcent of that prince from Noah, Brutus, and Cadwallader; from Owen Tudor, and from almoſt every crowned head in Europe. It was printed at London in 1604.

* Spotiſwood, p. 468.

whereas,

A. D. 1603. whereas, excepting the right which poſſeſſion can impart, the Plantagenets had no claim but from Matilda, the ſiſter of David, and wife to Henry Beauclerc.

How far the abilities of James were found to fit him for the great taſk now before him, and whether his mind and his views were enlarged proportionably to the increaſe of his dominions, will be ſeen in a following volume.

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. II.—PART I.

SECTION I.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII. A.D. 1547, TO THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. A.D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.

Edward VI. favors the Reformation.

IT were natural to ſuppoſe, that the general intereſt of religion, as well as that of reformation in particular, ſhould have been much forwarded by the deceaſe of the capricious and more than half Roman Catholic Henry [1], and the acceſſion of Edward VI. a prince ſo exceedingly amiable, virtuous, and even pious, that, allowing for the natural exaggerations

NOTES.

[1] The reader may conſult Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. p. 13, for the account of a circumſtance at the royal funeral which afforded matter of triumph to the bigoted Papiſts, and which gave them an opportunity of comparing the obſequies of Henry VIII. to thoſe of Jezebel. See 1ſt book of Kings, chap. ix. v. 33, &c.

Cent. XVI.

of Proteſtant writers, he muſt be looked on as a prodigy; eſpecially conſidering his extreme youth and his ſituation as a king, ſurrounded with every temptation which ſervility could offer or luxury afford.

The Proteſtant faith moſt certainly advanced by huge ſtrides. It had on its ſide the affection* of the young Edward (whoſe education was totally in the hands of zealous reformers), and of the honeſt and zealous Protector †; the wiſe counſels of Cranmer, whoſe moderation was undoubted, and who by no means wiſhed to deſtroy the hierarchy, but to reduce it according to the dictates of reaſon; the firm and bold arguments delivered from the pulpits of Latimer, Hooper, and many other ſincere well-wiſhers to reformation [2]; and, in general, the good will of the people.

Somerſet and Cranmer its friends.

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[2] Let us read a ſpecimen of the age's blunt divinity from a work of Richard Bankes, 'dwellynge in Gracious-ſtreet beſyde the condyte,' printed as well as compoſed by himſelf, and addreſſed to the people, in 1544. 'Though I am olde, clothed in barbarus wede, nothynge garnyſhed with gay eloquenſy; yet I telle the truth (if ye lyke to take hede) againſte theyr froward furious fantaſy which rekken it for a grate hereſy, and unto laye people grevous outrage, to have Godes word in theyr native langage. Enemys I ſhall have; many a ſhorne crowne with forked caps, and gay croſſes of golde; whiche, to maintayne their ambicious renowne, are glad laye peopel in ygnorance to holde;

'Yet, to ſhew the verytè, one may be bolde,
'Altho' it be a proverbe dayly ſpoken,
"Who that tellyth truthe, his hed ſhall be broken."

[A Compendious Old Treatyse, shewynge, &c. &c.

Another began thus,

'Will none in all this lande
Step forth, and take in hande
The buckler and defence
Of mother holy kyrcke,
Or weapon to drive hence
All that agaynſt hyr wyrcke.' [A Poore Helpe.

But in a very ſcarce comedy, written by Bale, afterwards Biſhop of Oſſory, ſcurrility and prophaneneſs are called forth in great force to combat the monks and Popiſh miracles. Infidelity, one of the perſons in the drama, ſpeaking of the laity, prays 'To the omnipotent and eternal God,' 'Ut ſicut eorum ſudoribus vivimus, ita eorum uxoribus, filiabus et domicellis perpetuo frui mercamur, per dominum noſtrum Papam.' The ſame ſpeaker then begins a converſation in Engliſh with 'Lex Moyſis,' 'too low and licentious' (ſays the

* Holingſhed, p. 979.

† Burnet's Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 25.

people. It had alſo an addition of ſtrength in the eagerneſs for plunder which moſt of the old courtiers of Henry poſſeſſed. By eſtabliſhing the new doctrines, theſe had a chance of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already the regular, clergy. Indifferent to all religion they dreaded the return of Popery, as it muſt bring with it a ſevere account for them to ſettle. Cent. XVI.

The Popiſh party, which the experienced and cautious zeal of Gardiner [3] directed, as it could not oppoſe the torrent, readily gave it way; oppoſing only now and then a ſlight impediment to its progreſs. 'They Gardiner its chief foe.

NOTES.

the hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry) 'to tranſcribe,' introducing 'an olde fryre wyth ſpectacles on hys noſe, and Dame Iſabel, an olde nun, who crowes lyke a capon.'

It was (ſings Infidelity, almoſt in the ſtyle of, though leſs delicate than, a modern Vauxhall ballad),

'A good world, when wyth us it was merye
And we went to Berye,
And t'oure Ladye of Grace;
To the bloude of Hayles,
Where no chere fayles,
And other holye place.
When the preſtes mighte walke,
And wyth yonge wyves talke,
Then had we chyldrene plentye;
Then cuckoldes myghte leape,
A ſcore in a heape,
Now there is not one in twenty.
When the monkes were fatte,' &c. &c.

And thus, in another place, is the old philoſophy ridiculed:

'And I wyll rayſe up in the univerſitees
The ſeven ſleepers there, t' advaunce the Pope's decrees:
As Dorbel, Duns, Durande, and Thomas of Aquine,
The mayſtre of ſentèns, wythe Bachon the grate devyne,
Henricus de Gandavo; and theſe ſhall rede "Ad Clerum,"
Ariſtotle and Albertus, "de ſecretis mulièrum,"
With the commentaries of Avicen and Averoyes,' &c.

[3] Gardiner wrote at this period a treatiſe in defence of 'holy water,' in oppoſition to a ſermon preached by Biſhop Ridley. 'It was,' he ſaid, 'an inſtrument in the hands of the Almighty, and might do good as well as the ſhadow of St. Peter, the hem of our Savior's garment, or the ſpittle and clay laid on the eyes of the blind.' [COLLIER.

Cent. XVI. could not deny,' they ſaid 'that the meaſures propoſed were good; but this, being a minority, was not the proper ſeaſon. Images ought not to be aboliſhed, as they preſerved a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude. Above all, they affirmed that it was a dangerous precedent to break through ſolemn acts of parliament in order to pleaſe an infant king or his miniſter.'

Theſe innuendos miſſed their aim, and reformation proceeded with calm and ſteady ſteps.

It was about this time that Gardiner preached* before the king. He had been warned not to ſpeak of controverſial ſubjects, and the anſwer he gave had been moderate and ſatisfactory. But when in the pulpit, he forgot his promiſes; and warmly ſupported the real preſence of Chriſt's fleſh and blood in the ſacrament. The effect of this ill-judged rhapſody was groſsly indecent. Each party, although in the church, and before the king, cried out aloud and with vehemence to ſupport or to inſult the preacher; and, on his leaving the roſtrum, the impolitic orator was taken to priſon. His eloquence had little effect on the prepared mind of the young monarch, who had already ordered prayers to be read in the Engliſh language at the royal chapel †.

Impriſoned.

Injunctions ‡ were now formed which might generally direct the courſe which both the prieſt and his pariſhioners ought to ſteer. All the rules which Cromwell, as vicegerent of Henry VIII. had ſent around the country were renewed, and ſeveral others annexed [4].

A viſitation with injunctions.

A viſitation, compoſed of eccleſiaſtics and laymen, perambulated the kingdom (which was divided into ſix circuits), and took upon itſelf to ſpread abroad theſe injunctions, to correct immoralities in the clergy, and to aboliſh gradually the ancient and obnoxious ſuperſtitions [5] §. The parliament

NOTES.

[4] The keeping of 'The holiday' was ſtrongly ordained in theſe injunctions, but that 'holiday' not being clearly explained, gave ſome offence. Thoſe who apprehended that Sunday was meant, preſſed the keeping of it with too much ſtrictneſs; the others ſpent it in licentious gaiety. From ſmall beginnings of this kind, laſting ſchiſms aroſe. [Hist. of Ref.

[5] So moderate were the directions given to the Viſitors, that images not uſed for idolatrous purpoſes were to be retained, and ceremonies not yet aboliſhed were to be ſtill held

* Burnet's Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 66.
† Stowe, p. 594.
‡ Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 27.
§ Ibid. p. 59.

parliament co-operated with theſe decent cenſors; prieſts (except a few to whom, as they could be truſted, general licence was given) were directed to preach only in their own [6] pariſhes; the liturgy was amended; homilies favorable to reformed principles were compoſed and ordered to be read; the communion in both kinds * was allowed to the laity; and, above all, the bloody act (as it was called) which had driven ſo many proſelytes into exile, and had deprived the Proteſtant church of ſo many preachers, was repealed; and, as a natural conſequence, the marriage of prieſts was no longer forbidden [7]. Cent. XVI.

At the root, however, of this fair plant of reformation there was a canker-worm; the ſpoils of the many religious foundations with which Henry had gratified his favorites, had only whetted their appetites for prey. Having already pruned away the ſuperfluous parts (and much ſuperfluity there certainly was) from the revenues of the church, they began now to lop off thoſe vital branches which were neceſſary for its ſupport; and this principle had been ſo widely extended that there was ſcarcely a benefice in the nation on which ſome greedy courtier was not penſioned †. Among theſe, Somerſet the Protector, and many of his dependents, were endowed with ſpiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends. For now, among other attacks on the hierarchy of England, the cuſtom of beſtowing church preferments on laymen gained ground every day. Greedineſs of courtiers.

NOTES.

held in reverence; only holy-water ſprinkling, bell-ringing, and lighting candles to drive away the devil, were exploded. Some of theſe images loudly called for a removal or a reformation, particularly one (probably at Sarum, as a print of it was there publiſhed) in which the Bleſſed Virgin was admitted as a fourth perſon in the Trinity.

[6] Moſt of the Engliſh pariſh churches had been filled by diſplaced monks, in order to ſave the penſions with which they had been ſupported And theſe, attached to their old doctrines, roamed from church to church, inveighing againſt the new faith.

[BURNET. FOX.

[7] At this part of the Engliſh hiſtory Mr. Carte introduces an anecdote ſo extraordinary that it merits admiſſion, although it belong to a later age. 'Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, had,' he ſays, 'a diſpenſation from the Pope to marry. This was produced and verified before the Parliament of Paris, who (as the rapporteur of the cauſe told Mr. Carte) adjudged the biſhop's eſtate to his wife and children, and allowed them to be legitimate.'

[HIST. OF ENGLAND.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 39.

† Gilpin's Latimer.

In

Cent. XVI.

Abſurd diſputes.

In the mean while ſpeculative points, not apparently of conſequence to the general welfare of the reformation, were hotly maintained by the preachers of the new faith; a circumſtance which not only gave great advantage to the enemies [8] of the Proteſtant cauſe, but alſo proved the ſource of diviſions among the teachers, and made them the laughing-ſtock of their enemies.

Calvin interferes.

It was about this time that the French reformer, Calvin, wrote to Cranmer, offering his ſervices towards forming the new rules for the Engliſh church; but the archbiſhop diſcouraged the overture. Calvin had better ſucceſs in his addreſs to the Protector, Somerſet; and, gaining his favor, his advice had conſiderable weight in the reviſion of the liturgy which in a ſhort time was brought forward *.

Peter Martyr at Oxford.

About the year 1548 Peter Martyr was encouraged by Archbiſhop Cranmer to read lectures † on divinity at Oxford.

This learned theologian (who, notwithſtanding his appellation, died in his bed at Zurich in 1562) was born at Florence, in 1500, of a reſpectable and opulent family named Morigi. Againſt his will he was thrown among the friars of St. Auguſtine, and became a celebrated preacher; at length, ſtudying the works of the reformers, he grew ſo heretical in his doctrines, that he was obliged to quit Italy. He was accompanied by Bernard Ochino, general of the Capuchins, who had imbibed the ſame ſentiments. Wherever he went his great merit was acknowledged and reſpected.

In 1547 he was invited to England ‡ by Edward VI. but was expelled [9] by Mary on her acceſſion.

NOTES.

[8] Particularly the doctrine of grace, and of juſtification by faith. Gardiner was rationally ſevere on the extreme preciſion with which theſe were defined in the new homilies; while, on the other ſide, Fox charges the Biſhop of Winton as 'an inſenſible aſs, who had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of juſtification.' [MARTYROLOGY.

[9] His daughter, falling into misfortunes, was penſioned by the ſenate of Zurich, from eſteem to the memory of her father. Peter Martyr wiſhed a general union among all Proteſtants, and is ſpoken of (with Melancthon) as the mildeſt of reformers.

* Heylyn apud Carte, vol. iii. p. 254, 255. † Life of Cranmer, p. 134.
‡ Nouveau Dictionnaire Hiſtorique, Art. Pierre.

At

At Oxford he held public diſputations on the conteſted points between the old and the new doctrines. Dr. Smith, a celebrated polemic, challenged him to a conference, and prepared a choſen audience to encourage their own ſide, and to hiſs and hoot down the opponent of the Roman Catholic doctrines. But the calm Italian baffled their contrivances; and, by refuſing to diſpute in the method of the ſchools, and inſiſting on being judged by the ſcriptures, he threw his antagoniſt out of his common and ſtudied courſe of argument. A tumult had nearly been raiſed by the diſcontented ſchoolmen, but the vice-chancellor interfered; and Dr. Smith, having been reprimanded by the privy-council, retired to the continent, but ſoon returned, recanted, and remained a firm Proteſtant until the acceſſion of Mary. Cent. XVI.

As Peter Martyr immediately aſſaulted the main fortreſs of the Roman Catholic faith, 'The Corporal Preſence,' he alarmed both the bigots and the well-meaning on the ſide of Popery. Three of the former, and one of the latter caſt, ſtarted againſt him; Chedſey, Morgan, Treſham [10], and Bernard Gilpin. The three firſt he diſcomfited, and converted the laſt named, who in conſequence became one of the ſtrongeſt ſupporters of the Proteſtant religion *.

It may not be amiſs here to give the general reaſons for the change of religious ſentiments in this great reformer, as briefly ſet out by his ingenious deſcendant: 'He found that the chief doctrines of the Popiſh church obtained not in the purer ages of the Chriſtian church, but were all the inventions of later times, when ignorance and credulity prevailed. *Seven ſacraments* he found had never been heard of before the time of Peter Lombard,

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[10] Of Dr. Treſham we preſerve an anecdote which marks his character. When Mary meant to reſtore the old religion to the Univerſities, Treſham, then Sub-dean of Chriſt-Church, convoked the members of the college, and having recommended Popery to them in the uſual common-place terms, he added, 'that the queen had been ſo gracious as to ſend them a number of fine copes which were intended for Windſor, and that each of them ſhould have one if he would go to maſs.' He promiſed them alſo 'to procure for the college the Lady-Bell at Bampton, which would make the peal at Chriſt-Church the ſweeteſt of any in England; and that, laſtly, he would give them as fine a water-ſprinkle as eyes ever beheld.' [LIFE OF LATIMER.

* Life of Gilpin, p. 13.

Cent. XVI. bard, 1100 years after Chriſt; no traces could be found of *the denial of the cup to the laity*, until nearly the ſame date; and the doctrine of *tranſubſtantiation* itſelf was not heard of before the eighth century after Jeſus Chriſt *.'

Superſtitious cuſtoms exploded.

Reformation now moved a ſtep onwards; and orders of council prohibited the various proceſſions, the candles on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and palms on Palm-Sunday. Images were now no longer ſuffered in churches; nor was auricular confeſſion ſtrictly enjoined as heretofore.

David's Pſalms verſified.

About this time too the metrical verſion of David's Pſalms, by Thomas Sternhold, began to be uſed in churches [11].

This tranſlation however was not only owing to the muſe of Sternhold; he had an obſcure aſſiſtant, John Hopkins, a clergyman and ſchoolmaſter in Suffolk, of whom little is known.

William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, tranſlated ſome of the Pſalms, and verſified the Ten Commandments, the Athanaſian Creed, &c.

Thomas Norton tranſlated twenty-ſeven of the Pſalms. He was a barriſter, and a warm Calviniſt. The tragedy of Gorboduc is ſuppoſed to have been partly written by his pen.

Robert Wiſdome tranſlated one Pſalm, and compoſed the rhapſody againſt 'Pope and Turk' [12]. He had been nominated to an Iriſh biſhopric by Edward VI. was a fugitive under Mary, and afterwards beame Archdeacon of Ely when Elizabeth reigned.

The

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[11] And here we may take notice of Sternhold's great proto-type, Clement Marot, who, from the ſame religious motive, had, a very ſhort ſpace before, tranſlated the Pſalms into French. He had the pleaſure to ſee his verſes become ſo faſhionable as to be ſung by the firſt perſons about court, although not with that purity and ſimplicity of heart which he meant ſhould have attended them. The dauphin's love of the chaſe made him delight in 'Ainſi qu'on oit le cerf bruire.' Mad. de Valentinois expreſſed her love to the dauphin by chanting 'Au fond de ma penſée.' And every prince, peer, and lady, choſe a pſalm to ſing, which beſt expreſſed the ambition, love, or myſtery, which chanced at that time to command in each breaſt. [WARTON ON POETRY.

[12] The facetious Biſhop Corbet has left us a whimſical epigram on this ſolemn bard. He fancied himſelf ſeized with a ſudden impulſe to hear or to pen a puritanic hymn, and invokes the ghoſt of Robert Wiſdome to aſſiſt in the compoſition, but warns him to ſteal back to tomb with caution.

To

* Life of Gilpin, p. 21, 22, &c.

The entire verſion of the Pſalms was publiſhed at length by John Day, A. D. 1562. Cent. XVI.

Towards the cloſe of 1548 [13] a liturgy, ſettled by the prelates and confirmed by parliament *, was publiſhed, and ordered to be uſed in churches. This form of prayer had been drawn up by a ſelect committee of the moſt moderate biſhops and divines; and, as none of them were actuated by that ſpirit of contradiction which uſually attends great innovations, they retained as much of the ſervice of the maſs as the principles of reformation could poſſibly permit. Prieſts now were allowed to marry †, although, by the preamble of the permiſſion, celibacy was forcibly recommended. Liturgy and marriage of prieſts ſettled.

Thus, in the ſpace of little more than two years, was the reformation in England, in a great meaſure, completed. Yet a few of the Popiſh doctrines, and particularly that of 'the real preſence,' ſtill maintained their

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To the Ghoſt of Robert Wiſdome:

'Thou, once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a pſalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!
And patch us up a zealous lay,
With an old *ever and for aye*,
And *all and ſome*.
Or ſuch a ſpirit lend me,
As may a hymne down ſend me,
To purge my braine.
But, Robert! look behind thee,
Leſt *Turk* or *Pope* do find thee,
And go to bed againe.'

[CORBET'S POEMS. WARTON'S HIST. OF POETRY.

[13] At this time it appears that the preachers of the age differed ſo much from one another in doctrine, that it was judged neceſſary to ſilence them for a ſpace, by a proclamation, that they might afterwards ſtart together on ſomewhat nearer the ſame grounds.

[FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY.

An act, paſſed at the cloſe of this year, unites ſeveral pariſhes in the city of York in one, on account of the great decay of the place; and Collier ſeems to apprehend, that the revenues of diſſolved monaſteries being expended at a diſtance from the city, occaſioned this local diſtreſs. An opinion much controverted. [ECCL. HIST. VOL. II.

* Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 1. † Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 84, 85.

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ground with many, and were ſupported by the old friars, who conſtituted the greater number of pariſh prieſts. Thoſe indeed who were not thus provided were reduced to great extremities, and forced to take to the loweſt trades for ſubſiſtence; ſome became taylors and carpenters, and many kept public houſes of entertainment.

Hugh Latimer made Biſhop of Worceſter.

The appointment of Dr. Hugh Latimer to preach before the king does great honor to Somerſet, who held the reins of government. Latimer had a quick wit and an undaunted ſpirit. Wherever he ſaw vice, he expoſed it to public ſhame, although it might lie in the boſom of a prime miniſter. The quaintneſs of the ſtyle uſed in the 16th century, and the natural humor of the preacher, gave to his diſcourſes an air which would now be termed vulgar, but which *then* offended not the niceſt ear.

Extracts from his Sermons.

A few extracts from the ſermons preached by this ſincere and honeſt divine, before his king, will be of uſe to point out at the ſame time his own inflexibility of character, and the licentious manners of the times. 'Remember,' he exhorts Edward, 'Remember that God ſays, "he that ſhall do my will ſhall reign long, he and his children." Wherefore I would have your grace remember this; and when any of theſe flatterers and flibber-gibbers another day ſhall come and claw you on the back, and ſay, "Sir, trouble not yourſelf; what ſhould you ſtudy for? Why ſhould you do this or that?" Your grace may anſwer them thus: "What, Sirrah! I perceive you are weary of us; doth not God ſay that a king ſhould fear God, that he may reign long? I perceive now that thou art a traytor!" Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you.'

Speaking of the reformation, he ſays, 'It is yet but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch; I cannot tell what; partly Popery and partly true religion mingled together. They ſay in my country, when they call their hogs to the ſwine-trough, "Come to thy mingle-mangle, come, pur, come!" Even ſo do they make a mingle-mangle of the goſpel,' &c.

In another place he attacks the prelates: 'Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell! That the devil would allow a man to look into it and ſee its ſtate! "On yonder ſide," would the devil ſay, "are puniſhed unpreaching prelates." I think, verily, a man might ſee as far at a kenning, as far as from Calais to Dover, I warrant you, and ſee nothing but unpreaching prelates*.'

* Life of Latimer, p. 112.

Another

Another time he thus ſatirizes non-reſidents: 'I heard lately of a biſhop, on a viſitation, that when he ſhould have been rung into the church, as the cuſtom is, the great bell's clapper was fallen down; there was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the pariſh were much blamed for it. They excuſed themſelves as well as they could; it was a chance, they ſaid, and ſhould be amended as ſhortly as might be. Among them was one wiſer than the reſt, and he comes up to the biſhop, "Why, my lord," ſaith he, "do you make ſo much of the bell that wanteth a clapper? Here is a bell," quoth he, and pointed to the pulpit, "that hath lacked a clapper theſe twenty years." I warrant you this was an unpreaching prelate; he could find fault with a bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into town, but not with the parſon that preached not at his benefice,' &c. &c *. Cent. XVI.

One might be tempted to augur well of a court wherein ſuch rough truths might be publicly ſpoken with impunity; unhappily that allowance which, we might hope, proceeded from approbation of the doctrine, took its riſe in the hardened inſenſibility of the courtier's boſom. The informal trial and execution of the admiral, at this time, hurried on by his otherwiſe humane brother, the protector, ſupplies a marked feature to this ſtrangely inconſiſtent period [14].

It

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[14] This accompliſhed but turbulent lord had a turn both to piety and poetry. It was but juſt before his execution that he wrote the lines beneath:

'Forgetting God, to love a king,
Hath been my rodde; or elſe nothynge
In this frail lyfe, beynge a blaſte
Of care and ſtryfe, till it be paſte.
Yet God did call me in my pryde,
Leſte I ſhould fall, and from him ſlyde;
For whom he loves he muſt correcte,
That they may be of his electe.
Then, Death, haſte thee! thou ſhalt me gaine
Immortallie with God to raigne.
Lord ſend the king like years as Noye,
In governing this realme in joye;
And, after this frail lyfe, ſuch grace,
That in thy bliſſe he maie find place.'

Yet,

* Life of Latimer, p. 121.

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It was but a neceſſary piece of policy to confine Gardiner and Bonner, inveterate foes of the reformation, and capable of impeding its progreſs; but how it came to paſs that the mild and candid Cranmer ſhould have preſſed on the cruel execution of a wrong-headed fanatic, Joan Bocher, commonly ſtyled 'Joan of Kent,' merely for a ſpeculative opinion, is ſtill a myſtery. She held, with one ſect of the Anabaptiſts, that 'Chriſt was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whoſe fleſh being ſinful he could take none of it.' And ſhe provoked her judges to cruelty by an indecent faucineſs of behavior, which ought to have moved their compaſſion, as it brought conviction of her brain being diſordered. Cranmer could not, without great difficulty, perſuade the young king to ſign her death warrant; although he argued from the law of Moſes, that 'blaſphemers ſhould be ſtoned and that Joan had ruſhed with violence againſt the Apoſtles' Creed, and deſerved the puniſhment of a blaſphemer.' Edward's inward monitor was not to be ſatisfied with ſuch dangerous ſophiſtry. 'I ſign this ſentence,' ſaid the amiable prince with tears, 'becauſe I am under your authority; but, if I am doing wrong, you muſt anſwer it to God *.' This awful declaration, although from the lips of an infant, ſtruck the venerable prelate with ſuch horror that he ſtrove to ſave the woman; but her 'jeers and other inſolences,' although only additional proofs of her inſanity, provoked her execution; and ſhe periſhed by fire, biſhop Scory preaching while the poor maniac [15] was conſumed to aſhes.

A Kentiſh heretic burnt.

There was at this period an Anabaptiſt of a leſs noxious kind than the unfortunate Joan of Kent, and he was permitted to think as he pleaſed. The precepts of this ſect only related to the proper age and ſeaſon for conferring baptiſm. Their principles were aſſailed by books, not by burning piles, and in conſequence they were ſoon utterly forgotten.

Anabaptiſts and their tenets.

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Yet, notwithſtanding the extreme ſelf-approbation and confidence of theſe verſes, we are told by the honeſt Hugh Latimer, that he died on the ſcaffold 'very dangerouſlie, irkſomlie, horriblie.'

[15] A Dutchman, named Van Paris, ſuffered ſome time afterwards for a like hereſy. He exulted in his martyrdom, and embraced each faggot with extaſy. [BURNET.

* Fox, vol. ii. p. 2, ed. 1684.

Another

Another ſect* (for the great chain being looſened mankind enjoyed the liberty of forming new ſyſtems, although not always with impunity) were ſtyled 'Goſpellers;' they ſtudied the Bible, and refined extremely, but by no means unnaturally, on the doctrine of predeſtination; 'Heaven,' ſaid they, 'has decreed what ſhall happen, and what our conduct ſhall be. Why then ſhould we fruitleſsly ſtrive againſt theſe decrees? No! let us ſwim down the ſtream, and act as nature prompts or chance directs.' This ſpecies of Quietiſm was oppoſed by Biſhop Hooper; and a caution againſt it may be found in the church article of Predeſtination. Cent. XVI.

During the ſummer of 1549 there were great commotions in England, partly in favor of the old religion, but more on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions, which was by the people imputed to the numerous incloſures which had lately been made. Theſe were repelled by force, and the country was at length reduced to order †; however, the good Cranmer, finding the minds of men ſtill agitated, and ready to prompt them again to rebellion, took the pains to anſwer the declaration which they had publiſhed paragraph by paragraph; and in a plain but maſterly manner, ſuited to the loweſt comprehenſion. We will give a ſhort ſpecimen. As to their demand of a ſeparate juriſdiction for the clergy, he writes, 'I cannot deny but theſe be good and beneficial decrees for the liberty of the clergy. But I ſuppoſe none of you will think it an indifferent decree that a prieſt ſhall ſue you where he liſt; but if he had ſlain one of your ſons or brothers, you ſhould have no remedy againſt him but only before the biſhop.' Inſurrections frequent.

A viſitation was now ſent by the miniſtry to Cambridge; and Biſhop Ridley, who preſided, approved of the plan while he thought it was meant only to rectify abuſes. But, when he found that the univerſity was meant to be plundered; that ſome colleges were to be ſuppreſſed (as Clare-hall, which the maſter and fellows ſaved by reſiſtance), and ſome to be united two in one; he ſet his face ſo heartily againſt ſuch unjuſtifiable outrages, that his aſſociates, diſguſted at his honeſty, wrote to the protector, that the 'barking,' as they decently called it, of Ridley had ſtopped their proceedings. Somerſet wrote to chide him, but gained nothing on his reſolute honeſty, and the univerſity eſcaped pillage. **Dr. Ridley prevents the plundering of Cambridge.**

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 105 † Ibid. p. 109.

About

Cent. XVI.

Incumbent protected.

About this time, when the church was ſuffering an enormous pillage, it was judged equitable to ſecure what little was left to the miniſters; accordingly *, a very clear act of parliament paſſed in favor of the incumbent, giving him an effectual remedy, both in the temporal and the ſpiritual court, for any failure in the payment of his tithes.

Bonner ejected from London.

Soon after this, Bonner, Biſhop of London, who had, on his fair promiſes, been indulged with liberty, was cited to appear before commiſſioners to anſwer the charges of ill-will to Proteſtantiſm, and inſincerity in the compliances to which he had yielded. The character of Bonner was eccentric. He was more a buffoon than a biſhop, nor would loſe a conceit to ſave a confinement. When under examination, he likened one witneſs againſt him to a gooſe; and hearing a murmur he ſhook his head and ſoftly ſaid, 'Ah, Woodcocks! Woodcocks †!' He aſked the judges, 'Whether they really gave credit to the fooliſh folk who ſwore againſt him?' He accuſed Biſhop Hooper of preaching 'like an aſs, an aſs indeed.' And told the ſecretary of ſtate, that as in a high office he honored him, but that, 'as Sir Thomas Smith, he lied.' After ſuch conduct none can wonder at his being judged unworthy to retain his ſee ‡.

The fall of Somerſet at the cloſe of [16] 1549, gave to the Popiſh party the ſtrongeſt hopes of a change in eccleſiaſtical affairs; and Gardiner from his priſon wrote to the Earl of Warwick an artful letter, intreating his

NOTES.

[16] Thomas Sternhold, a minor reformer, died in the ſame year. He was of Hampſhire, had been groom of the robes to Henry VIII. had reeeived from him a legacy of 100 marks, and was continued in his poſt by Edward VI. Being of a religious turn, and diſliking the looſe and wanton ballads ſung by the courtiers of Edward, he undertook a metrical verſion of the Pſalms, 'thinking thereby,' ſays Anthony à Wood, 'that the courtiers would ſing them inſtead of their ſonnets; *but did not*, only ſome few excepted.'

There was a ſtrange reſemblance of circumſtances between him and Clement Marot, his fellow-laborer in France, who verſified the Pſalms from the ſame motive. 'Each verſion was publiſhed both in France and England, by laymen and by ſervants of the court.'

The extreme diſparity of Sternhold to himſelf as a poet can only be accounted for by remarking, that 'his only merit conſiſts in preſerving the expreſſions of the proſe verſion; when

* Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 7. † Fox, vol. ii. p. 20, &c.
‡ Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 120.

his notice when affairs of ſtate ſhould be ſettled; but it was ſoon found that Warwick (to whom all religions were perfectly indifferent), finding that both king and people were attached to the reformation, thought it his intereſt to ſupport that cauſe with vigor. Southampton, who headed the Roman Catholics, after having heard him deliver this opinion in council, went home and died of a broken heart. The followers of the old faith were indeed much worſe treated by the unprincipled Warwick and his council than they had been by the well-meaning, irreſolute Somerſet. Cent. XVI.

Warwick diſcourages the Popiſh party.

One of the firſt meaſures taken by the new adminiſtration in matters of religion was a change in the method of ordination. Many of the Popiſh ceremonies were left out, and the impoſition of hands and prayer alone retained, as being the only parts warranted by Scripture. A demand was ordered to be made of the petitioner for orders, 'Do you truſt that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Spirit to take upon you this office and miniſtration?' &c. &c. To which he was to anſwer in the affirmative. More enlightened times would have avoided this very delicate queſtion.

Heathe, Biſhop of Worceſter, for diſagreeing with ſome of theſe alterations, was thrown into priſon.

About the beginning of 1550, Biſhop Ridley was appointed to the ſees of London and Weſtminſter, now for the *firſt* time united in one ſee; 1000l. a year, and a prebendary, were judged ſufficient for maintaining the epiſcopal dignity. The reſt of what both ſees had produced was ſwallowed up by ſome greedy attendant on the protector *. Thirlby, Biſhop of Weſt- The ſees of Weſtminſter and London united.

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when once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakneſs appears. How elſe could he who wrote be the author of thoſe celebrated lines,

'Thy heritage with drops of rain
Abundantly was *waſht*,
And if ſo be it barren was
By thee it was *refreſh'd*.
God's army is two millions
Of warriors good and ſtrong;
The Lord alſo in Sinai
Is preſent them among.'

'The Lord deſcended from above,
And bowde the heav'ns moſt high;
And underneath his feet he caſt
The darkneſs of the ſky.
On cherubs and on cherubim
Full royally he rode;
And on the winges of mighty windes
Came flying all abrode.'

* Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 217, 272.

minſter,

Cent. XVI. minſter, had been at this juncture perſuaded to accept the ſee of Norwich, vacant by the reſignation of William Reps.

The appointment of the rigid Hooper to the biſhopric of Gloceſter was attended with more difficulty, and, in its diſcuſſion, gave riſe to a point of debate which is not yet ſettled. Hooper, although willing to take on him the trouble of the dioceſe, objected to the oath of canonical obedience, and to the wearing of epiſcopal veſtments * at the conſecration. 'They were,' he ſaid, 'human inventions, and had been conſecrated for the maſs-worſhip chiefly; and St. Paul,' he added, 'had condemned all ſuch ceremonial proceedings as "beggarly elements." On the other hand, Cranmer and Ridley affirmed, 'that, in indifferent things, men ſhould conform to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms; that to abandon the uſe of ſuch veſtments as employed for the maſs, might lead to the deſtruction of bells, becauſe baptized, and churches, becauſe conſecrated.' Bucer [17] and Peter Martyr, although they wiſhed the ceremonials aboliſhed in part, nevertheleſs condemned Hooper's obſtinacy †. Yet, although ſo determined was the court to make him a biſhop in the uſual ſtyle that he was thrown into priſon to break his ſpirit, he ſtill held out, and, through favor of Warwick, carried his point; the king having commanded Cranmer to conſecrate the obſtinate prieſt unveſtured and unſworn [18].

Dr. Hooper's ſcruples.

They prevail.

Beſides

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[17] Martin Bucer was a man of great erudition, who from a Dominican became a Lutheran miniſter at Straſburgh. He fled to England from a German perſecution with his wife and thirteen children. He was appointed to read lectures on the New Teſtament at Oxford. He died in 1557 of a painful diſeaſe, which forced him to cry out, 'Chaſtiſe me, Lord! but throw me not off in my old age!' Queen Mary ordered his bones to be diſgraced and burnt ‡. Bucer compoſed a book for the uſe of King Edward, entitled, 'Concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt.' The prince (only fourteen years of age) peruſed it, and wrote obſervations on it with the wit of a man, but with a ſimplicity of ſtyle which proves it to be the production of an infant. [BURNET. GRAINGER. DICT. HIST.

[18] The hiſtorian of the Engliſh reformation treats the poſitive Hooper as a father of the Puritans, and remarks with St. James, 'How great a matter hath a little fire kindled?' The oath to which the ſtrict teacher objected ran thus: 'By God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghoſt.' The two latter branches of this aſſeveration Dr. Hooper, with ſome reaſon,

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 144. † Ibid. p. 145.

‡ Id cinerem aut manes credis curare ſepultos? VIRGIL.

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Beſides the admiſſion of the non-conforming Hooper among the rulers of the church of England, there were landed ſoon after on her coaſt farther aids to anti-epiſcopal doctrines, in the perſons of John Alaſco [19] and a large congregation of non-conforming Proteſtant Germans, who were received with kindneſs, and (to the number of 380) made denizens of England; although their opinions were hoſtile to her eccleſiaſtical regulations, as to veſtments and as to ceremonial attitude. They were againſt all epiſcopal forms, and wiſhed to receive the ſacrament rather ſitting than kneeling.

A congregation under Alaſco arrive.

A new review of the Liturgy was made about this time, with the candid intention of altering any circumſtances therein, which might preſs upon tender conſciences. It was, however, the opinion of Bucer and other reformers, that no amendment was neceſſary.

The Liturgy reviewed.

Before the cloſe of 1550, Tindal's tranſlation of the Bible, reviſed by Dr. Coverdale, was publiſhed * for the uſe of Engliſh Proteſtants [20].

During the reſt of the year no remarkable incident occurred in the hiſtory of the Engliſh church. Biſhop Ridley indeed aided the cauſe of reforma-

Abuſes rectified.

NOTES.

reaſon, wiſhed to avoid as totally unneceſſary; and the good Edward, being convinced by his reaſoning, drew his pen through the latter part of the propoſed vow.

[NEAL'S HIST. OF PURITANS.

[19] John Alaſco was nearly related to the King of Poland, and had been a biſhop of the Romiſh church. He purchaſed the valuable library of Eraſmus, as that great man lay on his death-bed. Alaſco and his congregation (who were chiefly manufacturers) were driven away by Queen Mary. He died in Poland, A. D. 1560. [GRAINGER.

[20] There was at this juncture diſcernment enough in a ſimple printer, Robert Crowley, to enable him to ſee the advantage which the publication of an old, ſpirited, ſatirical work (aimed at the monks of the 15th century) might bring to the infant reformation. 'At this tyme,' ſays Crowley, 'it pleaſed God to open the eyes of many to ſee hys truth, geving thim boldnes of herte to open their mouthes, and cry out againſt the workes of darkneſs, as did John Wyckleſe and this writer, who,' &c. &c. The work here alluded to is 'Piers Plowman's Viſion.' A proſe verſion of the ſame book was publiſhed in 1561, ending thus:

'God ſave the kynge, and ſpeed the plough,
And ſend the prelats care inough.
Inough, inough, inough.' [AMES ON PRINTING.

* Strype, vol. ii. p. 200, 203.

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tion in the dioceſe of London, and removed many abuſes which Bonner had never wiſhed to check, ſuch as 'waſhing hands at the altar, holding up the bread, licking the chalice,' &c. &c. He changed the altars alſo into real tables, and the example was followed all over the realm.

Sermons on working days were ſuppreſſed about this time *; for it was obſerved as a ſerious evil, that many of the lower ſort loſt their time and profits by running from village to village in the moſt buſy time in queſt of favorite preachers.

Some biſhops ejected, ſome fined.

The next year a ſtrict enquiry took place concerning the conduct of many old biſhops, who impeded the progreſs of reformation. But except Gardiner and Bonner, who were deteſted by every Proteſtant as determined perſecutors, and Voyſey of Exeter, who reſigned as conſcious of his own inſignificance, the mild ſpirit of Cranmer prevented any conſiderable cenſures. Bonner was degraded, and Gardiner left in priſon. Others, as Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Sarum, Sampſon of Coventry, bought their ſecurity by yielding part of their lands to the miniſter's friends; nor did their greedy courtiers think it beneath them to pillage the univerſity libraries and that of Weſtminſter [21].

Articles of faith ſettled.

The articles of religion, forty-two in number, which had been long delayed, leſt any traces of indecent haſte ſhould be found about them †, were now ſettled [22]; probably by the particular care of Cranmer and Ridley ‡. Some alterations were made in the Book of Common-Prayer;

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[21] This iniquitous tranſaction was carried on under the pretext of 'purging the libraries of all miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious volumes. Sir Antony Aucher's name ſhines on the record as a pillager of no common rank, but he expiated his fault by dying for his country when Calais fell. Irreparable miſchief was done in the Oxford libraries. Books and MSS. were deſtroyed without diſtinction. 'Thoſe of divinity ſuffered for their rich bindings, thoſe of literature as uſeleſs, and thoſe of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed only to contain necromancy.' [HUME FROM WOOD.

[22] Of theſe articles an elegant modern writer obſerves, 'The eternity of hell-torments is aſſerted in them; and care is alſo taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can eſcape an endleſs ſtate of the moſt exquiſite miſery; but alſo, that every one who preſumes to maintain that any Pagan can poſſibly be ſaved, is himſelf expoſed to the penalty of eternal perdition.' [HUME.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 151. † Ibid. p. 158.

‡ Collections by Burnet, vol. ii. No. 55.

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the uſe of oil in confirmation and extreme unction; the prayers for departed ſouls; and a few more reliques of Popery, were left out, and reaſons were ſet forth for receiving the communion on the knee. Cent. XVI.

Great endeavors were uſed (in conſequence of that narrow zeal which ſwayed every religion in the 16th century) to deprive the Lady Mary, the king's ſiſter, of the liberty of having maſs ſaid in her own palace. She reſiſted ſtoutly [23], and appealed to the emperor her couſin, who remonſtrated in her favor *, at firſt with ſome effect; but her toleration laſted not long, and ſhe was ſo harraſſed, and her chaplains ſo roughly treated, that ſhe liſtened eagerly to a plan formed for her eſcape to the Netherlands. This was prevented [24], although not before a veſſel was hired in Flanders to hover on the coaſt of England, and convey her acroſs the Channel. In ſhort, Mary might fairly accuſe the Proteſtants of having given her a taſte of that perſecution which afterwards, by her means, ſtreamed down upon their teachers and themſelves. The Lady Mary harſhly treated.

The king, whoſe youth muſt excuſe his bigotry, wept bitterly at being forced to permit the maſs to be ſaid anywhere within his realm. But Mary ſmiled at his command. 'Good ſweet king,' ſhe uſed to ſay, 'he is not a fit judge in theſe matters. If ſhips were wanted for the ſea would his counſel let him appoint them? No! Why then in matters of theology, which are ſtill more difficult to be underſtood?' Steady to her faith.

In 1552 ſeveral acts were brought forward and paſſed reſpecting religion. By one of theſe a new edition of the Liturgy, with alterations, was di- Alterations in Liturgy, &c.

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[23] Mary wanted not for obſtinacy. The good Catharine Parr had formerly requeſted that princeſs, then very young, to tranſlate the Paraphraſe of St. John by Eraſmus, probably with a view to her converſion; but Mary ſoon got rid of the taſk, 'being,' as ſhe ſaid, 'caſt into ſickneſs by overmuch ſtudy at this work.' [STRYPE.

'She would not,' ſays Mr. Walpole, 'have been ſo eaſily "caſt into ſickneſs," had ſhe been employed on the legends of St. Thereſa, or St. Catharine of Sienna.' [ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.

[24] The conduct of Warwick cannot be accounted for. Had he permitted Mary to eſcape, ſhe could hardly have re-entered the iſland to receive the crown; the tide of popularity would have been againſt her, every ambitious project of that profligate ſtateſman muſt have taken place, and the Dudleys would have ſucceeded to the throne of the Tudors.

* King Edward's Journal, p. 9.

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rected to be read *; by another, faſts and holidays were ordered to be obſerved, and the biſhops were entruſted with the care of ſeeing the proviſions of the act ſtrictly obſerved. Sundays too were to be kept holy, except on extraordinary occaſions, and then laborers might work even on ſuch Sundays, holidays, &c. By a third, matrimony was not only permitted, but almoſt recommended, to the clergy [25]. One bill failed, which militated againſt ſimony; a monſter which has been the object of penalties and of ſatire in all ages and all religions, and has yet approved itſelf invulnerable †.

A convocation which ſat this year agreed to and confirmed all thoſe regulations which the parliament had enacted.

Eccleſiaſtical laws examined.

Some reformation was alſo made, in 1552, in the ſyſtem of the canon or eccleſiaſtical laws. Theſe had long wanted a ſtrict examination. Such a one had been projected in the reign of Henry VIII. but that capricious monarch had dropped the plan. Cranmer, who had been employed by him, in 1545, in methodizing a ſyſtem for improving theſe ordinances, neglected not the taſk, but drew up a ſcheme which, though liable to ſome objections, has great merit; this will be found in the note below [26]. Other

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[25] Among the various ſchemes of exalting the reformation on the ruins of Popery, the order of St. George, as it was then called, was comprehended. The king ordered it to be named the order of 'The Garter,' and changed the figure of a knight and a dragon to a knight with a ſword, inſcribed 'Protectio,' carrying a book on the point, on which was written, 'Verbum Dei,' and on his ſhield one might read 'Fides.' Queen Mary, early in her reign, expunged this religious romance, and replaced the injured ſaint and his dragon. Had ſhe ſtopped there we had neither blamed her taſte nor her zeal.

[26] The work was fated to obſcurity. Henry had neglected it; and Edward VI. who earneſtly patronized the undertaking, died juſt when the plan was ſettled. The book was however publiſhed in the reign of Elizabeth, and entitled 'Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.' And as this work, though written by Cranmer, had been entirely approved by the other prelates and divines, and was very near being put in execution, it may be entertaining to recount how the law would have ſtood had the new ſyſtem taken place.

All promiſes, or contracts of marriage, were to have been null and void. But every man who might ſeduce a girl from chaſtity muſt marry her, or pay her one third of his goods, or keep the child and do pennance. All marriages without parents or guardians conſent were to be null; but, ſhould that conſent be capriciouſly refuſed, the parties might find

* Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 321. † Hiſt. of Ref. p. 183.

Other prelates and divines had been named by Henry to join Cranmer in his reſearches; but the whole weight fell upon him, both on account of his ſuperior abilities, and of his having carefully ſtudied that particular branch of the law. Cent. XVI.

Two biſhops ejected.

Before the cloſe of this year Heath of Worceſter, and Day of Chicheſter, were diſcarded from their ſees *, the former for not approving of the new book of ordinations. Hooper was placed in the vacant dioceſe of Worceſter, and Gloceſter was reduced to an Archdeaconry †.

Candor of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

The parliament which paſſed the above-named acts was now diſſolved. Warwick complained of it as an aſſembly choſen by, and devoted to, the intereſt of the fallen Somerſet, who had expired under the axe at the beginning of 1552; it is true, that with a degree of firmneſs not common in the 16th century, it had reſiſted, among other unjuſt laws, one which meant to attaint the moderate and worthy Cuthbert Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham; a bill which, to the diſgrace of the ariſtocratic branch, had paſſed the houſe of peers with only the negatives of the diſpaſſionate Cranmer and Lord Stourton. Such a ſenate was ill-ſuited to the graſping Warwick, now exalted to the Dukedom of Northumberland. He diſmiſſed it and called another, not omitting the moſt extraordinary and unconſtitutional meaſures to ſecure a majority.

Education of ſtudents in divinity neglected.

Before the year is entirely quitted, mention ſhould be made of ſeveral attempts in parliament to effect ſome ſupport for the education of thoſe deſtined for the church, who had not intereſt to obtain exhibitions at either univerſity, and to relieve the poorer clergymen. Theſe were all ineffectual. A book was however publiſhed on this ſubject, and dedicated to the Biſhop of Ely.

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find a remedy by applying to the eccleſiaſtical judge. In caſe of adultery the innocent party might marry again, but not the guilty. Beſides this caſe there were others which juſtified divorces, long abſence and irreconcileable enmity; and ſtill the innocent party only might re-marry. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable alterations marked out by Cranmer for the canon laws; which however, by a chain of accidents, continue to this day what they were under Henry VIII. [BURNET REF: LEG. ECCL.

* Hiſt. of Ref. p. 192. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 297.

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The church ſtill afforded opportunities for plunder, and a quantity of chantry [27] lands were ſold, in 1552, to pay the king's debts.

New and complying parliament.

The new parliament in 1553 was all compliance, and readily gave conſent to the diſmembering of the biſhopric of Durham, according to the miniſter's will. This meaſure was not quite ſo groſs a robbery of the church as has been repreſented. The county palatine was to form two biſhoprics, Durham and Newcaſtle, where a cathedral was to be built, and a deanry with a chapter founded and endowed. Nor does it appear that, when the allowance for the biſhops and their train, as ſet forth in the act, ſhould be deducted, that much revenue was left for the plunderer. It was probably the acceſſion of power in the North, which the ambitious Northumberland aſpired to, more than of profit, when he coveted the earldom (for ſuch it ſeems to be) of Durham. But no eſſential ſtep was taken in any part of this buſineſs before the acceſſion of Mary, and the conſequent fall of the Dudleys.

The reign of Proteſtantiſm was now almoſt expired [28]. The ſickneſs

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[27] Chanterys, or chantrys, were ſmall chapels or altars, within cathedral churches, endowed with lands or revenues to pay prieſts for ſinging maſs for the welfare of the deceaſed's ſoul. [GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

[28] During the ſhort remainder of the reformed hierarchy, Chriſtopher Tie, a doctor of muſic at Cambridge, having a paſſion for 'pious poetrie,' publiſhed the Acts of the Apoſtles in alternate rhymes, 'Very neceſſary for ſtudentes after their ſtudie to fyle their wittes, and alſo for alle chriſtians that cannot ſynge to reade the good and godlie ſtories,' &c. &c. And thus he recommends his lays to Edward VI.

'That ſuch good thinges your grace might move,
Your lute, when you affaye;
Inſtede of ſongs of wanton love,
Theſe ſtories then to play.

So ſhall your grace pleſe God the Lord,
In walkynge in his waye;
His loves and ſtatutes to recorde,
In your heart night and day.

And eke your realm ſhall flouriſh ſtill,
No goode thynge ſhall decaye;
Your ſubjects ſhall with right goode will
Theſe wordes recorde and ſaye;

" Thy

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Death of Edward VI. and acceſſion of Mary.

neſs and death [29] of the promiſing Edward had begun the calamities of the reformed, and the complete failure of that deſperate meaſure, the ſubſtitution of Lady Jane Gray in preference to the legal heir, threw reformation at the feet of its bittereſt foes. While in power the Proteſtants had ſhewn no inhumanity. Led by men of bad and licentious character, they had mercileſsly pillaged the church, but private people had no reaſon to complain; nor, except that of the few Anabaptiſts, had they ſhed any blood.

Her harſh meaſures.

The acceſſion of the bigot Mary gave to the Roman Catholics an opportunity of darting tenfold vengeance on their adverſaries. That narrow-minded princeſs, although ſeated on her throne by the loyalty of her

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"Thy lyfe, O kyng, to us doth ſhyne,
As God's boke doth thee teache;
Thou doſt us feed wyth ſuch doctrine,
As God's elect doe preache."

Sixteen years after this devout performance Dr. Tie publiſhed a Tale from Boccace, in the ſame Sternholdian meaſure, which by no means became his ſubject. [WARTON.

The following extract from the ſame bard's Verſion of the Acts, will give no high idea of his poetic fire:

'It chaunced in Iconium,
As they oft times did uſe;
Together they into did come
The ſinagoge of Jues.

Where they did preache, and only ſeke
God's grace them to acheve,
That ſo they ſpeke, to Jue and Greke,
That many did beleve.'

Peter Moore alſo wrote a metrical treatiſe againſt the Papal doctrines nearly at the ſame time, with this title:

'A ſhort treatiſe of certayne thynges abuſed,
I'th' Popiſh church long uſed.
But now abolyſh'd, to our conſolation,
And Godde's word advanc'd, the light of our ſalvation.'

[29] Many circumſtances concur to make it believed that that amiable prince had unfair treatment. Among other circumſtances Dr. Heylyn produces the teſtimony of a Popiſh writer; who avers, that the apothecary who attended him, drowned himſelf in deſpair; and that ſhe who waſhed his linen, loſt the ſkin of her fingers.

Proteſtant

Cent. XVI. Proteſtant ſubjects, to whom ſhe had promiſed ſecurity for their religion [30], choſe to be queen of a ſect; and eagerly thirſted to reſtore every aboliſhed ſuperſtition [31]. The artful and cruel Gardiner, and the time-ſerving brutal Bonner, were her moſt truſted adviſers; Gardiner, with the veteran Duke of Norfolk and Lord Courtney, had thrown themſelves at her feet when ſhe viſited the Tower on her firſt arrival in London as Queen of England; and ſhe had ſet them free, and made Courtney Earl of Devonſhire. She likewiſe reſtored by patent to its ancient dimenſions, the biſhopric of Durham, and re-inſtated the good Tonſtal in his dioceſe.

No one could wonder at Mary's decided averſion from reformation and its votaries, who would recollect that all the misfortunes of her mother and

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[30] Ungratefully as ſhe treated the inferiors, ſhe forgot not their general the Earl of Suſſex, Radcliffe, for ſhe gave him a licence to wear his hat in the royal preſence in England. The De Courcys have the ſame privilege in Ireland. This anecdote ſhould have appeared in the ſeventh book.

[31] It was not long before Mary renewed the abſurd cuſtom (abrogated by her father Henry VIII.) of the 'boy-biſhop.' "On St. Nicholas even, a boy habited like a biſhop, "in pontificalibus," went abroad in moſt parts of London ſinging after the old faſhion, and was received by many ignorant, but well-diſpoſed people, into their houſes *, and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before.' [Strype.

With this cuſtom was probably connected a ſuperſtitious idea of preſents from St. Nicholas, as may be gathered from the following lines:

"St. Nicolas monie uſde to give to maidens ſecretlie,
Who, that he ſtill may uſe his liberalitie,
The mothers all their children on the eeve do cauſe to faſt,
And when they everie one at night in ſenſeleſſe ſleepe are caſt,
Both apples, nuts, and payres they bring, and other thinges beſides,
As cappes, and ſhoes, and petticoates, with kirtles they do hide,
And, in the morning found, they ſay, "Saint Nicolas this brought," &c. &c.

[B. Googe's Popish Kingdom.

Strype relates more mummeries revived in this auſpicious reign. 'On May 30th was a goodly maygame in Fenchurch-ſtreet, with drums, and guns, and pikes, and the "nine worthies," who rid, and each made his ſpeech. There was alſo the morris dance, and an elephant and caſtle, and the lord and lady of the May appeared to make up this ſhow.'

* Particularly hoſpitable were the nuns to the 'boy-biſhop' and his train. Accordingly we find in the injunctions to the religious ladies of Romſey nunnery, by the Biſhop of Winton, 'Item prohibemus ne cubent in dormitorio pueri maſculi cum monialibus, vel fœmellæ, nec per moniales ducantur in chorum,' &c.

of

herſelf proceeded wholly from that ſource. Catharine of Arragon bred her up in a thorough attachment to her religion, and in horror to all hereſies; and when ſeparated from her ſhe confirmed her faith by letters [32]. Cent. XVI.

It needed now a ſtronger power than that of the ſagacious Gardiner, who was entruſted with the ſeals as chancellor *, to moderate the enterprizing bigotry of the new queen. She would not wait the proper ſeaſon, but preſſed to hazard a rebellion by daſhing down at once the whole ſyſtem of reformation, and erecting on its ruins the moſt groſs ſuperſtitions of the Papiſts. Gardiner, though fond of perſecution, and that from ſyſtematic principle, on this occaſion objected to it; and by writing to the German emperor, and ſetting forth the great dangers to which too much haſte would expoſe the kingdom, gained his ſuffrage; this was ſent by letter to the zealous queen, and ſhe, reſpecting the emperor's advice, reined in her paſſion for a while, made Gardiner her chancellor, and moved only by his counſel. Prudence of Gardiner.

As the queen had declared, at her firſt acceſſion to the crown, that ſhe would force no man's conſcience in point of religion, there needed ſome provocation to form an excuſe for a change in her ſentiments. A tumult happened opportunely at St. Paul's, where Bourne, a chaplain of Biſhop Bonner (now reſtored to his ſee of London), praiſed him highly in his ſermon, and ſpoke harſhly of the deceaſed Edward. This the ſpirit of the Londoners could not brook †, they hiſſed the imprudent orator, pelted him with ſtones and brick-bats, and one of them darted a dagger at him with ſo good a will that it ſtuck faſt in the pulpit behind him. The terrified preacher ſaved his life by ſtooping, but remained in extreme danger until he was relieved by the exertions of Rogers, and Bradford, two celebrated Proteſtant preachers, who protected him from the angry citizens, and ſafely conveyed him to his home. Biſhop Bonner's chaplain inſulted.

Soon after this diſturbance a proclamation was iſſued ‡ by Mary, exhorting all parties to peaceable demeanor, and 'to avoid ill names, ſuch as Papiſt and Heretic;' the promiſe of toleration was renewed, but tempered with

NOTES.

[32] See the Appendix.

* Godwin de Præſ. p. 333. † Holingſhed, p. 1089.

‡ Fox, vol. iii. p. 16, 17.

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this proviſo, "until public order ſhould be taken in it by common conſent;" and the whole cloſed with a prohibition of 'preaching or writing without a ſpecial licence for the ſame.' Her next acts appear to have been ingratitude and inſult to the loyal men of Suffolk *, an entire reſtoration of the prelates, ſuch as Heath, Day, Bonner, &c. who had, on account of their religion, been ejected from their ſees †, and the moſt ungrateful and undeſerved impriſonment of Rogers and Bradford, who had hazarded their perſons to ſave the life of Bourne at St. Paul's croſs. 'They could repreſs the rage of the populace in a moment,' ſaid the ill-reaſoning queen, 'doubtleſs they ſet it on.' Her inexcuſable treatment of Judge Hales ‡ is mentioned below [33]. But Mary knew not what gratitude meant, as Cranmer and many others were doomed to experience.

Ingratitude of Mary.

Roman Catholic preachers encouraged.

Gardiner being now appointed to diſtribute licences for preaching, the reformed clergy met, and agreed, that as they ſaw none licenſed except determined papiſts, they would hazard every thing rather than be loſt in ſilence. Their churches were therefore kept open in ſpite of the royal prohibition, and the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt the Popiſh cauſe might be heard from every pulpit.

Cranmer declares himſelf averſe from the maſs.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was ſoon after this provoked to ſtand forward by the taunts of Bonner [34] and others, who purpoſely miſtook his mild behavior for an unlimited compliance with the religion of the court.

NOTES.

[33] James Hales was the only one of the judges who had the reſolution to refuſe (although a Proteſtant) to ſign the declaration in favor of Lady Jane Gray. This worthy man nevertheleſs found himſelf ſo harraſſed under the unfeeling Mary, by fines and other perſecution, on account of his faith, that he loſt his ſenſes; and put an end to his life by drowning himſelf in a ſtream ſo ſhallow, that he had great difficulty to keep his head under water. [HOLINGSHED.

[34] Bonner had much of the buffoon in his character, more indeed than one would have thought could have been harbored with ſuch ſteady inhumanity. A letter of his is extant, in which he puns on the name of *Shipſide* (Biſhop Ridley's ſteward), and exults on re-entering the ſee of London, vowing vengeance on the *ſheeps heads* and *calves heads*. He mentions alſo his happineſs at the approaching fall of Cranmer, whom he ſtyles 'Mr. Canterbury.' [HIST. OF REFORMATION.

* Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 52. † Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 337.

‡ Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 248.

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He had been adviſed to fly, but refuſed; 'ſince,' he ſaid, 'he had been ſo much concerned in every meaſure of reformation, that his honor would not ſuffer him to ſtir from the ſcene of his exertions.' He did more; irritated at the reports of his acquieſcence, he drew up a paper, by the advice of Peter Martyr, in which he profeſſed his own ſteadineſs to the doctrines of Proteſtantiſm; and offered to defend them, in public, at any conference which might be appointed. Dr. Scory having ſhewed abroad copies of this declaration, Cranmer was cited before the ſtar-chamber; where he avowed it, and expreſſed his wiſh that it had been poſted up on St. Paul's croſs. Cent. XVI.

It may appear ſtrange, that, after ſuch an explicit avowal of adverſe ſentiments, Cranmer ſhould have been diſmiſſed in peace from the court. Yet ſo it was; and he owed his liberty to the unpitying Gardiner. That clear-ſighted prelate, more politician than bigot, knew that the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury was intended for Cardinal Pole, the queen's favorite relation; and he dreaded the counſels of that devout prelate, when arrived at the primacy, as dangerous not only to his own private intereſt, but to the good of the nation; which, with all his faults, Gardiner ſeldom neglected. On this account he wiſhed to preſerve Cranmer as long as poſſible in his ſee; but all his meaſures were broken by the paſſionate reſentment of Mary, who looked on the archbiſhop as the counſellor and cauſe of her mother's divorce; and had forgotten, that, when her ſtern father had thoughts of putting her to death [35] on her poſitive adherence to the maſs, and when Norfolk and Gardiner ſtood by, not chuſing by interpoſition to hazard their own intereſts with the capricious tyrant, Cranmer had interfered; and had ſaved her life, by painting her as young, indiſcreet, and led away by her mother; and by deſcribing the odious light in which ſuch ſeverity in a father would appear throughout Europe *. Gardiner protects him in his ſee.

In September 1553 Cranmer and Latimer, the one the ornament, the other the bulwark of reformation, were ſent to the Tower. Many Proteſtant biſhops impriſoned.

NOTES.

[35] See Catharine of Arragon's letter in the Appendix.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 240, 241.

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teſtant preachers were at the ſame time impriſoned [36], and ſoon after, the foreigners who had taken refuge in England on a religious account, ſeeing as black a cloud forming over their heads as that from which they had eſcaped, retreated to the continent. Among theſe were Alaſco with his congregation [37], and Peter Martyr. No obſtacle was laid in the way of their departure *.

Many reformers quit the realm.

Many Engliſhmen who had been active in the plans of reformation, and particularly ſeveral well-known eccleſiaſtics, among which we read the names of Cox, Sandys, Grindal, and Horn, followed the example of their foreign brethren, and emigrated to more friendly ſhores.

On the 1ſt of October, Mary was crowned by Gardiner, ſupported by ten choſen biſhops; among whom Day was ſelected as the beſt preacher, to pronounce the coronation ſermon.

A parliament was now convened; in that the reformed prelates had but little ſtrength. Many of them, indeed, were in actual confinement; the Archbiſhop of York had been juſt ſent to priſon; the two biſhops Tailor

NOTES.

[36] Moſt unfortunately the love of controverſy accompanied the Proteſtant divines to their priſons. The arduous diſpute concerning free-will and predeſtination was carried on with ſuch animoſity, that confeſſions were drawn up on both ſides, and ſigned by numbers who were even at that time under ſentence of death. Each party had the folly to exclaim aloud, that their antagoniſts would do more harm in the world than the Papiſts themſelves; inſomuch as their *example* was better, while their *doctrines* were equally bad. Their contentions even ran to ſuch a height of phrenzy, that the keeper of the Marſhalſea was often obliged to ſeparate them.

The triumph which this petulant folly afforded to the Roman Catholics may eaſily be ſuppoſed. The Free-willers, as they were called, were led by Harry Hart, Trew, and Abingdon; they treated the Predeſtination-men with great rudeneſs; and it was in vain that the prelates impriſoned at Oxford wrote to their brethren in the Marſhalſea to exhort them to peace. [CLARK'S MARTYRS. HIST. OF PURITANS, &c.

[37] The church allotted to this congregation was taken from them, and they were deſired to conform or depart. Alaſco ſailed with 170 of his people in two ſhips to Denmark. As they could not accord in matters of religion with the Danes, they were directed to depart in forty-eight hours. Lubec, Wiſmar, Hamburgh, received them with equal inhoſpitality; nor did they find a reſting-place for their wives and children until they reached Frieſland. [HIST. OF REF.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 250.

and

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and Harley came to the Houſe of Peers, and meant to juſtify their proceedings; they were aſtoniſhed at hearing ſounds of a maſs to the Holy Ghoſt performed before the houſe; they were not liſtened to, nor allowed to take their ſeats, and Taylor was driven with ſome violence to leave the houſe. This rough conduct in the ruling party gave almoſt univerſal diſpleaſure to the nation.

Audacity of Gardiner.

The firſt intereſting buſineſs of the ſenate was to reverſe the declared illegitimacy of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catharine. This Gardiner contrived, as he had promiſed to Mary, without the intervention of the Pope; and although himſelf had plotted the divorce long before Cranmer had interfered, and had purſued every poſſible method to bring it forward, yet, with an audacity ſcarcely to be equalled, he made the new act ſpeak of the corrupt means by which the opinions of the univerſities were procured, and threw the whole blame of declaring the marriage illegal on Cranmer alone. The Princeſs Elizabeth was left by this act in a ſtate of illegitimacy, and the conduct of the queen was from this time much leſs kind to her ſiſter than hitherto it had been.

Meſſage to the Pope.

Mary had two eager purſuits at this juncture; to reconcile England to the church of Rome, and to marry Philip the ſon of the German Emperor. For the firſt of theſe ſhe employed with great ſecreſy Commendone, an Italian, who repaired to Rome and engaged the Pope (rather unwillingly, as the invitation was not ſufficiently formal) to ſend Cardinal Pole to England as legate. But the ſubtle Gardiner diſcovered what was going on, and found means to repreſent at the Imperial court in how promiſing a ſtate the affairs of the church and ſtate now ſtood, and how very eaſily a crude miſmanagement might deſtroy the hopeful fabric. Pole, he alleged, was a pious but a weak man, and would hazard every thing to maintain the dignity of the papacy. It is not improbable that the politic biſhop added an artful though groundleſs intimation, that Pole might become a dangerous rival to Philip in the heart of Mary; and that in ſuch caſe a diſpenſation might eaſily be had at Rome for the cardinal to become a king.

The new legate was, in conſequence of theſe hints, ſtopped under ſome plauſible pretence at Dittingen * on the Danube, and Mary, acquieſcing †

* Philips's Life of Pole, part ii. p. 30.

† Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 260, 261.

without

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without much perſuaſion in Gardiner's ſyſtem of marrying before the ceremony of reconciliation with Rome, wrote to Pole to tell him the ſteps ſhe had taken, and to adviſe him not at preſent to approach any nearer to England *, ſince the report of his coming as legate had already hurt the Roman Catholic intereſt. Pole, who diſcerned the machinations of Gardiner, anſwered, by a long and cool epiſtle, 'he was diſpleaſed with her for being too much governed by carnal policy; ſaw through the Emperor's reaſons for detaining him; adviſed her to ſhake off the ſupremacy with as much courage as her father had ſhewn in attaining it; and lamented leſt the Pope, diſpleaſed at the treatment of his choſen legate, ſhould ſend to England an alien, who might treat the kingdom with more ſeverity than he (Pole) found himſelf inclined to do.'

Cardinal Pole made legate.

The devout queen [38] attended to his advice, and gave orders that none ſhould any longer ſtyle her ſupreme head of the church.

Diſputes in the convocation.

The convocation was now called together; but, though great care had been taken that the members ſhould be docile, yet there were ſix † who reſiſted the general turn of the aſſembly; theſe, being all deans or archdeacons, had a right to ſit; and when Weſton the prolocutor, whoſe chief vaunt was his having been in priſon ſix years for his faith, propoſed to condemn the lately-formed Liturgy, and its declarations as to the quality of the Lord's Supper, theſe oppoſed the intended cenſure, and offered to diſpute in favor of the points arraigned; the reſt being unanimous for the

NOTES.

[38] It muſt have been with a deſign to ſhare the warm beams of the riſing ſun that 'Syr William Forreſt Preeiſte,' chaplain to Queen Mary, publiſhed a panegyrical hiſtory of Queen Catharine and her patient ſuffering under Henry VIII. Speaking of her towardlineſs, when young, thus he ſings:

'With ſtoole and needyl ſhe was not to ſeeke,
And other practyſeinges for ladyes meete;
To paſtyme àt tablès, tick-tacke or gleeke,
Cardys, dice,' &c. &c.

Foreſt, it is probable, changed his faith with the times, as he had not long before dedicated fifty of David's Pſalms to the protector Somerſet. Little more is heard of him, except that, loving muſic, he carefully preſerved ſeveral antient MSS. of Taverner and others, which are ſtill extant in the muſical archives at Oxford.

* Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 30.

† Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 263.

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condemnation, a diſputation enſued; which, by ſeveral adjournments, was prolonged many days. Three of the ſix, Haddon, Aylmer, and Young, foreſeeing the event from the violence and heat which burſt out at the beginning of the debate, retired; but the others, Cheyney, Moreman, and Philpot [39], although brow-beaten, interrupted, and frequently ſilenced, ſupported their arguments with ſuch ſtrength, that the prolocutor was heard to exclaim, at the cloſe of the diſputation, 'Aye, but though *they* have the word, *we* have the ſword *.' Cent. XVI.

On the 21ſt of December the ſervice of the maſs, in Latin, was reſtored throughout England †; and, on the 28th, Voyſey was replaced in the ſee of Exeter: this act cloſed the proceedings of 1553. The Latin ſervice reſtored.

The rebellion of Wiatt ‡ and his diſcomfiture, and the execution of the amiable and innocent uſurper, Lady Jane Gray, found ſufficient employment for the three firſt months of 1554.

The failure of an inſurrection always ſtrengthens the hands of that government which it was meant to deſtroy; and accordingly the meaſures of Gardiner acquired new force from Wiatt's fall. The deprivation of ſeveral Proteſtant biſhops followed that event. This was grounded, with the moſt abſurd injuſtice, on their having taken wives in conſequence of the liberty allowed to them by ſucceſſive acts of parliament [40]. On the whole, ſixteen new prelates appeared in the houſe of lords. Proteſtant prelates deprived of their ſees.

NOTES.

[39] Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, had his party been ſtrongeſt, would probably have rivalled Gardiner in the race of perſecution. Diſputing once with an Arian, his over-abounding zeal prompted him to ſpit in his adverſary's face. Finding his conduct blamed, he wrote a treatiſe in its defence, alleging, that ſuch blaſphemy as the heretic voided, could only be anſwered by an inſult. [STRYPE.

[40] In juſtification of theſe proceedings many books were about this time publiſhed againſt clerical marriage, particularly one by Gardiner, under the name of Dr. Martin. As the doctor was a man of a very looſe character, this work opened a torrent of bitter accuſations againſt the Popiſh clergy. 'That kennel of the uncleanneſs,' ſays Biſhop Burnet, 'of the prieſts and religious houſes, was again, on this occaſion, raked and expoſed with too much indecency; for the married prieſts, being openly accuſed for the impurity and ſenſuality of their lives, thought it but a juſt piece of ſelf-defence to turn theſe imputations back on thoſe, who pretended to chaſtity, and yet led moſt irregular lives, under the appearance of that ſtrictneſs.' [HIST. OF REF.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 247. † Stowe, p. 617.

‡ Holingſhed, p. 1095, 6, 7, &c.

The

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Spaniſh bribery.

The diſtribution of Spaniſh gold* (for 1,200,000 crowns were acknowledged to have been borrowed by the Emperor for the purpoſe) was now performed by Gardiner with ſo judicious a hand, that not leſs than four bills took their riſe in the commons in one ſeſſion, each aiming at the perſecution of heretics. The houſe of peers, however, not being yet properly brought into order, flung out every one of them. Nor did the ſervility of the commons, although ready to countenance every degree of fanatic cruelty, and to join willingly in reconciling England to the church of Rome, produce any real profit to the papacy, for not an acre of conſecrated property would they reſtore, nor allow one monaſtery or nunnery to be reendowed with the revenues of which Henry or Edward had deprived it. On the other hand, the ſtrongeſt poſſible ordinances were enacted to ſecure in the poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates, thoſe laymen to whom they had been appropriated.

Conference at Oxford.

A polemic conference at Oxford† was now determined on; and a detachment from the convocation, headed by Weſton the prolocutor, repaired thither to meet [41] the Proteſtant champions. On the other hand, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had for ſome time been confined to one ſmall room in the Tower of London, were led from the common jail at Oxford to manage the Proteſtant ſide of the controverſy. The two firſt were much moleſted by the quotations from the fathers. They could not anſwer them, and yet knew not how to get rid of them. Latimer took a forcible, though ſimple, method. 'I lay no ſtreſs on the fathers,' ſaid he, 'unleſs when they lay ſtreſs on the Scripture.' At length, overpowered by his antagoniſt's volubility of tongue, the good prelate exclaimed, 'If I can argue no longer for my religion, I yet can *die* for it [42].'

After

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[41] The prolocutor made an unlucky miſtake at the ſetting out of the diſputation. 'Ye are this day,' ſaid he, 'aſſembled to confound the deteſtable hereſy of the verity of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament.' This error ſet the whole aſſembly into a paroxiſm of laughter. [Hist. of Ref.

[42] It is acknowledged by the moſt candid writers, that the Roman Catholics had much the advantage in this diſpute. It muſt have been ſo, where quotations from the fathers were allowed as arguments. For what anſwer can be made to the following extracts, except that

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 286.

† Fox, vol. ii. p. 44, &c.

After the close of the conference, the advocates for reformation were told by Weston, that they were defeated, and must recant their errors. To which Cranmer answered, that 'if so, they were only defeated by the noise and revilings of their antagonists; four or five of them often speaking at once, so that it was utterly impracticable either to hear them or to answer them.' Ridley [43] and Latimer said the same. They all refused to change their opinions, and were accordingly declared 'obstinate heretics;' and kept in prison with great strictness, and restraint of all correspondence from without or with one another. Cent. XVI.

The loud and outrageous boasts of the convocation concerning the victory which they pretended to have gained, having reached the ears of the Protestant divines imprisoned in London, they drew up and published a confession of their faith, and a declaration of their readiness to dispute in favor of every article therein contained.

NOTES.

that of the good Latimer above recited. 'What a miracle is this? He who sits above with the Father, at the same instant is handled by the hands of men *?' Or again, from the same writer, 'That which is in the cup is the same which flowed from the side of Christ.' Or, 'Because we abhor the eating of raw flesh, and especially human flesh, therefore it appeareth bread though it be flesh †.' Or to this, 'Christ was carried in his own hands, when he said, "This is my body ‡."' Or to this, 'We are taught that when this nourishing food is consecrated, it becomes the body and blood of our Savior §.' Or, lastly, to this from St. Ambrose, 'It is bread before consecration, but after that ceremony it becomes the flesh of Christ.' [GILPIN'S LATIMER.

[43] 'There was,' says Ridley, in his account of the conference, 'great disorder, perpetual shoutings, tauntings, and reproaches; so that it looked liker a stage than a school of divines.' He adds, 'that the noises and confusions with which he had been much offended in his youth at the Sorbonne, were modest, when compared to this.' [HIST OF REF.

The good old Latimer attended the conference most simply attired; his cap was buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hung at his breast, a staff was in his hand, and the New Testament under his arm. 'You must dispute,' said the prolocutor, 'next Wednesday morn.' 'I am as well qualified,' answered the cheerful Latimer, shaking his palsied head, 'to be governor of Calais. In this book,' he added, 'which I have deliberately perused seven times, I can find no mention of the mass; neither its marrow-bones nor its sinews.' This expression being supposed a ludicrous allusion to the doctrine of transubstantiation gave great offence, nor was Latimer permitted to explain it.

[GILPIN'S LATIMER.

* St. Chrysostom. † Theophylact. ‡ St. Austin. § Justin Martyr.

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Philip of Spain arrives in England.

The arrival of the Spaniſh Philip in England on the 20th of July 1554, and his ſubſequent marriage with the Queen of England, were events of ſuch an intereſting kind that they, for a ſhort time, took off the minds of the nation from religious debates. Gardiner, who had alone brought about the marriage, was rewarded by the moſt implicit confidence placed in him by the royal pair. On his ſide the courtly biſhop launched out from his pulpit in praiſe of the virtues and graces of the Spaniard, concluding with a trope which, in a more refined age, would affect the audience with diſguſt rather than conviction: 'If he prove not what I ſay, I am content that ye ſhall eſteem me an impudent lyar.'

Ceremonies reſtored.

The viſitation of the new biſhops [44] to their dioceſes, which took place in the ſummer of 1554, were chiefly employed in reſtoring old cuſtoms. They did not re-ordain thoſe prieſts who had taken orders under Proteſtant prelates, but only 'reconciled them to the church; and added the ceremonies which had been omitted, the anointing, putting on the veſtments,' &c. [45]

NOTES.

[44] The progreſs of Bonner was as uſual ſtrongly marked with buffoonery. At Hadham, finding neither ſacramental bread, nor a proper rood, he fell furiouſly on Dr. Bricket the prieſt, calling him 'heretic, knave,' &c. ſwearing at the ſame time moſt enormouſly. In vain did the prieſt, who knew his gluttonous turn, deſcribe the dainties he had provided for his dinner. The biſhop, blinded with anger, aimed a blow at Bricket, but ſtruck the ear of Sir Thomas Joſſelyn, and nearly felled him; while the good-humored knight reſented the unintentional affront only by wiſhing 'that, when Bonner was taken out of the Marſhalſea, he had been transferred to Bedlam.' At other places the boiſterous biſhop was groſſly lampooned for his follies and prejudices, and particularly for ſcraping from church walls all thoſe ſcripture ſentences which had been painted on them, and in their room ſubſtituting abſurd groupes of ill-executed ſaints and martyrs. [Hist. of Ref.

[45] It ſhould ſeem that the church of Rome had no ſettled rule as to this circumſtance. She always was wont to receive prieſts ordained in the Greek communion as regularly admitted; yet, during the conteſt between the popes and the pſeudo-popes, in the early ages, the pontiffs did not even allow of each other's ordination. They were more conſiderate in the ſchiſm between Rome and Avignon, and did not object to the mutual allowance of orders. In England, as farther progreſs was made in bigotry, and the bodies of heretics were brought to the ſtake, more rigor was uſed as to orders; and the prelates who expired in flames were only degraded from the prieſthood, and not from their epiſcopal dignity, which was ſuppoſed to be null, as conferred by heretical hands. [Hist. of Ref.

The

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Pole comes to England.

The attainder of Cardinal Pole being taken off by the parliament, and his preſence no longer interfering with any powerful intereſt, he was invited to England from Bruſſels; and entered London without the legatine pomp, as it was doubted how it might be reliſhed by the populace; yet he was received with ſome ſtate, the Biſhop of Durham and Lord Shrewſbury meeting him with the act in his favor * in their hands. Soon after his arrival, both houſes of parliament being ſummoned to attend on the king and queen, Pole, in a long ſpeech, declared the powers entruſted to him, and adviſed them, as the repreſentatives of the nation, to be reconciled with the Roman Catholic church [46]. In a few days, the ſpeaker having conſulted with the commons on the meaſures to be purſued, a conference was held between the two houſes, and they agreed to petition the king and queen to be their advocates, that they might obtain the reconciliation which had been brought within their reach. They were then introduced to the royal preſence, and, preſenting the petition humbly on their knees †, were abſolved in the fulleſt manner by the cardinal, who at the ſame time recapitulated to them 'the ſervices which the pope had done to England, &c.; the gift of Ireland by Adrian to Henry II.; the title of Defender of the Faith to Henry VIII. &c. He then ſhewed how Greece, ſince her ſchiſm, had been abandoned by God, and had fallen to the Mahometans; how diſtracted Germany had been with war, civil and foreign; and what tumults had ariſen in England.' The houſe then appointed a committee to prepare an act which might do away all the ſtatutes that militated againſt the Romiſh faith [47]. And thus ended a day which can only be com-

England reconciled to the church of Rome.

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[46] The weak and vain Mary (who had for ſome time paſt fancied herſelf with child) thought that ſhe felt the child ſtir in her womb at this invitation. Her women, whoſe abſurd flattery had nurſed up her idea of pregnancy, joined with the prieſt; and compared the ſpringing of the child to that of John the Baptiſt, when his mother was ſaluted by the Bleſſed Virgin.

[47] Philips affirms, that the lords and commons embraced one another, ſaying, 'This day we are born again!' A feſtival was aſſigned for this important event, and a book written upon the ſubject in Italian, named, 'Il ritorno del regno d'Inghilterra.'

[LIFE OF POLE.

* Philips's Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 78. † Ibid. p. 80.

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pared to that on which the unprincipled John yielded his crown to the legate of Innocent III. That king had on his ſide the excuſe of urgent neceſſity; the commons, that of a thorough habit of embracing any form of religion, or government, which their ſuperiors might wiſh them to adopt.

Church lands confirmed to lay-owner.

The parliament now went on to form a law which might repeal every act in favor of reformation, taking great care, as it proceeded, to confirm the complete alienation of the abbey-lands, church eſtates, &c. and to leave them all in the hands of the laymen to whom they had been given. This apparently unjuſt decree was made more palatable by a moſt diſintereſted petition, which was ſent from the convocation of the Canterbury dioceſe *; praying that, to prevent diſputes, ſuch eſtates might remain unclaimed by the church. The act condemns the royal ſupremacy, but confirms all its decrees: It likewiſe confirms all paſt marriages, ſettlements, and proceſſes, and it ſuſpends the mortmain act for twenty years.

Diſintereſted conduct of the convocation.

To this act the cardinal acceded; ſtrongly intimating at the ſame time, that the curſe of heaven (as in the caſe of Belſhazzar, whoſe father, not himſelf, had been guilty of the ſacrilege) would purſue every man who ſhould take advantage of this law to detain the property of the church; an intimation which ſeems to have affected no one perſon except the ſincere, though deluded, Mary [48].

The

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[48] The voice of the people was againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery, and many vulgar jokes explained the opinion of the lower orders of ſociety. To ridicule the prieſthood, ſays Holingſhed, 'A cat with her head ſhorne, and the likeneſſe of a rocket caſt over her, with her fore feet tied together, and a round piece of paper, like a ſinging cake, being put between them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape.' Which cat was ſhewed to the Biſhop of London, and he afterwards reproached the Dutcheſs of Suffolk as authoreſs of this low witticiſm. Soon afterwards, a remarkably gay rood having been ſet up in St. Paul's with great and pompous ceremony, a merry fellow, making a very low obeyſance, thus beſpoke the image: 'Sir, your maiſterſhip is welcome to towne. I ſee you bee clothed in the queene's colours, ſo I hope ye be but a ſummer's bird, as ye be dreſt in white and greene.' As a crowd of people were preſent when this free joke was uttered with impunity, the ſentiments of the Londoners, concerning image-worſhip, may be conjectured.

But the gibe which gave moſt diverſion to the people was an artful conveyance of the holy wafer out of the pix, in which it had, according to cuſtom, been depoſited at the even-

* Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 90.

The cenſures incurred by the clergy being of a different nature from thoſe of the laity, the biſhops and prieſts all met in convocation; and there, on their knees, received abſolution, as their lay-brethren had done before them *. Cent. XVI.

Theſe great events were notified to the court of Rome by three ambaſſadors, Lord Mountacute, the Biſhop of Ely, and Sir Edward Karne.

The commons, as they had gone ſuch lengths to eſtabliſh their intereſt at court, determined not to ſtop before they had completed their work. They revived all the old perſecuting ſtatutes againſt Lollards, paſſed in the days of Richard II. Henry IV. and V.; and they would have rendered all the acts of married prieſts null and void had they not been checked by ſome of the landholders, who muſt have ſuffered eſſentially if that ill-judged bill had been carried [49].

Gardiner was now highly eſteemed at court, for every meaſure which he had propoſed had been attended with ſucceſs; but the ferocity of his

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even-ſong of Good-Friday. In conſequence when, on Eaſter Sunday morn, the choir ſung out, 'Surrexit, non eſt hic,' 'He is riſen, he is not here,' the ſingers words were made good; nor could the prieſt, to the infinite diverſion of his immoral audience, find a hoſte to elevate. On this ſubject a ballad was made, with this free burthen, 'One God being ſtolen or loſt, another was made in his room.' Great rewards were offered by the clergy for the diſcovery of the impious bard; as well as of ſeveral others, who ridiculed the Latin ſervice in a kind of Macaronic poetry.

Encouraged by the viſible turn of the people, a girl, named Elizabeth Croft, acted the part of a demoniac; and made her familiar, 'the ſpirit in the wall,' whiſtle out ſtrange prophecies, in an uncouth tone, againſt Philip of Spain. But ſhe was detected, and publicly expoſed on a ſcaffold. [HOLINGSHED. HIST. OF REF. &c.

[49] It muſt aſtoniſh the reader to ſee ſo total a change in the ſentiments of a great nation's repreſentatives, in ſo trifling a ſpace of time as that between the laſt parliament of Edward VI. and the firſt of Mary. But what will he ſay when he hears that two quotations, one from Biſhop Burnet, the other from Biſhop Taylor, are adduced by the artful Philips, in his Life of Cardinal Pole (vol. ii. p. 85.), to excuſe this change; and indeed to give plauſible reaſons for it? Controverſial writers ſhould be very cautious of the 'Data' they allow; too great advantages are often given that way to a ſubtle enemy; and a good cauſe irrecoverably hurt with honeſt but weak minds. The paſſage here referred to is well worth a peruſal as a maſter-piece of polemic ſubtility.

* Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 88.

diſpo-

Cent. XVI.

Gardiner counſels inhumanity.

diſpoſition was now to meet indulgence. It was to him that the counſels which ſtained the latter years of Mary's reign with blood were attributed; Gardiner's religion was only policy; yet did he countenance ſlaughter *, while Pole (who ſhared with him the confidence of Mary), although zealouſly attached to every Popiſh tenet, is believed to have uſed all his intereſt in favor of mercy. 'Such,' ſays a modern writer, 'is the prevalence of *temper* above *ſyſtem*.' Unhappily, Gardiner had moſt weight; and the ſtandard of indiſcriminate inhumanity only waited the opening of the next year to be widely diſplayed. Nothing indeed but cruelty could be expected under the rule of a fanatic, who, when ſhe received the crown, had gloried in being ſtyled 'a virgin ſent from heaven to avenge the cauſe of God.'

At the beginning of 1555 all the biſhops, and many of the clergy, went to Cardinal Pole (who, during the confinement of the primate, had taken poſſeſſion of Lambeth) to receive his inſtructions. They were humane and worthy of his gentle turn of mind. He bade them treat their flocks with tenderneſs, and rather to make converts by example and inſtruction than by rigor [50].

Little

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[50] In this place an ingenious modern author amuſes himſelf in ſupplying Gardiner and his friends with arguments to oppoſe the milder reaſoning of the cardinal. That ſo much can be ſaid for a bad cauſe will equally aſtoniſh and entertain the reader.

'The doctrine of liberty of conſcience,' ſaid the fancied arguer, 'is founded on the moſt flagrant impiety, and ſuppoſes ſuch an indifference among all religions, ſuch an obſcurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and the magiſtrate incapable of diſtinguiſhing with certainty the dictates of heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will ſurely give a criterion by which they may be aſcertained; and a prince who knowingly permits theſe principles to be perverted or adulterated, is more criminal than if he permitted poiſon to be ſold to his ſubjects for bread. Perſecution may, indeed, ſeem calculated rather to make hypocrites than converts; but experience ſhews, that often the habits of hypocriſy turn to real devotion, and that the children, at leaſt, of ſuch hypocrites, become frequently orthodox Chriſtians. It is abſurd to plead the temporal and trivial intereſts of civil ſociety againſt conſiderations of ſuch vaſt importance; and, beſides, where ſects ariſe, and with equal virulence execrate and damn each other, why ſhould not the civil magiſtrate, for the public peace, ſupport one and ſilence every other? An affected neutrality in the prince can only ſerve to keep alive the

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 278.

Little availed the merciful legate's ſincere requeſt with a ſet of men devoted to their own intereſts, and determined to take whatever line of conduct the more effective favorite, Gardiner, ſhould intimate; and his finger pointed at blood. Accordingly a ſeries of barbarities came forward which, had it not been viſibly the effect of religion wrongly underſtood, and fermented in the weak brain of a miſled fanatic, might have prejudiced the national character of England; a country which may proudly ſay, that, ſetting aſide the miſtaken Mary's ſhort but bitter phrenzy, it ſtands clear of the maſſacres and perſecutions which have deformed the hiſtory of the other diſtricts of Europe, and moſt of all thoſe which have called themſelves the moſt poliſhed. Cent. XVI. Perſecution commences.

Thirty of the moſt known and ſteadieſt Proteſtants had juſt then fallen into the hands of their enemies. They had been taken at a meeting near Bow church; where Roſe, a miniſter, had given them the communion according to the ſervice of the Engliſh Liturgy. Theſe were brought before the council *, and perſuaded to ſubſcribe the Popiſh confeſſion of faith; but none would be wrought upon. Rogers, who was the chief of the party, and who was particularly obnoxious for having publiſhed a reviſed edition of Tindal's Bible, aſked Gardiner, 'Whether *he* had not preached againſt the Pope during beſt part of twenty years?' 'Yes,' ſaid Gardiner, 'but I was forced to it by cruelty.' 'And will you then,' ſaid Rogers, 'uſe that cruelty to *others*, of which *you* complain?' Gardiner avoided anſwering him, yet every one of the thirty were ſent to priſon; except one, whom the good-humoured Lord Effingham ſaved by aſking him, 'If he would be an honeſt man, as his father had been before him?' And on his ſaying 'Yes,' he ſent him off haſtily, as one that had anſwered to his ſatisfaction. Thirty Proteſtants ſeized.

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the reciprocal animoſity. The Proteſtants when in power ſhewed no mercy to thoſe who followed the religion of their anceſtors. They enacted ſevere, and, in ſome inſtances, capital, puniſhments againſt them. And if any kind of perſecution is to be admitted, the moſt bloody and violent will ſurely be allowed the moſt juſtifiable, as the moſt effectual. Impriſonments, fines, &c. ſerve only to irritate ſectaries, without diſabling them from reſiſtance. But the ſtake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation or baniſhment of all the heretics who are inclined to give diſturbance; and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt. [HUME'S TUDORS.

* Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 180.

Not

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Not to dwell too long on ſo diſgraceful and diſtreſſing a ſubject, thoſe who ſuffered for their religion at this direful æra ſhall be thrown together with as much conciſeneſs as poſſible.

The proto-martyr was Rogers, above-mentioned. He had been preſſed to fly, but could not prevail on himſelf to leave his wife with ten children. He met his death with intrepidity. On petitioning Gardiner for a laſt interview with his wife, he was inſultingly told, 'that being in orders, he *could* have *no wife*.'

Rogers and many others ſuffer.

Biſhop Hooper * was burnt with green wood, and remained three quarters of an hour in torture; yet did he pray until his tongue was by the fire rendered uſeleſs.

Sanders, at Coventry, refuſed a pardon, and rapturouſly embraced the ſtake.

A poor weaver had his beard torn off, and his hand conſumed in the flames of a candle, by the brutal Bonner, before his final puniſhment.

Ferrar, Biſhop of St. David's, a man of ſtrange and affected ſingularity, ſuffered at the ſtake with great intrepidity.

Rawlins White was burnt at Cardiff for having ſent his ſon to ſchool that he might learn to read the Bible to him.

One Hunter had abſconded, fearing the vengeance of Bonner, for a trifling but heretical lapſe in converſation. Bonner ſeized and menaced the father of Hunter; the good young man, to ſave his parent, delivered up himſelf, and periſhed in the flames.

Thomas Haukes ſtretched out his arms when in the agonies of a fiery death; a ſignal he had agreed to make if he found conſolation in his torture. This circumſtance had an incredible effect in confirming the faith of many.

Taylor †, the venerable prieſt of Hadley, being tied to the ſtake in his own pariſh, was ſeverely wounded by a faggot thrown by one who ſtood by; to whom the meek ſufferer only ſaid, 'Oh, friend, I have enough! What needed that?'

George March, a prieſt, was burnt at Cheſter, where, with a refinement of cruelty, there was placed over his head a pot of pitch to melt and ſcald him as it fell.

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 145.

† Ibid. p. 166.

One

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One named Flower, who ſuffered in the church-yard of Weſtminſter-Abbey, deſerved the leaſt ſhare of pity, as he had madly and wickedly wounded a prieſt, while celebrating the maſs; at firſt he gloried in the deed; but being ſoon convinced by his brethren of his crime, he lamented it bitterly; and died a ſincere penitent.

From this horrid picture let us turn away our eyes for a moment, and view the follies of the ſincere though deluded Mary. Flattered by the women about her, ſhe had conceived herſelf near her delivery; and in order to lighten her conſcience againſt that awful time, ſhe had ſent for her great officers *, and told them, 'that ſhe was determined to deliver up all the church lands which the crown poſſeſſed to the legate, for religious uſes. That, it was true, the crown would be impoveriſhed; but that her ſoul was of more value than ten crowns.'

Mary's fancied pregnancy.

Notwithſtanding this propitiation, Mary's error was ſoon apparent; yet, not before many zealous Papiſts had expoſed their ſanguine and ridiculous credulity [51].

The time was now come that the venerable Latimer [52] ſhould be brought to confirm, by his patient and inſtructive death, thoſe truths which, during his life, he had with ſo much zeal and ſucceſs ſupported. The ſin-

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[51] Biſhop Burnet had ſeen a letter from the Biſhop of Norwich to the Lord Suſſex, in which he aſſerts that the queen was brought to bed of a 'noble prince;' for which he had ordered 'Te Deum' to be ſung in his cathedral, and the other churches in Norwich. [HIST. OF REF.

[52] Hugh Latimer, the moſt ſpirited of Engliſh reformers, was born at Thirkeſſon, Leiceſterſhire, in 1470, of an honeſt yeoman's family; and bred at Cambridge, where, after beginning his clerical courſe as a violent Papiſt, he became a moſt zealous preacher on the ſide of Proteſtantiſm. Recommended by Cromwell to the biſhopric of Worceſter (after having ſuffered much perſecution) he retained it not long; for, on the paſſing of the 'bloody act,' in 1589, he retired to his friend Cranmer's dwelling, and reſigned his ſee with a cheerfulneſs bordering on levity; for he ſprang up, and congratulated himſelf on the lightneſs he felt on quitting his epiſcopal veſtments. Called forth again on the acceſſion of Edward VI. and refuſing to reſume his ſee, he was appointed to an important and dangerous poſt, that of preacher to the court. Of this taſk he acquitted himſelf with incredible intrepidity; he ſpared neither the profligate miniſter, the partial judge, the indolent prieſt, nor even the miſguided infant king; yet he continued court preacher until the fall of his friend and protector Somerſet. He then withdrew to his dioceſe, where he continued until he was called on by the bigot Mary to ſuffer at the ſtake. [GILPIN'S LATIMER.

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 221. Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 308.

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Two bishops doomed to the flames.

cerity of his heart, and the ſimplicity of his manners, merited for his laſt hours ſuch a companion as Ridley, Biſhop of London; perhaps the moſt eminent of all thoſe who aſſiſted the reformation, in piety, learning, and firmneſs of mind. Three biſhops ſat in Oxford to judge them; they condemned them for hereſy; and, after allowing them one night's conſideration, delivered them over to the ſecular arm as obſtinate heretics.

Firmneſs of Latimer.

Neither the ſpirit of Latimer nor his good-humor forſook him to the laſt. Paſſing through Smithfield, when brought up to his martyrdom, 'This place,' ſaid he, 'has long groaned for me.' When interrupted in his defence by Dr. Weſton, he ſaid warmly, 'I have ſpoken in my time before two kings, and have been heard ſome hours together; and now I may not ſpeak for one quarter of an hour!' When in priſon, being ſeverely treated in winter, he ſent word to his keeper, that 'if he took no better care he ſhould eſcape him.' The keeper in a fright aſked how? 'Why,' anſwered Latimer, 'if you will not afford me a faggot, I ſhall be ſtarved to death with cold, and not burnt as my ſentence runs.' After he was faſtened to the ſtake his laſt words to his fellow-ſufferer, the Biſhop of London, were theſe, 'This day we ſhall light ſuch a flame in England as, I truſt, ſhall never be extinguiſhed *.'

And of Ridley.

Ridley's deportment was equally compoſed and intrepid. 'Be of good heart, brother,' ſaid he to Latimer, 'God will either aſſuage the fury of the flames, or enable us to abide it.' A bag of gun-powder kindly placed near the head of Latimer finiſhed his pains, but Ridley was long tortured.

The death of Latimer was oddly accompanied by that of the bittereſt foe of him and of the Proteſtant religion, Biſhop Gardiner †. On the 9th of November, 1555, that reſolute perſecutor refuſed to have his dinner ſerved up until a meſſenger ſhould arrive to tell him that fire was ſet to the faggots of Latimer and Ridley, although the good old Duke of Norfolk was his gueſt. Him he kept waiting for his meal 'until three or four o'clock,' when the deſired intelligence arrived. Even then the perſecutor was not deſtined to enjoy his dinner. He fell ſuddenly [53] ill of a ſuppreſſion

Death of Gardiner.

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[53] Biſhop Poinet, who ſucceeded to the ſee of Winton, thus paints his predeceſſor: 'He had a ſwarthy color, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes deep in his head, wide noſtrils,

* Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. p. 295. † Ibid. p. 298.

preſſion of urine, lay in torture fifteen days, and then died. The times were ſuperſtitious, and the reflections made on this ſeaſonable death may be eaſily imagined. Cent. XVI.

It was about this time, or early in 1556, that the ſchiſm between the epiſcopalians of England and the nonconformiſts, ſoon after ſtyled Puritans, firſt broke out. Riſe of Puritaniſm.

Numbers of Britiſh (for John Knox was among them) exiles met at Francfort, and wiſhed to celebrate divine ſervice according to the Proteſtant rite, but could not agree as to the mode. At length, however, being admitted to a participation of the French church, and allowed to perform divine worſhip as they pleaſed at ſtated times, they agreed not to uſe the Litany or the ſurplice, and not to anſwer the miniſter; and, having ſettled theſe points, they went on peaceably until the arrival of Dr. Cox, a high-ſpirited exile, once tutor to Edward VI. and an admirer of the original Liturgy. He attended the ſervice with a number of orthodox com-

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noſtrils, ſparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons on his toes, which made him go awkwardly.' Gardiner is believed to have been the natural ſon of Richard de Wideville, brother to Elizabeth, conſort to Edward IV. He was a great and not unpatriotic ſtateſman, but perverſe and pitileſs. Perpetually did he perſuade Mary to deſtroy her ſiſter, who, he foreſaw, would reverſe all ſhe had done. He died in agonies of repentance, crying, 'I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not wept with him!' Two elegies, ſtrongly expreſſive of the different lights in which he was ſeen by different parties, may be found in Dr. Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ. They begin thus:

Pro, by Mr. Prideaux.	*Contra*, by an Ill-willer.
'The ſaints in heaven rejoice,	'The dev'ls in hell do dance,
This earth and we may waile,	This realm and we may joy,
Sith they have won, and we have loſt,	Since they have got, and we forgone,
The guide of our availe.	The cauſe of our annoy.
Tho' death hath looſed life,	Though death hath wip'd out life,
Yet death could not deface	Yet death cannot outrace
His worthy work, his ſtayed ſtate,	His wicked works, uſurped ſtate,
Nor yet his gifts of grace,' &c.	Nor faults of his, deface,' &c.

When Gardiner firſt recommended perſecution, he thought that a few ſtriking examples would cauſe a general recantation; but when he found his error, he left the weight of cruelty on the willing ſhoulders of Bonner, who was wont to ſay, 'Let me once lay hold of theſe heretics, and, if they eſcape me, God do ſo and more to Bonner!'

Cent. XVI.

rades, diſtreſſed the reader by anſwering him aloud, and at length placed in the deſk a reſolute prieſt, who wore a ſurplice, and pronounced the whole of the Litany. Important conteſts for thoſe who had loſt their country, their friends, their eſtates!

Numbers ſuffer at the ſtake.

To proceed with the painful liſts of equally ſincere, though not perhaps equally intereſting, ſufferers: One Bambridge, in Hants, unable to bear the fire, recanted, and was taken from the ſtake. An order of council, however, ſent him again to the flames, and impriſoned the ſheriff for having reprieved him. Toole, who was hanged for a robbery, having bordered on hereſy in his dying words, had his body conſumed by fire. Thirteen perſons were burnt at once at Stratford-le-Bow, in Eſſex. Bradford too was burnt, although he, with the reſpectable Rogers, had ſaved, in a popular tumult, the life of Bourne, now Biſhop of Bath and Wells *.

Enough has been ſaid on a ſubject ſo diſguſting; unhappily it would afford materials for a much longer account. Above thirty other perſons [54] ſuffered by the flames, during the autumn of 1555, in different country towns, beſides ſix that were burnt in one fire at Canterbury.

The perſons condemned to theſe puniſhments (obſerves Mr. Hume) were not convicted of teaching or dogmatizing contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion. They were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and, articles being offered

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[54] Many of thoſe who ſuffered at the ſtake were young people; and it was obſervable, that the younger were frequently the more eager, and the ſteadier, converts to reformation. Conformably to this idea, the devil is made, in a drama nearly of Mary's epoch, to attribute the defection from Popery to the young:

'The ould peopel wolde beleve ſtill in my lawes,
But the yonger ſorte lead them a contrary waye;
They wyll not beleve, they plainlye ſaye,
In oulde tradytions made by men,
But they wyll b'leve as ſcripture teacheth them.'

And, a little farther, Hypocryſie remarks, that

'The worlde was never ſo merye
Since chyldren were ſo bolde.
Now every boy will be a teacher;
The father a foole—the chylde a preacher.'

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 291.

to

to them for ſubſcription, they were inſtantly on their refuſal condemned to the flames. Each martyrdom was, from the conſtancy of the ſufferers, equivalent to a hundred ſermons againſt popery; and men either avoided ſuch horrid ſpectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though ſecret, indignation againſt the perſecutors. Cent. XVI.

It was not, indeed, without evident ſigns of diſguſt [55] that the nation beheld theſe repeated ſcenes of inhumanity. Even Gardiner had endeavored to throw the blame of the horrors he had counſelled on the queen; but it was Philip on whom the odium chiefly reſted. Bred up under a perſecuting father, accuſtomed to the cruelties of the inquiſition, and to the principles of the Duke of Alva, ſuch proceedings might naturally be expected from him. This concluſion he dreaded *, as it might expoſe him to the reſentment of the people, and eventually endanger the little intereſt which he had in England. On this account he directed Father Alphonſo, his confeſſor, to preach a ſermon againſt violent meaſures with heretics; an argument ſo ſtrange from the mouth of a Spaniard, that it made the ardor of the Engliſh biſhops cool for a while; but, after a few weeks, they proceeded again with ſuch vigor that even Bonner [56] heſitated to obey their directions, and needed a letter from court to inſpire him with new reſolution. Such ſcenes odious to the nation.

About

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[55] One circumſtance was thought a great addition to the general inhumanity of the times. After the condemnation of thoſe who were ſent into the country to be burnt, they were told by the council that they muſt be ſilent at their execution, otherwiſe they would have their tongues cut out on the ſpot. [HIST. OF REF.

Many letters were written from court to exhort all perſons to attend the executions; and the council, being informed that ſome Eſſex gentlemen had 'honeſtly, and of their own accord,' attended a great and horrid exhibition of this kind at Colcheſter, condeſcended to ſend them a letter of thanks. [IBID.

[56] The horror in which that inhuman prelate was held by the ſuffering Proteſtants gave occaſion to the moſt bitter invectives againſt him. A pedigree was about this time handed about in MS. and in 1569 was printed. Part of it ran thus: 'Hereafter do follow a linial pedegree of Boner's kindred, a man of a great houſe long before the captivitè of Babylone. Baſtard Edmonde Savage, beynge a great lubberly ſcholar, was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of one Boner, which was the ſon of a jugler, or wyld roge; which was the ſon of a villayn in groſſe; which was the ſon of a cut-purſe; which was the ſon of Tom o'Bedlam, &c. &c.

Colonel

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 284.

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About the ſame time Mary received a book from Germany, well and firmly written, admoniſhing her of the injuſtice, as well as cruelty, of her proceedings; reminding her of Cranmer's merits; and of the very moderate manner in which her brother Edward had changed the religion of the kingdom. He had indeed ejected many prieſts from their ſees, but had hurt not one of them. It cloſed by conjuring the queen to treat her own ſubjects, at leaſt, with the ſame kindneſs which foreigners had experienced at his hands, and permit them to depart the realm in peace, if they choſe rather to quit their country than their religion. The preſent was fruitleſs; bigots are not to be convinced by argument.

Gardiner's inſincerity expoſed.

It was but a little before his death that Biſhop Gardiner had been more ſeverely treated. He had publiſhed a book, entitled, 'True Obedience,' in the reign of Henry VIII. armed with ſturdy arguments againſt the pope's ſupremacy, againſt the union with Catharine, which he ſtyled 'inceſtuous and unlawful,' and in praiſe of Henry, for marrying 'his godly and vertuous wife, Queen Ann.' This performance was now reprinted at Straſburgh, imported to England, and ſent abroad among the people; to the utter confuſion of the double-faced author *.

The commons, which met late in 1555, were not pleaſed with the queen's ceſſion of the church-lands, and of the firſt-fruits of benefices, of which ſhe told them ſhe could not in conſcience make uſe. They parted in ill-humor, as they knew that they muſt make up the deficiency.

A ſynod held by Pole.

At this period Cardinal Pole, having licence from the queen to hold a ſynod, explained to the clergy his plan for reformation of the church, which appears to have been moderate, and leſs tending towards perſecution than could well be expected, conſidering the age in which he lived, and the court in which he had been bred †.

NOTES.

Colonel Antichriſt, the ſon of the devel, of iniqutie, of perdition, the cauſe of all ignorance, infidelitie, ſimonie, treaſon, idolatrie, perſecution, rebellion, wicked aſſemblie, and, finally, everlaſting damnation.' This ſpecimen will probably be thought a ſufficient taſte of antient ribaldry and abuſe.

[EPITAPH, &c. ON BONNER. Printed by John Allde, 1569.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 278.

† Ibid. p. 204.

The

The year 1555 closed with the burning of three persons at Canterbury, and of the passionate disputant Archdeacon Philpot, who suffered in Smithfield. These completed the number of sixty-seven who had fallen in that year for their adherence to the Protestant doctrine, among whom four were bishops, and thirteen priests. Cent. XVI.

The next year commenced with the long-expected doom of Archbishop Cranmer. Gardiner, who, from interested reasons, had prolonged his life, was now departed; and Cardinal Pole [57] does not appear to have interfered in the matter. Cranmer tried and degraded.

The trial of Cranmer was carried on with greater dignity than rationality. A commission was sent from Rome on purpose. He was cited in form to appear in 80 days before the Papal tribunal, and on his non-appearance (he was then in prison) he was delivered over to the secular arm as a contumacious heretic.

The ceremony of degradation was performed by Bishop Thirlby, who, recollecting that Cranmer had been his only patron and friend, burst into tears, and needed an exhortation from the meek primate to enable him to perform his duty. When degraded he walked through [58] Oxford with a townsman's cap on his head, while the petulant buffoon, Bishop Bonner, frolicked behind him, crying aloud, 'He is no longer my lord! he is no longer my lord!'

The circumstances which attended the last hours of this great but not perfect man, have been told in another place. The benefits which England

NOTES.

[57] As the character of Pole was rather amiable than otherwise, we must not have so little charity as to suppose him a bitter enemy to the Archbishop, when he wrote to him, and called God to witness the truth of what he wrote, that 'could he but deliver him from the fatal doom which impended over both his body and soul, he would prefer that gratification to all the riches and honors which this world could bestow.'

[QUIRINI'S COLLECTION OF POLE'S LETTERS.

[58] Bonner's scurrilous ribaldry peeped out even in the speech which he made in public on Cranmer's degradation. 'This is he that despised the pope,' said the exulting buffoon; 'lo! he is judged by the pope! He pulled down churches, and lo! he is judged in a church!' &c. &c.; while the gentler Thirlby, shocked at the brutal mirth of his comrade, frequently admonished him of his misconduct by pulling his sleeve.

[HIST. OF REF. &c. &c.

reaped

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And burnt.

reaped through his means are in ſome degree repaid by the univerſal reſpect paid to his memory, and by the gentle manner in which the frailty of thoſe hours is ever recorded by the hiſtorians of his country [59].

The Archbiſhopric of Canterbury was immediately given to Cardinal Pole, although much againſt the will of the Pope, who had ſome particular reaſons to diſlike that moderate and decent prelate.

Religious houſes reſtored.

Several religious houſes were at this time re-founded by the queen *, but none that were expenſive. Glaſtonbury was thought of, but was probably too coſtly. A ſtep, however, was now taken eſſentially in favor of monaſtic inſtitution, and that was the total deſtruction of every record which could be found concerning the abuſes diſcovered in religious houſes by the viſitors appointed by Henry VIII.

Victims increaſe.

Perſecution ſtill proceeded with faggots and fire-brands in her train. Eighty-five perſons ſuffered at the ſtake in 1556, and all with equal calmneſs and intrepidity; avowing, even while their ſinews were ſhrinking, and their fleſh conſuming by the flames, their thorough reſignation to the will of Heaven, and their triumphant joy in the cauſe they died for.

Horrid inſtance of bigot cruelty.

To crown this painful detail with a deed almoſt too horrid for the pen, it muſt be told, that a mother and her two daughters being at the ſtake in Guernſey, a child, with which one of them was pregnant, burſt from the womb of the agonizing parent, and was with difficulty ſaved from the fire by a ſtander-by. A magiſtrate, however, being conſulted, the infant was,

NOTES.

[59] Thomas Cranmer was born at Aſhlacton in Nottinghamſhire, was bred at Jeſus College, Cambridge, and commenced D. D. in 1523. How he became a principal agent in the divorce of Queen Catharine has been mentioned, and how, conſequently, he roſe to preferment. He was learned, devout, and, in general, moderate. But in the 16th century there was no religion without ſome turn to perſecution.

Cranmer was charitable, mild, and hoſpitable; his manners converted many of his foes to friends; and he never made an enemy by his conduct in private life. He left a wife and children not ill provided for; but as he was obliged to keep them obſcurely, little has tranſpired concerning them.

The palace of Cranmer was the general aſylum of diſtreſſed literature. Bucer, Fagius, Sleidan, Peter Martyr, Alaſco, and a learned Scot named Aleſs, all found maintenance and repoſe at Lambeth.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 317. † Ibid. 314.

by

by his order, re-committed to the flames, and periſhed with its wretched mother. Cent. XVI.

Little did the heat of perſecution avail to the cauſe of Popery. Under the veil of caution the reformed increaſed in numbers, and perſiſted with intrepidity in hearing thoſe miniſters whom they had choſen. Of theſe gallant men who braved every danger that they might preſerve their flocks in purity, we find the names of Scambler and Bentham (afterwards made biſhops by Elizabeth), Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scot, who fell into the hands of Bonner, and periſhed at the ſtake. Thoſe who fled for their religion went to Frankfort, Geneva, &c. and ſeem to have employed their polemic abilities more in prizing the worth of the Engliſh Liturgy, againſt the prayers uſed in the towns where they ſought refuge, than in ſupporting the general ſyſtem againſt the common enemy. Intrepidity of the reforming teachers.

At a viſitation of Cambridge, early in 1557 *, the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael were put under an interdict for containing the buried bodies of Bucer and Fagius. Anxious to redeem their honour, the accuſed churches ſent out their dead to ſuffer judgment. The offenſive remnants were delivered over to the ſecular power; and, ſtanding mute, were condemned to the flames, together with many heretical books. Oxford and Cambridge viſited.

The ſame viſitors proceeded at Oxford againſt the body of Peter Martyr's wife; but as ſhe, when alive, could ſpeak no Engliſh, no one could teſtify that ſhe had uttered any ſentiment contrary to orthodoxy. By this accidental advantage her bones eſcaped the flames, but not the ignominy of being taken out of the church, and being buried in a dunghill; becauſe the body of St. Frideſwide lay in the ſame repoſitory [60], which was judged not becoming †.

NOTES.

[60] On the acceſſion of Elizabeth the ſtudents of Oxford took the remains of Peter Martyr's wife, which had been thus ignominiouſly removed, and placed them in the ſame tomb with the aſhes of St. Frideſwide, with the following inſcription, which Sanders the Jeſuit ſtyles, 'Epitaphium impium:'

'Hic requieſcit religio cum ſuperſtitione.'

* Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. p. 321. † Ibid. p. 322.

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Towards the middle of 1557 great complaints were made to the council of the extreme indifference ſhewn [61] by the county magiſtrates, to the orders for ſearching out and apprehending heretics. It was this charge, together with the increaſing frowardneſs of the diſappointed queen, which produced the laſt and moſt arbitrary of Mary's meaſures in favour of Popery; viz. the inſtitution by her prerogative, of a court conſiſting of twenty-one perſons, any three of whom might act with powers unlimited, to ſearch into the actions and religious opinions of her ſubjects. The Spaniſh Inquiſition had hardly greater or more odious powers than this judicature was permitted to aſſume.

Imitation of the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

There was little need to complain of remiſſneſs in the perſecution. During the courſe of 1557, ſeventy-nine perſons, of various ſexes and conditions, ſuffered death by fire for their religion. And it is poſſible that the fierceneſs of theſe flames, and the council's dread of being thought partial, occaſioned the death of Lord Stourton*. He had committed a moſt inhuman murther, and ſtaid coolly at home ſetting the laws at defiance, depending on that intereſt in the council which his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion had gained. How he found his error, is told in another place.

The parliament ſat on an early day in 1558; and Dr. Feckenham, the abbot of Weſtminſter, together with Treſham, Prior of St. John's, took their places in the upper houſe as peers. As ſoon as that aſſembly broke up, the perſecution began again with more violence than ever. A proclamation was iſſued, at a time when ſeven were led out to be burnt at once in Smithfield, 'that no man ſhould pray for the victims, ſhould ſpeak to them, or ſay "God help them!" It was alſo proclaimed, in the true ſpirit of the Inquiſition, that 'whoever ſhould poſſeſs any book of hereſy,

Inhuman proclamation.

NOTES.

[61] They were ſometimes harſh enough in the diſtant diſtricts, as in the caſe of Joan Waſte of Derby, a poor blind girl aged 22, whoſe induſtry and filial affection had ſurmounted the loſs of ſight, and had enabled her to aſſiſt her father in ſupporting himſelf by rope-making. Accuſed of denying the real preſence, this harmleſs young woman was borne to the ſtake, and died with undaunted ſerenity. [HUTTON'S DERBY, &c.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 325.

treaſon,

treaſon, or ſedition, and ſhould not inſtantly burn it without reading it or ſhewing it to any one, ſhould be accounted a rebel, and periſh by martial law *.' Beſides this it was remarked, that puniſhment more than converſion was now the point in view; for a magiſtrate was impriſoned in the Fleet for ſaving a heretic from the flames on his recanting as ſoon as he felt the force of the fire. Cent. XVI.

Bonner was now almoſt ſated with the cries of ſuffering martyrs, and is even ſaid to have releaſed a dozen or two of ſturdy heretics unconvinced, after having indulged his natural propenſity to inhumanity, by whipping them with great ſeverity.

On the whole, thirty-nine Proteſtants were burnt [62] in 1558, which, with thoſe which had ſuffered before in the ſame reign, made up the number of martyrs for their faith 284 †. Sixty-four more ſuffered perſecution, of whom ſeven were whipped, and twelve died in priſon. Summary of Proteſtant martyrs.

The reign of bigotry was well nigh ended in England. The autumn had been uncommonly ſickly, and Mary, who had been for ſome time in an ill ſtate of health, found her health as well as her ſpirits deſtroyed by the repeated ſtrokes of ill-fortune which had attended her. The miſtake concerning her pregnancy; the viſible neglect with which her huſband had treated her; the loſs of Calais; and the extreme obſtinacy of her ſubjects, whoſe attachment to the reformation was viſibly increaſed by every ſtep which ſhe took to eradicate it; all theſe evils had overpowered her naturally reſolute

NOTES.

[62] 'This perſevering cruelty,' ſays an elegant modern hiſtorian, 'appears aſtoniſhing, yet it is nothing to what has been practiſed in other countries. Father Paul computes that, in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was publiſhed againſt the reformers, there had been fifty thouſand perſons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion.' [HUME.

To this obſervation let us add a ſingular computation which may be found in a French treatiſe, entitled, 'Les Secret des Finances, par Froumenteau.' This curious calculator aſſerts that, during the firſt twenty years of the French civil wars on account of religion, there were ſlain 765,200 perſons; that 12,300 females ſuffered violation; and that 128,256 houſes were burnt or deſtroyed! Yet did theſe wars endure twenty more years after the date of Froumenteau's remark; and, as they were ſupported with equal fury, it is probable that there were as many ſufferers.

* Heylin, p. 79. † Collier, vol. ii. p. 397. Strype, vol. iii. p. 473. Speed, p. 826.

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Death of Q. Mary. And of Cardinal Pole.

mind. A dropſy added its force; and the hated and broken-hearted ſovereign expired. Within ſixteen hours ſhe was followed to the grave by her relation Cardinal Pole [63] *; to whoſe mild counſels had ſhe paid due attention, ſhe might perhaps have ſhared with her ſiſter and ſucceſſor, Elizabeth, the affectionate remembrance of a grateful nation.

Joy at the acceſſion of Elizabeth.

The unuſually great acclamations and inordinate joy of the Engliſh people, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth (which occurred on the 17th of November, 1558), formed a ſevere ſatire on the preceding government. Policy, at the commencement of her reign, perſuaded the new queen to compliment every ſovereign, even the pope, by the reſident ambaſſador. But the violent Paul gave her no opportunity of keeping meaſures; he raved at her inſolence in aſſuming the regal authority; and only gave her diſtant hopes of his favor, on her entire ſubmiſſion to his dictates †. This folly urged the queen to recal the Engliſh envoy, Sir Edmund Karne; but he,

NOTES.

[63] Cardinal Pole might have been Pope in 1550; but as the choice had been made at midnight, he declined the offer until it ſhould be confirmed by day-light, ſaying, 'This ſhould not be a work of darkneſs.' The electors retired and choſe the Cardinal del Monte. With great gentleneſs of manners and modeſty, Pole had abilities and literature; he was intimate with Sadolet, Bembo, and every man of learning in Italy; although not free from a tincture of bigotry, yet he diſapproved of the cruelties exerciſed in the reign of Mary. His mild adminiſtration at Viterbo and other places, where hereſy was ſuppoſed to abound, made him be ſuſpected of holding doctrines unfriendly to the Papal creed, and the proud, deſpotic Pope Paul IV. in conſequence declared himſelf his enemy; but the ſteady affection of Mary ſupported him in the legatine ſtation. She even dared to intercept and detain the Pope's letter of recal, until ſhe had, by a ſpirited declaration of her ſentiments at the court of Rome, obtained a confirmation of his authority. In fine, Biſhop Burnet writes of this worthy cardinal, that 'he was a learned, modeſt, humble, good-natured man;' and adds, that, had his advice been followed by the queen, the Pope, and the biſhops, he might done much towards reducing England again to the Roman Catholic faith.

[Hist. of Ref. Grainger. Philips.

Pole left his whole fortune, a few legacies to ſervants excepted, to his friend Aloyſio Priuli, a learned Venetian, who had been attached to him during many years. But the generous legatee refuſed the bequeſt, and only accepted the breviary which the cardinal had always uſed, dividing the reſt among the dependents of his departed friend.

[Philips, &c.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 343. † Ibid. p. 374.

having

having acquired an office of honor and profit at Rome, choſe to ſtay there, and enjoy his own manner of worſhip, unmoleſted. Cent. XVI.

The prudence of Elizabeth prevented her from taking too haſty meaſures in favor of a religion which ſhe not only loved, but looked on as finally to be indiſpenſably connected with her intereſt; and ſhe retained for a while all her ſiſter's counſellors, only mingling with them a few, of whom ſhe had a better opinion than of the rigid Papiſts, or the time-ſervers. She ſet at liberty, however, all thoſe who had been thrown into priſon on a religious account; but made no other declaration of her own ſentiments. Her prudence.

The conſultations which were held on the propereſt method of reeſtabliſhing Proteſtantiſm in England, were long and important [64]. We are in poſſeſſion of a paper * which ſums up the whole reſult of the conference, and points out, with due caution, the intended ſteps; but the people were too eager for a new change, to wait the ſignal of authority. Refugees, irritated by exile, flocked from the continent; and thoſe who had concealed themſelves in England, now walked abroad. The churches in many places were crowded with Proteſtants; and the ſervice of Edward VI. reared its head, threw down the images, and expelled the maſs-prieſts. Encouraged with this tacit declaration of ſentiments, ſimilar to her own, the queen ordered that the Goſpels and Epiſtles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apoſtles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, ſhould be read in Engliſh in all places of worſhip; but prohibited any other alteration until the meeting of parliament. She ſoon found how pleaſing theſe directions appeared to the generality of her people, and particularly to the inhabitants of her metropolis. Among other tokens it was remarked, that, when paſſing under a triumphal arch erected by the city of London, ſhe was preſented, by a cherub deſcending from above in the character of Truth, with an The Engliſh wiſh for a new change of religion.

NOTES.

[64] The perſons appointed to conſult on the ſteps to be taken as to religion, ſeem to have been the Lords Northampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and John Gray. That Pembroke ſhould be one ſeems ſtrange; he had been the foremoſt in raiſing Mary to the throne, and ſupporting her meaſures; and had wickedly and meanly deſerted his betrothed (and ſome ſay wedded) ſpouſe, the ſiſter of Lady Jane Grey; only becauſe her family was out of favor at court.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 376, 377.

Engliſh

Cent. XVI. Engliſh copy of the Bible; ſhe received it moſt graciouſly, kiſſed it, and placed it in her boſom.

The tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh was at this juncture oddly recommended to the queen by one Rainsford, a Proteſtant, whom ſhe had releaſed, who implored her pity for four other priſoners, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Elizabeth, not diſpleaſed at the quaint idea, ſmiled and told him, that ſhe muſt firſt enquire of theſe captives whether or no *they wiſhed* to be releaſed.

Dr. Parker raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury.

Many ſees were vacant; Camden ſays, that, when the parliament met, there were but fourteen biſhops alive. For the primacy Dr. Parker was propoſed, a learned and pious clergyman, who had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and by her had been conjured to keep her daughter Elizabeth ſteady in point of religion. He had performed his truſt faithfully, and had with great peril eſcaped the flames in the reign of Mary. It was not till the cloſe of 1559 * that he was placed in the ſee of Canterbury; nor was it then without real difficulty that he could be brought to accept that high ſtation.

Elizabeth crowned.

Early in 1559 Elizabeth was crowned † by Oglethorpe, Biſhop of Carliſle, the only one of Mary's prelates that would ſolemnize that rite for a queen who, they plainly perceived, meant to eradicate their religion from her realm. Two of thoſe prelates whom Edward VI. had conſecrated were indeed in the kingdom; but to have ſo awful a rite performed by a biſhop actually in office, it was thought, would have the beſt effect. The other prelates, having (moſt of them) changed their faith four times already, ſeem to have at length felt ſhame at the approach of a fifth apoſtacy.

The parliament, which met in January, reſtored to the crown ‡ the ſupremacy of the church, the right of appointing biſhops, the firſt-fruits, and all the advantages which it enjoyed in the reign of Edward VI. It revived the ſtatutes which ſeparated all eccleſiaſtical matters from the pope's juriſdiction; and guarded againſt too ſudden innovations, by reviving an early law of Edward VI. made againſt ſpeaking irreverently of the ſacraments, &c. &c.

* Life of Archbiſhop M. Parker, p. 38, 60, 61. † Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 494, 499.
‡ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 19.

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The biſhops of Mary's appointment hotly oppoſed the regal ſupremacy, but in vain. The good Tonſtal of Durham, who had never dipped his hands in blood, was not preſent; and great hopes were entertained, from the known gentleneſs of his character, that he would join the new intereſt; but, whether from conviction, or from a delicacy which repugned at a new change of principle, he choſe rather to reſign his ſee.

Preaching ſilenced for a while.

The Roman Catholics ſubmitted not quietly to their deſtiny; their prieſts vented their reſentments in moſt uncharitable and diſreſpectful ſermons; and, in conſequence, all performance of divine ſervice (unleſs licenſed) was ordered to ſtop, as had been enacted at each former change of national religion.

A diſputation at Weſtminſter.

Another ſtep, uſual on ſuch junctures, followed—the appointment of a conference at Weſtminſter-Abbey between the teachers of both religions. They met, and Dr. Horn, on the Proteſtant ſide, read a paper in ſupport of uſing the Engliſh tongue in divine ſervice, in anſwer to one which had been pronounced by Dr. Cole on the contrary ſide.

There ſeems to have been nothing unfair in the management of the diſputation; but the Roman Catholics, finding a vaſt applauſe to attend the cloſe of Dr. Horn's arguments, and after theirs only a gloomy ſilence, augured ill for their cauſe, and withdrew themſelves; proteſting againſt the bringing ſo ſolemn a matter as a national religion, before any tribunal unauthorized by a papal decree. The triumph, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, was loud on the part of the Proteſtant religion.

The Engliſh Liturgy reſtored.

Soon after this the parliament debated on the Engliſh Liturgy. Its admiſſion was oppoſed by the biſhops, and by Feckenham, Abbot of Weſtminſter, upon the old ground of the ſuperior age and ſtability of the maſs. They were overpowered, and the act paſſed; but a proteſt was entered, ſigned by eight ſpiritual and nine temporal peers. By two other acts all religious houſes were annexed to the crown; and a power given to the queen, to exchange appropriated tithes for biſhop's lands. On the 8th of May the houſe was diſſolved; and, on the ſame day, Whitſunday, the ſervice * began to be read in Engliſh throughout the kingdom.

The convocation had ſat, but, as it ſhewed ſtrong ſymptoms of diſaffection to the new ſyſtem, Elizabeth ſent thither a poſitive order that no

* Stowe, p. 639.

canons

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canons ſhould be formed. It obeyed; but Dr. Harpsfield, the prolocutor, a vehement partizan of the old faith, drew up four propoſitions concerning the ſacrament, and the papal right to govern all churches. Theſe were ſent to the Univerſities, and were ſigned by the ſeniors. A fifth, which condemned all conferences, unleſs ordered by the church, was not approved.

Moderate meaſures purſued.

The new queen was now as much employed in reſtraining the zeal burſting forth from the friends of Proteſtantiſm as in guarding againſt its enemies. The exiles, during the Marian perſecution, had either ſought refuge in Scotland, where the moſt groſs ſcurrility and the wildeſt outrage had kept pace with reformation; or in the Low Countries, Geneva, or Swiſſerland, where the moſt rigid Calviniſm was preached, and the uncharitable doctrines of election and reprobation were univerſally acknowledged. Theſe, when on their return to England they found a moderate but ſhewy hierarchy, retaining a proportion of the habits and the ceremonies, as well as the liturgy, of the deteſted Papiſts, could not contain their zeal, but ſuffered it to expand in effuſions [65] dangerous to government, and particularly unpleaſant to Elizabeth; who knew too well the connection between regal and eccleſiaſtical policy, not to diſcern that the ſupport of the church which ſhe had formed was neceſſary to the preſervation of the throne ſhe ſat on. Accordingly, throughout the reign of that wiſe princeſs, we find her oppoſing with warmth, and ſometimes with deſpotic exertions, every effort made by thoſe who were ſtyled Puritans, and were numerous in parliament, to trench on her prerogative 'as head of the church.'

Fate of Mary's prelates.

During the year 1559 the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the biſhops of Mary's appointment, and all, except Kitchen of Landaff, refuſed it, and loſt their ſees. Heath, Tonſtal, and Thirlby, were treated with great kindneſs; the former was exiled to his own eſtate, where the queen frequently viſited him; the other two lived at Lambeth with their hoſpitable

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[65] In an ineffectual remonſtrance from the Scottiſh to the Engliſh church, they ſay, 'What has darkneſs to do with light? If ſurplices, corner caps, and tippets, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, why ſhould the preachers of Chriſtian liberty, and the open rebuker of all ſuperſtition, partake with the dregs of the Romiſh beaſt?' [KEITH. KNOX.

friend

friend Archbiſhop Parker *. White and Watſon were ſullen, and were kept ſome time in confinement; and the deteſtable Bonner ſpent the reſt of his days in priſon. Of the other prelates, Chriſtopherſon, who was a deep ſcholar, and Baine, lived undiſturbed in England; Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, were permitted to go abroad; but Feckenham, Abbot of Weſtminſter, choſe to remain at home; and, being liberal and popular, paſſed his life in pleaſure and credit. The Lord Morley and four knights, Engleſield, Peckham, Shelley, and Gage, left the kingdom. Moſt of the monks returned to the occupations of ſecular life; and the nuns chiefly went abroad. Theſe ſeem to have been all the alterations which the change of religion operated on the fortunes of private perſons. Not a drop of blood was ſpilt, nor one eſtate confiſcated. The number of prelates in England who refuſed to comply with the reigning faith was fourteen; archdeacons, twelve; heads of colleges, fifteen; canons, fifty; and of pariſh-prieſts about eighty †. Cent. XVI. Number of recuſants.

The queen about this time ordered a general viſitation of the churches in England, and ſent injunctions ‡ to be diſtributed in every pariſh, not unlike thoſe which were ſent abroad early in the reign of Edward VI. By theſe prieſts were permitted, with ſome limitation, to marry; images were to be removed; the ſervice to be read in Engliſh; proper habits for miniſters were directed; attendance at the pariſh-church was ordered; the ſupremacy of the crown was aſſerted, but in a very moderate manner; and declared only to mean, that no foreign powers could have authority to guide the Engliſh church. Beſides theſe, the injunctions contained many leſs important regulations; they recommended a peaceable carriage, and forbad all hard names, ſuch as 'Heretic, Papiſt,' &c. &c. They ſeemed, on the whole, calculated to compoſe differences; and to ſoften that acrimony to which a change of worſhip muſt naturally give riſe in the falling party. The places in the church, vacated by the recuſants, were filled up by conſcientious Proteſtants; and reformation proceeded, with a calm and ſteady pace, to finiſh her truly important work. General viſitation.

* Camden, p. 377. † Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 548, 562, 582.
‡ Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 368.

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First establishment of the high-commission court.

The high-commission court, which gradually became an evil of the first magnitude, sprung up from that act which allotted the supremacy to the queen; as it permitted her to delegate that supremacy to persons whom she should approve. Henry VIII. had done this by appointing a vicegerent, but it was now thought better to lodge that great power in the hands of a mixture of laity and of divines. The first high-commission for the province of York was trusted to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, along with others; they were directed to make the visitation; 'to disperse the royal injunctions among the people; to examine, and, if necessary, to censure and proceed by ecclesiastical law against them.' This power allotted to laymen was thought an uncommon stretch of the prerogative. The commissioners were also empowered to allot pensions to such priests as chose to resign, rather than conform to the new doctrine. This was a humane regulation, but had no precedent; since former changes had uniformly turned the men of conscience out to starve.

Prelates consecrated.

At the close of 1559, the consecration of the really diffident and unwilling Matthew Parker to the see of Canterbury *, and of fifteen other prelates, was performed in form [66] at Lambeth chapel.

Return of foreigners to England.

During the next year, 1560, Alasco and his foreign congregation, finding the exiles on the score of religion were returning to England, determined

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[66] Bishop Burnet is extremely anxious to rescue these prelates from a scandal invented by one Neale, a chaplain of Bonner, and now totally lost in oblivion, viz. that instead of a chapel they all met in the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside, and consecrated one another in a very unceremonious style. He clearly refutes the story, and brings as a witness a very old Earl of Nottingham, who was actually present at the chapel of Lambeth when the consecration was performed. [Hist of Reformation.

Notwithstanding the clearing away of this offensive rubbish, yet two objections, thrown in the way of the bishops by their Popish antagonists, appeared to them so forcible, that they applied to parliament, and were confirmed in their sees about seven years after their consecration. These were the doubts:

1. The consecrators had been deprived of their sees in Mary's reign legally, and were not yet re-instated.

2. The consecration should have been performed according to the directions of the statute anno 25 Henry VIII. and not to King Edward's form, which had been legally repealed under Mary and not restored. [Hist. of Puritans.

* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 373.

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to requeſt a reſtoration of the privileges torn from them by the unfeeling Mary, and regained their charter [67], and a church in Auſtin Friars, which their deſcendnts ſtill enjoy. A ſet of French emigrants at the ſame time recovered a church in Threadneedle-ſtreet *. Cent. XVI.

To ſettle the religion of the nation, to tranſlate the Scriptures into Engliſh, and to regulate the eccleſiaſtical courts, were great objects; and theſe the new conſtellation of biſhops, immediately after their appointment, earneſtly endeavored to compaſs †. And firſt, while they were reviſing the articles deſigned for the Engliſh church, they prepared a ſhort profeſſion of faith, which was ordered to be given out from the pulpit by every pariſh prieſt.

Articles re-examined and ſettled.

In the articles ſome alterations were made; in that reſpecting the Lord's Supper a very long refutation of the 'real preſence' is left out, in lieu of which it is only ſaid, that 'the body of Chriſt is given and received in a ſpiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is faith.' This gentle method of denying that important tenet was probably meant to leave an opportunity for moderate Roman Catholics to join the reformed communion. At leaſt this reaſon is more charitable and probable than that which has been ſuppoſed by ſome, viz. that in their hearts theſe prelates approved of tranſubſtantiation ‡.

The tranſlation of the Bible [68] was allotted to various perſons. William Alley, Biſhop of Exeter, undertook the Pentateuch. Richard Davis, Biſhop

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[67] Elizabeth at firſt objected to admit a congregation with a foreign head. On which they depoſed John Alaſco, and choſe for their protector Grindal, Biſhop of London, which ſatisfied the queen. [NEAL.

[68] A retroſpect in this place to the various attempts to render the Bible legible in Engliſh may not be thought improper. The firſt tranſlation was that of J. Wickliffe, about the year 1360. Printing was not then known, but ſeveral MS. copies of it exiſt in publi libraries.

A verſion by Johan de Treviſa was leſs fortunate, we know of no copies remaining.

The firſt printed Engliſh Bible we owe to William Tindal, aſſiſted by Miles Coverdale afterwards Biſhop of Exeter. As theſe reformers had little money, it was printed abroad, on

* Hiſt. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 165. † Hiſt. of Ref vol. ii. p. 375. ‡ Ibid. p. 376.

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Names of translators of the Bible.

Biſhop of St. David's, and Edwin Sandys of Worceſter, went on, the firſt to the Book of Kings, the ſecond to the end of Chronicles. From thence to Job the ſignature is A. P. G. Biſhop Bentham, of Litchfield, tranſlated the Pſalms; the Proverbs are marked A. P. and Solomon's Song, A. P. E. Thence to 'Lamentations' were given to Robert Horn, Biſhop of Winton; Ezekiel and Daniel to Biſhop Bentham; Grindal, Biſhop of London, proceeded on to Malachi; the Apocrypha, as far as the Book of Wiſdom, fell

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on vile paper, with wretched types; but the zeal of Biſhop Tonſtal and of Sir Thomas More, who bought up the whole impreſſion in order to deſtroy it, ſupplied the needy undertakers with the means of printing a more correct and creditable edition in 1530. This, too, was almoſt entirely purchaſed by its enemies, and committed to the flames; a fate which overtook the tranſlator; who, after printing a third edition of the Bible without the Apocrypha, and preparing a fourth, was ſeized in Flanders, and burnt at a ſtake. The book, however, went on under the care of John Rogers, afterwards Mary's proto-martyr, who made a verſion of the Apocrypha, and, beſides comparing the tranſlation of the Scripture with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, added prefaces and notes from Luther's Bible. As Rogers took the name of Thomas Matthews when he dedicated this copy to Henry VIII. in 1537, this is commonly called '*Matthews's Bible.*' It was printed at Hamburgh; and licence was obtained for its being publiſhed in England, by the prelates Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton. Archbiſhop Cranmer reprinted this edition in London by authority, after Dr. Coverdale had reviſed it. This was called '*Cranmer's Bible,*' and had an uncommon ſeries of good and bad fortune. After having been ordered by Henry VIII. in 1540, to be ſet out and read in every pariſh church, the capricious prince, in 1542, prohibited the peruſal of it. Edward VI. reſtored it in 1550, and it afterwards ſhared the fate of the religion it was meant to elucidate.

The *Geneva Bible* was printed in 1560, by Coverdale, Goodman, Gilbie, Sampſon, Cole, Whittingham, and Knox, all refugees at that ſober town for their religion. As the minds of the editors were embittered by perſecution, and as they had been hoſpitably received in a diſtrict where no ceremonies were allowed, and where religion was ſuppoſed to demand ſeverity of countenance and ſternneſs of manners, it cannot be matter of wonder that the notes accompanying the text of this Bible ſhould favor the auſtere doctrines of Puritaniſm.

After this came '*The Great Engliſh Bible,*' or '*Biſhop's Bible,*' ſpoken of hereafter.

Concerning this publication Mr. Walpole mentions a ſtrange circumſtance. 'The large G at the head of the firſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, repreſents a naked Leda, with a ſwan, as ſhocking in point of indecency as can be imagined; and ſtill more ſo in point of impropriety, as it makes part of ſo awful a word.' Mr. W. ſuppoſes that the letter was intended for one of Ovid's books, and was miſplaced by an ignorant printer. It was fortunate for the epiſcopalians that this circumſtance was not diſcovered by the puritan adverſaries to this particular verſion of the Bible.

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to the ſhare of Barlow, Biſhop of Chicheſter; and the reſt of it to Parkhurſt, Biſhop of Norwich, The Goſpels, Acts, and Epiſtles to the Romans, became Engliſh by the care of Richard Cox, Biſhop of Ely; the Epiſtles to the Corinthians are marked G. G. The names of the tranſlators go no farther. Cent. XVI.

The rules by which the tranſlators governed themſelves during this truly important enterprize, appear to have been the ſame as thoſe to which a later body of divines, employed in the reign of James I. on the ſame work, were ſubjected. Each biſhop took what aſſociates he pleaſed in the diſtrict of Scripture allotted to his care. Every ſection, when tranſlated, was communicated to the whole body, and compared with other tranſlations before it was adopted. And every care was employed to mark all the parts with the names of thoſe who had undertaken them. The work, great as it was, ſeems to have been completed within two years, ſince the firſt edition of that Bible came out in 1561. Their regulations.

The eccleſiaſtical canons formed a taſk not ſo eaſily or ſo ſoon accompliſhed. They were not publiſhed until 1571; nor then were they looked upon by thoſe who ſtudy the rights of hierarchy as complete; as there were no penitentiary canons, nor rules for the government of the church by churchmen. Canons formed.

The years 1559 and 1560 brought home to England great numbers of Proteſtants who had fled to various foreign parts during the Marian perſecution. Among theſe deſtitute fugitives there ſubſiſted the moſt acrimonious diſputes. Thoſe who had reſided at Frankfort had, after the ſevere conteſt in 1555 (ſee before, p. 259), maintained the regular epiſcopal worſhip as ſet forth in the Liturgy of Edward VI.; while others, retreating to Geneva, where they converſed with Calvin, and were inſtructed by John Knox, grew every year more intractable in points which, though ſeemingly indifferent, were in their eyes important to ſalvation. The epiſcopal veſtments; the dreſs, and particularly the ſurplice of the inferior clergy; together with the tippet and the corner cap *, were objects of deteſtation in the eyes of theſe hyper-reformers; and the violent ſpirits among them not only dogmatically refuſed all communion with thoſe prieſts who Exiles return.

* Strype, vol. i. p. 416.

conformed

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conformed to the rules ſet out by authority, but ſometimes proceeded with a blameable zeal to revile them as falſe brethren, and even to ſpit [69] in their faces *.

In Elizabeth, whoſe ſentiments [70] with reſpect to the rival religions, Proteſtantiſm and Popery, were always problematical †, and who appears to have wiſhed to bring the public worſhip as near as poſſible to that of the Roman Catholic church, ſuch dogmas excited a ſteady averſion; which was much heightened when ſhe found that the reliſh which the Puritans, for ſo we muſt now name them, entertained for political liberty, was as ſtrong as was their diſlike to any eccleſiaſtical reſtraints. Thus her inclination and her intereſt united to make her guard [71] againſt them.

Puritans hated by Elizabeth.

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[69] Religious books, with ſingular title pages, entered with the Puritans; and the term 'ballet or ballad,' was indiſcriminately applied to ſacred and prophane poems. There was 'A Ballet of Alexander and Campaſpe,' and 'A Ballet of Four Commandments,' extracted from the ten. 'A Ballet of the 17th Chapter of the 2d Booke of Kynges,' and a ballet or interlude of the Cruel Debtor. They publiſhed likewiſe, 'The Waylinges of the Prophet Hieremiah, done into Engliſhe verſe, wyth Epigrammes.' Thus the argument begins:

'Hieruſalem is juſtly plagued,
And left diſconſolate;
The queene of townes, the prince of realmes,
Deveſted of her ſtate.'

[70] Elizabeth loved the pomp of the Romiſh ſervice; ſhe retained in her church ordinances ſome of thoſe veſtments which her brother Edward had diſmiſſed; ſhe expunged from the Litany, 'From the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us!' There appeared in her chapel, an altar, a crucifix, and lighted tapers; copes and rich garments were ſtill uſed by her prieſts and ſingers, and the Knights of the Garter adored her altar; a ceremony diſuſed by her brother Edward. She has been known to call out from her cloſet to her chaplain, in the midſt of a ſermon, to deſiſt from condemning the ſign of the croſs; ſhe openly thanked one of her divines for preaching on behalf of the real preſence; ſhe hated that the clergy ſhould marry; and, but for Cecil, would have forbad them; ſhe was an enemy to ſermons; 'Two preachers,' ſhe ſaid, 'were enough for a county.' [Heylyn.

On the other hand, ſhe is ſaid to have ſeverely reprimanded a clergyman for placing before her at church a ritual ornamented with paintings of ſaints, and other illuminations.

[71] Elizabeth probably dreaded the puritan intereſt the more, ſince, for reaſons only to be drawn from the crooked policy of courts, her moſt entruſted miniſters, Cecil, Dudley, Walſingham, and particularly her favorite, Eſſex, had ſucceſſively entered into cloſe connections with that rigid party.

* Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 460. † Heylyn, p. 124.

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For this purpoſe ſhe cauſed a ſtatute, enjoining uniformity of worſhip, to be enacted, and ſtrictly put in execution; and it was the dread of this party's great power which made her ſupport the high-commiſſion court; and even indulge it, in a diſtant year (1583), with powers not far beneath thoſe which her ſiſter Mary had borrowed on a ſimilar occaſion from the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

By the ſtatute of uniformity above-mentioned, and paſſed April 8, 1559, power was given to the queen, with the advice of her metropolitan, &c. 'to ordain and publiſh ſuch farther ceremonies and rites, as may be for the advancement of God's glory,' &c. &c. And ſo determined was Elizabeth to poſſeſs this power, that ſhe told* Archbiſhop Parker that ſhe would not have paſſed the act without it had been granted to her.

Pope Pius attempts a reconciliation.

It was early in 1560 that Pope Pius IV. who had ſucceeded to the abſurdly-haughty Paul, made more than one attempt to lead Elizabeth towards a reconciliation. But the criſis was paſt; ſhe was ſettled in a rational ſyſtem of policy, which admitted no foreign interference either in religion or ſtate; his nuncios were not even permitted to reach the ſhores of England.

Nor was ſhe more diſpoſed to liſten to the ſolicitations preſſed on her by the Roman Catholic powers of Europe in favor of their Engliſh brethren. It was an age of bigotry and perſecution; and although capital puniſhment on a religious account had been very rarely inflicted by the Proteſtant governments, yet the penalties on reading maſs were enacted to be, for the firſt offence, loſs of goods, baniſhment for the ſecond, for the third, death. Surely too ſevere an ordinance againſt a perſon who probably might act from conſcience, and have in his opinions neither mutiny nor treaſon †. Yet not an atom of this law would the acrid ſpirit of the times permit to be modified.

Popiſh prieſts ſeverely treated.

A Declaration of Faith, to be made by all divines on taking poſſeſſion of their benefices, and on certain holidays every year, was publiſhed about this time. It gave diſguſt to the ſtricter part of the returned exiles; and, as the chief part of the erudition which the Proteſtant clergy could boaſt ſubſiſted among thoſe exiles, learning was at ſo low an ebb in England, that,

A Declaration of faith.

The Puritans diſguſted.

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* Hiſt. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 140.

† Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 468.

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had not a few of them, ſuch as Grindal, Parkhurſt, Sandys, Pilkington *, and others, laid their ſcruples for a while to ſleep, there would have been great difficulty in filling the vacant ſees, and livings, with decent incumbents.

Clergy ill-choſen.

In conſequence of this ſcarcity of preachers, Archbiſhop Parker, when in 1561 he viſited his dioceſe, found a great deficiency both of loyalty and literature, among his parochial clergymen; moſt of them being either ignorant mechanics or deſigning maſs-prieſts. The declaration in favor of the ſupremacy, and the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, preſented for ſubſcription to each clergyman, in ſome part remedied the firſt of theſe evils †; and, to prevent the increaſe of the laſt, the archbiſhop directed that no more mechanics or tradeſmen ſhould be ordained. He then proceeded at leiſure to appoint the chapters of the bible, the pſalms, &c. to be read in churches each day during the year.

Objections to the Apocrypha.

Unfortunately, in this very appointment the Puritans found a ſtumbling-block, as the Apocrypha, which they held [72] not admiſſible as ſcripture, was included ‡. And this, with the graver objections againſt the habits, &c. forced the biſhops to admit pluraliſts, non-reſidents, civil lawyers §, &c. to populous benefices; while men of real piety and ſound learning [73], ready and even eager to do their duty, ſtood by ſtarving and idle, from the great misfortune of being fettered by petulant, though unfeigned [74], ſcruples on their own ſide, and unkind bars on that of the epiſcopalians. In

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[72] The Apocrypha (from Αποκρυπτω, to hide, becauſe its original is obſcure) ſeems not to have met with admiſſion in any reformed church except that of England. The Council of Trent, however, allowed ſix of its books to be canonical. And its merits, both in point of hiſtorical intelligence and keen leſſons of morality, are ſurely not inconſiderable.

[73] The Univerſities could afford but little help to the church. At Oxford there were but Humphreys, Kingſmill, and Sampſon, who were counted good preachers, and they were all Puritans. [Hist. of Puritans.

[74] Trifling as ſuch ſcruples may in this open-minded age appear, we cannot help lamenting that they ſhould have reduced to poverty the venerable Miles Coverdale, once Biſhop of Exeter, and the next tranſlator of the Bible after Wickliffe, and the indefatigable and entertaining martyrologiſt, John Fox. Neither of theſe would accept of ſee or benefice

* Hiſt. of Pur. p. 142.
† Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 77.
‡ Ibid. p. 84.
§ Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 175.

In 1562 the convocation assembled, and, after a close examination, reduced the Articles of Faith from 42 to 39. No very essential alteration was made in the general doctrine by this decree. Cent. XVI.

At the same assembly a very warm attack was made on the surplice, the tippet, and the cornered cap. It failed however; but the kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and the use of organs, were saved only by the casting vote; so powerful was the Puritan interest even in the strongest hold of episcopacy *. Convocation not unanimous concerning ceremonies.

The plague, which ravaged the metropolis and country of England during 1563, seems to have turned away the attention of the people from polemic matters to the more immediate duty of self-preservation.

In 1564 [75] it appears, by a report found among the MSS. † of the secretary Cecil, that nothing could exceed the variety of methods in which divine service was performed in places distant from the capital. 'Some minister in a surplice,' says this observer, 'some without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, and some in a round hat; some in scholar's cloaths, and some in others.'

This criminal indifference could not expect toleration. Accordingly, in 1565, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, singled out two of the most celebrated non-conformists in Oxford, Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ-Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, president of Magdalen college. These had been exiles, and were men of sense and learning. They wished to retain their posts, and offered, what they thought, reasonable submissions. Still however they would not wear the vestments: 'For,' said they with cautious subtlety, 'should we put on the cornered Non-conformity at Oxford repressed.

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benefice while incumbered by that '*tunica molesta*,' the surplice. The good old Coverdale died almost in want; but Fox obtained a prebend at Sarum, and, by the good-nature of the bishop, was permitted to enjoy it without any duty which might demand the investment of that fatal cincture. [HIST. OF PUR.

[75] Pestilence, death, and poverty, all afflicted London in 1564; the last being caused by a temporary stoppage of the Flemish trade. The then unaccounted for Aurora Borealis frighted the populace; the Thames, too, having been frozen, a sudden thaw produced floods, which occasioned immense damages. [HOLINGSHED.

* Strype's Annals, p. 337. † Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 152.

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cap, a thing apparently of ſmall importance, who knows how ſoon we might be ordered to ſhave our crowns* ?' Impreſſed by this train of reaſoning, they ſpurned the inſidious cap, loſt their benefices, and retired to obſcurity; from which Dr. Humphreys emerged ten years after, and ſubmitted to wear the corner-cap in a much inferior ſtation than that which he had quitted.

And at London.

Soon after this, the London clergymen were convoked at Lambeth, and Mr. Thomas Cole, a prieſt, dreſſed in the four-cornered-cap, the tippet, and the ſcholar's gown, being ſet before them, they were aſked, Whether they would agree to dreſs like him? 'Great,' ſays Mr. Neal, 'was the anguiſh and diſtreſs of thoſe miniſters;' they exclaimed, with unutterable horror, 'we ſhall be killed in our ſouls for this pollution of our's†!' This conflict between conſcience and intereſt laſted ſome hours; at length ſixty-one out of an hundred agreed to wear the deteſted dreſs, and the reſt were ſuſpended from their functions, but had three months allowed to form their final reſolution.

Puritan preachers silenced.

The ice was now broken, and great ſeverity followed. One ſtroke ſilenced every Puritan preacher. The licences for performing divine ſervice were at once withdrawn from every clergyman, and were reſtored to none, unleſs to ſuch as agreed to ſign a declaration of conformity.

It were needleſs to mention the diſtreſs to which this ſweeping edict drove the Puritan divines. Thoſe whoſe conſciences prompted them to ſuffer every extreme, rather than wear the cornered-cap, betook themſelves to various ways of living. Some became phyſicians, ſome lawyers, and ſome private chaplains. Many went to Scotland, and others returned each to his aſylum beyond the Channel.

Cambridge, which abounded, as well as her ſiſter Oxford, with nonconformiſts, exerciſed a right derived from Pope Alexander VI. of licenſing twelve preachers, independent of epiſcopal examination, and oddly enough conſtituted the father of Cæſar Borgia, a patron of Puritan divines‡. The primate debated this right, but in vain. The Univerſity attempted, however, without ſucceſs, to throw off the cornered cap. The heads of many

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 166. † Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 211.

‡ Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 193.

colleges

colleges wrote to Cecil, their chancellor, and expreſſed the univerſal deteſtation of that enormity. But he was impenetrable, and the heads * ſubmitted. Cent. XVI.

The year 1566 produced a complete ſeparation between the church of England and the Puritan ſociety. Many pamphlets had been pnbliſhed by the non-conformiſts in defence of their opinion; and, as mildneſs of manners, and delicacy of ſtyle, were not always attended to in the 16th century, their home ſtrokes, couched in provoking and perhaps ſcurrilous language, drew upon them a ſevere injunction from the ſtar-chamber; prohibiting, on pain of three month's impriſonment, the publiſhing of any treatiſe 'againſt the queen's injunctions †.' Separation of the Puritans from the church of England.

Forbidden thus to move the tongue or the pen in defence of their opinions, the aggrieved non-conformiſts met and determined to have divine ſervice of their own, ſince they could not conſcientiouſly join in that of the epiſcopalians. Some of them, it appears, affected with the dignity of the Engliſh Liturgy, propoſed to preſerve as much of it as poſſible, amputating only the diſeaſed parts; but that propoſal was over-ruled, and the book of ſervice uſed at Geneva was appointed to be the model ‡.

In 1567 this plan was brought into practice; and, as a beginning, Plumber's Hall § was hired by the Puritans, on pretence of celebrating a wedding, but really that they might enjoy a whole day's prayers and ſermons. They met, to the number of 100, but were ſurrounded and led to priſon by the ſheriffs of London. Eight of the chief among them were examined before the Biſhop of London. Their anſwers to his queſtions were more ſtout than reſpectful, and, as there were no ſigns of conciliation, twenty-four of them were ſent to priſon, and continued there a conſiderable time. Letters were, however, ſent ‖ to theſe ſuffering brethren to encourage them to perſeverance, the energy of whoſe meaning amply compenſated for their deficiency in ſenſe and delicacy [76]. Their meeting interrupted.

The

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[76] In one of theſe we read the following expreſſion, 'Let us not diſſemble, as ſome do, to ſave their pigs, but be valiant for the truth.' Another ends thus: 'Yours to command

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 194. † Ibid. p. 222. ‡ Hiſt. of. Pur. vol. i. p. 230.
§ Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 315. ‖ Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 246, 247.

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The biſhops' Bible publiſhed.

The Biſhops' Bible *, which was publiſhed in 1568, was intended to counteract that of Geneva, which was now in general uſe; but tended to Puritaniſm both in church and ſtate ſo viſibly by its notes, that it was believed to be dangerous.

The ornaments to the new edition were coſtly and curious. There was a map of the Land of Canaan, and another of the journeys made by Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles. There were ſome engravings, ſome genealogies, and delineations of the arms belonging to Cranmer, and Parker [77].

Inſolence of the Roman Catholics.

The illneſs of Elizabeth in 1568, who was with juſtice ſtyled the bulwark of the Proteſtant religion, gave active ſpirits to the Roman Catholics, who began now to recollect a prophecy which intimated, that the length of their adverſary's reign would be only twelve years. Encouraged by this, and by a bull of excommunication hurled by the indignant Pius (in which the queen is ſtyled 'an uſurper and a vaſſal of iniquity,' is depoſed, and all nations are encouraged to invade her dominions), they ſhewed uncommon ſigns of diſaffection. In Lancaſhire churches were ſhut up by force, and the Popiſh ritual publicly uſed. For theſe outrages ſeveral gentlemen were examined by commiſſioners, and many bound to their good behavior †. In Oxford, two colleges, Corpus Chriſti and New College, were

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mand in the Lord, William White; who joineth with you in every ſpeck of truth, but utterly deteſteth whole Antrichriſt, head, body, and tail.' Another letter, written by one Lever, declares the writer's determination, let what will happen, 'neither to wear the ſquare cap nor ſurplice, becauſe they tended neither to decency nor edification.' [Hist. of Pur.

[77] Decorations of this kind could not allure the Puritan reader from the ſevere ſarcaſms, both on church and ſtate, with which the political Scripture of Geneva abounded. The note on Exodus, chap. xv. verſe 19, which allows of diſobedience to regal authority; that on 2d Chron. chap. 19, verſe 16, which cenſures Aſa for ſtopping ſhort in his work, when he contented himſelf with depoſing his mother, and not putting her to death; and that on Rev. chap. ix. verſe 3, wherein the locuſts which come out of the ſmoke are interpreted to be 'falſe teachers, worldly ſubtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbiſhops, biſhops, doctors, batchelors, maſters,' &c. &c. beſides numbers more, equally directed againſt all eſtabliſhments, civil and eccleſiaſtical, were not to be found in the Biſhops' Bible; and a map or two, or an engraving, were but indifferent ſubſtitutes for annotations like theſe.

* Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 250.

† Strype's Annals, p. 541.

ſo

so full of Roman Catholics, that their visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, was forced, in 1569, to break down the gates *, in order to enter that he might purge these ill-affected societies. Cent. XVI.

Nothing of great importance seems to have illustrated the ecclesiastical annals of England until the year 1571, except, indeed, the bold lectures of a Mr. Thomas Cartwright of Cambridge, a man of learning and eloquence; who, besides the usual scruples of the Puritans, added his private objections. 'The care of burying the dead did not,' he said, 'belong to the ministerial office, more than to the rest of the church. In giving names to children,' he thought, that 'paganism should be avoided, as well as the names and offices of Christ.' These and other propositions, more petulant, perhaps, than dangerous or intelligible, caused their publisher to be silenced, and expelled the university. A shorter but not so candid a method of appreciating the merit of his doctrines, as that of a public conference; in which Cartwright offered to engage with any man of polemic learning †. Objections of Thomas Cartwright.

In 1571, Mr. Strickland, an ancient parliament-man ‡, moved the house, that 'the Common-prayer Book might be altered, and many superstitions removed.' The courtiers said, that this motion trenched on the prerogative; and the queen sent for him and discharged him from attending in parliament. But finding that this prohibition had given great offence, the cautious Elizabeth withdrew it; and Strickland proceeded with his motion, but without success [78]. Success of Strickland's endeavor to reform the liturgy.

The session did not, however, finish without an address to the queen for a reformation of the church; which had no more effect on Elizabeth than that of a reverend Puritan, Mr. Gilbert Alcock, who, at the same juncture, petitioned the convocation on behalf of the silenced ministers.

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[78] On this occasion a committee attended on Archbishop Parker. 'Will you not leave these things to your bishops?' said he. 'No!' answered Peter Wentworth, a sturdy non-conformist, 'by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand it; for *that* were to make you Popes. No! make you Popes who list, we will make you none.' [HIST. OF PUR.

* Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 133. † Clarke's Life of Cartwright, p. 18.

‡ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 156, 157.

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The parliament had not neglected, during its ſitting, to guard againſt the admiſſion of any bull from Rome; it had even declared thoſe who might introduce an Agnes Dei, a Crucifix, or any relique conſecrated by the Pope, guilty of a premunire.

The town of Northampton abounding with Puritans, two numerous ſocieties of a religious kind were formed there and in the neighborhood. In theſe at firſt there was nothing remarkable, except that the lectures pronounced at one of them were called 'propheſyings,' from a ſcripture-text oddly applied. It was not long before they were looked upon as nurſeries for Puritan preachers.

Propheſyings.

Before the cloſe of 1571, the good and learned John Jeroel, Biſhop of Saliſbury, ended his life; he was born in 1521, had been an exile during the reign of Mary. He was compared to Bellarmine as to excellence in polemic writing; and his 'Apology' for the church of England is greatly eſteemed, and was tranſlated into Greek by an Engliſh lady, and publiſhed at Conſtantinople. He had a vaſt memory, and could, after once reading it over, repeat by heart any one of his own long ſermons *.

Mr. David Whitehead died nearly at the ſame time; an eminent, and, as Mr. Neale ſtyles him, 'a moſt heavenly profeſſor of divinity †.' Elizabeth honored him for living a batchelor [79], and preſſed him to accept the ſee of Canterbury. He approved not the ſquare cap, but lived by preaching in private families.

Wiſh of the commons for a reform checked by the queen.

In 1572, two bills, which were levelled at rites and ceremonies, and meant to bring the Puritans ſpontaneouſly back to church, by complying with their chief requeſts, gave great offence to the ruling powers. They were ſent up to the queen by the commons, with a petition in the uſual

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[79] 'I like thee the *better*,' ſaid the capricious queen one day to the ſturdy Puritan' 'Whitehead, that thou liveſt unmarried.' 'In troth, Madam,' 'replied he, bluntly, 'and I like you the *worſe* for the ſame cauſe.' Whitehead had a great memory, which aſſiſted him much in diſputation. [BACON'S APOPHTHEGMS.

In 1572 died alſo, at Mechlin, to which place his religion had cauſed him to retire, Dr. John Clement, an eminent phyſician, and a man of great learning. After having been tutor to Sir Thomas More's children, he became Greek profeſſor at Oxford. His wife, Margaret, who had been bred up by Sir T. More, was as learned as himſelf. [AIKIN.

* Grainger, vol. i. p. 209. † Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 278.

humble

humble ſtrain, 'that ſhe would not be offended,' &c. &c. But ſhe ſent to tell them, 'that ſhe diſliked both,' and never returned them. The ſtout Puritan, Wentworth, roſe and ſpoke againſt a proceeding ſo deſpotic, and he was ſent to the Tower *. Cent. XVI.

Indifferent as the ſucceſs of this attempt had been, the non-conformiſts, finding no hopes from the favor of the queen, or her biſhops, determined again to apply to the commons. Accordingly two of their moſt eminent teachers, Field and Wilcox, preſented an 'Admonition' to the lower houſe concerning the needful reformation of the church, and the condemnation [80] of ceremonies. Thomas Cartwright, juſt returned from exile, ſeconded the remonſtrance. The parliament neglected them, and the court impriſoned them. Indeed a repetition of this adventure compriſes moſt of Queen Elizabeth's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. The ſame perpetual oppoſition on the Puritan's ſide againſt the cap, the ſurplice, and the organ; the ſame pertinacity in retaining each on that of the conformiſts. But the Puritans engaged to a great diſadvantage, as the ſecular arm was always ready to ſecond the ſtroke of the epiſcopalian [81].

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[80] Every petition preſented by Puritans offered its mite towards the abolition of church muſic. The laſt-mentioned production is accompanied by a confeſſion, which avers, 'that they do not object to the plain ſinging of pſalms, but that they abhor the toſſing the pſalms from one ſide to the other, with the interminglement of organs.' [HIST. OF PUR.

[81] On theſe occaſions the judges ſometimes permitted their vivacity to outrun that grave caution which, in the eighteenth century, is thought neceſſary in a character ſo high and ſo important. The lord chief juſtice, and other judges, examined Mr. White, a citizen of London, as follows:

L. C. J. Who is this?

Priſoner. White, an't pleaſe your honor.

L. C. J. Ay! White, as black as the devil!

Priſoner. Not ſo, my lord. One of God's children.

We find the ſame eminent perſon proceeding thus:

L. C. J. Thou art a rebel.

Priſoner. Not ſo, my lord—a true ſubject.

L. C. J. Yea! I ſwear by God thou art a very rebel.

The lord chief juſtice being modeſtly reprimanded by the priſoner for this groſs exceſs of language, defended himſelf by ſaying, 'that he might ſwear in a matter of charity.'

[HIST. OF PUR.

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 394.

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Harſh picture of the times.

This undetermined contention muſt have hurt the intereſt of religion in general, if the picture which follows bears any likeneſs to the original it means to copy: 'The churchmen heaped up many benefices on themſelves, and reſided at none, neglecting their cures. Among the laity there was little devotion; the Lord's day greatly prophaned, and little obſerved; the common prayers not frequented; ſome lived without any ſervice of God at all; many were mere heathens and atheiſts. The queen's own court a harbor for epicures and atheiſts, and a kind of lawleſs place, becauſe it ſtood in no pariſh *.'

Frenzy of a fanatic.

In 1573, the outrageous inſanity of Peter Birchet, a mad fanatic, who had been accounted a Puritan, ſtirred up additional troubles for the ſect. Fancying himſelf armed in the cauſe of heaven, he ruſhed through the ſtreets, and, meeting Sir William Winter, and Captain Hawkins, two celebrated naval officers, on horſeback, their ſervants following at ſome diſtance on foot, he wounded the latter dangerouſly in the arm and ſide, taking him to be, as he owned, Chriſtopher Hatton, captain of the guards, 'whom,' he ſaid, 'he was moved by the Spirit of God to ſlay, as being an enemy of God's word, and a lover of Papiſtry.' Irritated at the danger of her navigator (though Hawkins did recover), the queen would have had Birchet ſtraightway put to death by martial law; but her counſellors telling her that ſuch proceeding would be illegal, he was tried as an heretic. He then promiſed to recant, and would probably have eſcaped puniſhment, had he not, ſtill aiming to kill Hatton, in a new fit of madneſs, knocked his keeper on the head with a billet; for which he was tried and hanged. Innocent as were the non-conformiſts of this inſane enterprize, they are believed to have ſuffered by it in the queen's opinion, and to have owed ſeveral ſeverities, which they had to ſuffer, to this ill-grounded perſuaſion.

Propheſyings ſuppreſſed.

In 1574, the propheſyings, as they were ſtrangely called, having much increaſed in the dioceſe of York, &c. Archbiſhop Parker determined to ſuppreſs them, as he looked on them as exerciſes of Puritaniſm, notwithſtanding that they were apparently pointed againſt the Roman Catholic doctrines. Parkhurſt, Biſhop of Norwich, a reverend exile, ſupported them, and the council wrote in their favor †; but the archbiſhop, having

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, p. 395.

† Ibid. p. 460, 461.

per-

perſuaded the queen that they tended to promote diſaffection to her government, ſhe ordered every means to be uſed towards their ſuppreſſion. The good old biſhop, frowned on by the court, and reprimanded by the primate, protected them no more, nor indeed remained much longer alive. He died much lamented in his dioceſe, as charitable*, hoſpitable, and moderate; and was ſoon followed to the grave by his reprover, Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had been bred at Chriſt Church college, Cambridge, and having been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, he had good preferments in the church; all which he was obliged to relinquiſh in the reign of Mary becauſe he had taken a wife. Elizabeth, at the beginning of her reign, beſtowed the primacy upon him, although ſhe liked not his marriage, as ſhe contrived once, humorouſly, to tell his conſort. The queen had been hoſpitably entertained at his houſe, ſhe had thanked him; 'and now,' ſaid ſhe, turning to the lady, 'what ſhall I ſay to *you*? *Madam* I *may* not call you, and *Miſtreſs* I am aſhamed to call you, ſo I know not what to call you; but yet I do thank you.' Dr. Parker left munificent donations to many colleges and churches, and expended great ſums on the repairs of his palaces at Canterbury and Lambeth, where he lived with great hoſpitality, and protected the deprived prelates, Tonſtal and Thirlby, in his family, during their reſpective lives. He wrote 'Antiquitates Britannicæ,' a work which proved his knowledge of eccleſiaſtical remains; and was the founder of the Antiquarian Society in London†. He is believed to have been a good Oriental ſcholar; and, having a turn to poetry, amuſed himſelf, during his retirement, while Mary reigned, with tranſlating the pſalms into metre. In his poetic preface he thus ſings the power of holy muſic:

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Archbiſhop Parker dies.

His poetry.

'The pſalmiſt ſtayde with tuned ſonge
The rage of myndes aghaſt;
As David did, with harpe amonge,
To Saul in fury caſt.
With golden ſtringes, ſuch harmonie
His harpe ſo ſweete did wreſte,
That he relieved his phreneſie,
Whom wicked ſprites poſſeſt.'

* Life of Abp. M. Parker, paſſim. Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. 9, p. 108.

† Grainger, vol. i. p. 204.

Cent. XVI. What follows is a ſpecimen of the tranſlation of the 18th Pſalm, but cannot be, without great diſadvantage, compared with the celebrated verſion of Sternhold of the ſame paſſage:

'The heav'n full lowe he made to bowe,
And downe did he enſue *;
And darkneſs greate was underſette
His feete in clowdy hue.

He rode on hye, and did ſo flye
Upon the Cherubines;
He came in ſight, and made his flight
Upon the wynge of wyndes.

The Lord from heaven ſent down his leaven,
And thundered thence in ire;
He thunder caſt, in wondrous blaſt,
With hayle and coales of fyre.' [82]

The hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry ſays, 'Here is ſome degree of ſpirit, and a choice of phraſeology; but, on the whole, Parker will be found to want facility, and in general to have been unpractiſed, in writing Engliſh verſes. His abilities were deſtined to other ſtudies, and adapted to employments of a more archiepiſcopal nature.'

NOTES.

[82] Contraſt theſe pompous lines with the modeſt muſe of the Counteſs of Pembroke, ſiſter to Sir Philip Sidney.

Pſalm LI. Stanza 1.

'O Lorde! whoſe grace no lymitts comprehend,
Sweet Lorde! whoſe mercies ſtand from meaſure free,
To me that grace, to me that mercy ſend,
And wype, O Lorde! my ſinnes, from ſinful me.
O cleanſe! O waſh! my foul iniquitie.
Cleanſe ſtill my ſpotts, ſtill waſh away my ſtayninges,
Till ſtaynes and ſpotts in me leave no remayninges.'

* Follow.

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The Puritans were loud in their complaints * of the archbiſhop's ſevere conduct towards their party [83]. 'He had known,' ſaid they, 'what perſecution was; but he only recalled to mind his own ſufferings, that he might copy them at the coſt of his once brethren in adverſity.' Cent. XVI.

About the ſame time died, much advanced in years, Richard Taverner †, a gentleman of Norfolk, and an active reformer. As Proteſtant divines were ſcarce in the days of Elizabeth, ſhe had indulged him with a licence (though a layman) to preach, and he was looked on as a maſter of pulpit-eloquence. The reader may judge of his merits by an extract from a ſermon which, when ſheriff of Oxfordſhire, he delivered from the ſtone pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, with his ſword by his ſide, and his golden chain round his neck: 'Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the ſtony-ſtage where I now ſtand, I have brought you ſome fine biſkets, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conſerved for the chickens of the church, the ſparrows of the ſpirit, and the ſweet ſwallows of ſalvation,' &c.

Another celebrated preacher, Edward Dering of Kent, ended his life in 1574. He had ſpirit enough to tell Elizabeth, when he preached before her, that in Mary's time ſhe might have taken for her motto '*Tanquam Ovis*,' 'Meek as a lamb;' but that *now* it ought to be '*Tanquam indomita juvenca*,' 'Wild as a heifer.' The moderate queen excuſed this ſally, and only bade him preach no more before her ‡.

Early in 1576, Archbiſhop Grindal was tranſlated from York to Canterbury, Dr. Sandys to York, and Dr. Aylmer to London. The new primate was old, and remarkably moderate in his principles; nor would he ſtir a ſtep farther in perſecuting the Puritans than he was obliged to do, by orders which he dared not to diſobey. The propheſyings he openly favored, only endeavoring to regulate them by his advice in ſuch a way, that government might not take offence at their continuing to exiſt. Dr. Grindal becomes primate.

NOTES.

[83] 'He was a "Parker," indeed,' ſays the quaint Fuller, 'careful to keep the fences, and ſhut the gates of diſcipline, againſt all ſuch night-ſtealers as would invade the ſame.'

[CHURCH HISTORY.

* Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 340. † Ath. Oxonienſes, apud articulum Taverner.

‡ Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. b. 9, p. 109.

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The next year it was reported to Elizabeth, that the propheſyings continued to be held in almoſt every dioceſe. New orders were therefore iſſued * to each biſhop, to uſe every poſſible method to ſtop the practice. They obeyed, although ſome of them unwillingly, particularly in the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry; the new archbiſhop, Dr. Grindal, ſteered a different courſe; he not only gave no orders againſt them, but actually wrote to the queen to tell her how much ſervice to the cauſe of pulpit-oratory theſe propheſyings, or preaching exerciſes, had been †. 'Before this inſtitution,' ſaid the honeſt but impolitic primate, 'I knew of but three good preachers in my dioceſe. Now, I can bring thirty that may be heard with applauſe at Paul's croſs; and forty or fifty more who are able to read lectures to their own pariſhes.' This was uncourtly doctrine, and the good archbiſhop was confined to his houſe and menaced with degradation. The queen did not think it right, however, to proceed ſo far; but Dr. Grindal long remained in a gentle impriſonment.

Power of the Puritans.

In the mean while the Puritan intereſt throve amain, notwithſtanding the checks it received; and ſo few [84], as is affirmed, were there among thoſe who conformed who took any attention to their duty, and ſo great was the number of the diſſentient clergy, that it was found impoſſible to prevent the laſt-mentioned from re-entering thoſe churches as curates, from which, as rectors and vicars, they had been ejected. They accepted of trifling ſtipends, certain of being aſſiſted by the benevolence of their hearers; with whom, on account of their zeal and ſufferings, the nonconformiſts were generally popular. Theſe curates continued to meet in ſpite of the court's endeavor to prevent them, and to practice preachings or

NOTES.

[84] Hard as this is to believe, yet the people believed it; witneſs the ſupplications to parliament from London and from Cornwall. The Londoners quaintly ſay, 'that they are peſtered with candleſticks, not of gold but clay; that ſcarcely the tenth man waits on his charge; that the Sabbath is wholly neglected,' &c. &c. The Corniſh men, more outrageous, ſay, that 'they are above 90,000 ſouls who have none to teach them but fornicators, adulterers; ſome felons, bearing the marks of their offence in their hand; ſome drunkards, Sunday gameſters,' &c. The mouths of Papiſts, infidels, and filthy livers, are open againſt them.' They beg the houſe to diſpoſſeſs theſe 'dumb dogs and ravenous wolves,' [Hist. of Pur.

* Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 190, &c. † Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 358.

exerciſes

exercises in the manner of the exploded propheſyings. Steps of honor in the church they contrived ſtill to attain to; for by going to Antwerp, and ſubmitting a ſhort time to the Dutch eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, they were admitted to receive degrees as in the church of England *. Cent. XVI.

It was about this time that a ſet of German fanatics, ſtyling themſelves the Family of Love, and taking their ideas of religion from one Henry Nicholas, began to appear. Their principles verged towards Quietiſm; and, before it was long, they fell under the notice of the civil magiſtrate. But they were preceded, in the path of ſuffering, by a ſet of Dutch Anabaptiſts, who had been apprehended near Alderſgate, to the number of twenty-ſeven; they were tried before the conſiſtory of St. Paul's (which ſeemed to caſt an envious eye at the orthodox ſplendor of Mary's reign), and eleven of them, ten women and one man, condemned to the flames, by the writ 'De Hæretico comburendo;' which, after having been ſome years hung up, was put in force to the deſtruction of theſe poor wretches. Two of them ſuffered at the ſtake, the other nine were whipt and baniſhed. They were ſuppoſed to inherit the noxious principles of John Muncer and his wretched crew [85]. Family of Love.

Seminaries were begun at this juncture to be ſettled in continental towns, with a view to ſupply miſſionaries to Proteſtant countries. That at Douay ſoon ſent over hundreds to England alone †. The Roman Catholic princes ſpared no coſt in forming ſocieties, the political advantages of which they foreſaw. Popiſh ſeminaries.

If Puritaniſm had begun in 1580 to ſprinkle the Engliſh commons with its zeal, it had then imparted none of its ſteadineſs; for, on their voting that 'they would meet at the Temple-church for preaching and to join in prayer for her Majeſty,' &c. &c. Elizabeth, ſuſpecting that at the bottom of this loyal ardor ſome grains of non-conformity were concealed, ſent a ſevere meſſage by Hatton, 'wondering at their raſhneſs.' And the ſervile Abjectneſs of parliament.

NOTES.

[85] Beſides theſe unhappy victims, Matthew Hamont, a deiſtical fanatic, was convened before the Biſhop, &c. of Norwich, and afterwards ſentenced by the recorder, &c. to have his ears cut off, and, ſeven days afterwards, to be burnt. This was executed. [HOLINGSHED.

* Strype's Annals, p. 513.

† Fuller, b. 9, p. 92.

ſenate

Cent. XVI. senate instantly 'owned its offence and contempt; and humbly craved forgiveness' *.

Sarcastical pamphlets began now to be written by the oppressed party, and Elizabeth finding it easier to punish the writers than to answer them, countenanced an act, whereby, 'to devise, write, or print, any book, rhyme, ballad, letter, &c. &c. against the government, was made felony.' Another severe law was passed, nominally against the Papists, but included the unlucky, obnoxious Puritan.

The Brownists. In 1581 the Brownists, a most violent set of reformers, were first heard of. They lasted not long. The ministers of Elizabeth gave them no rest until they †, with their teacher, Robert Brown (a man of good descent in Rutland), had quitted the kingdom, and migrated to Middleburg in Zealand, where the society soon fell to pieces ‡, and was scarcely heard of again [86].

Image breakers. In the same year a party of over scrupulous image-haters defaced the statues within their reach at the cross in Cheapside; nor were the perpetrators discovered, although a large reward was offered.

Nothing happened during the next year, except additional burthens on the Puritans, and a steady resistance in that elastic race. They had still many favorers in the church and at court, but their own immoveable firmness, or, as their enemies called it, obstinacy and perverseness, was their best friend. Their preachers wanted not support. They were tutors in many noble houses, and formed the bulk of the chaplains in the army and navy.

Death and character of Archbishop Grindal. Edmond Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1583. He was a man of deep learning. His principles were so well known, that he had been forced to fly to foreign countries during the reign of Mary. Elizabeth gave him in 1560 the see of London, and Canterbury in 1575. He joined John Fox in composing the Martyrology, and had a considerable share in forming the Liturgy. A Dialogue between Custom and Truth, in John Fox's great work, was written by Dr. Grindal. He had been sequestered from his

NOTES.

[86] The founder, a man of an impatient spirit, returned to England, lived a riotous life, and died in a prison, to which he had been sent for abusing and beating a constable, at the age of 81. [Fuller's Ch. History.

* Heylyn, p. 287. † Strype's Annals, p. 21. ‡ Fuller's Ch. History, b. x. p. 168.

functions

functions, and confined to his own houſe ſome time before his deceaſe, for declining to proſecute thoſe who went about 'propheſyings' (as they ſtyled their vocation), according to the orders of Elizabeth. Sir John Harrington gives a very different reaſon for this prelate's diſgrace. The Earl of Leiceſter, he ſays, protected an Italian phyſician, the huſband of two wives at once, and for that reaſon ſeverely proſecuted by the archbiſhop; who, having diſregarded the lords intreaties, was applied to, even by a letter from the queen, to ſtop the proceſs. The ſtout prelate, inſtead of yielding, told her Majeſty, that her letter was ſo heterodox, that he muſt, in conſcience, demand a written account of her own faith. Overawed by the archbiſhop's ſanctity, Elizabeth meant to comply, but was diſſuaded by her favorite; and Dr. Grindal was bade to keep his houſe. His friends reported that he was blind; but he lived ſome time after this impriſonment, and had promiſed to reſign his ſee to the queen, when death prevented him. Cent. XVI.

The ſame year proved alſo fatal to Bernard Gilpin, archdeacon of Durham, born in 1517. He had been a zealous diſputant on the Roman Catholic ſide, but was converted to Proteſtantiſm by Peter Martyr. He was ſent for in the reign of Mary out of the North, to ſuffer for his religion. Luckily, however, he broke his leg on the journey, and the death of the queen ſaved him. He refuſed the biſhopric of Carliſle; and was at his own rectory (Houghton Le Spring, in Durham) ſo hoſpitable, that it was a common ſaying, that 'a horſe turned out any where in the North, would find his way thither.' Gilpin was learned, charitable, and pious. Of Bernard Gilpin.

Dr. John Whitgift was now placed in the ſee of Canterbury, and began his archiepiſcopal * courſe by promulgating a ſet of ſevere articles †; aimed, with great dexterity, at thoſe inſtances of non-conformity which hitherto had been left untouched; particularly the preaching and praying in private families to the neighbors aſſembled together. He was ſo ſtrict in demanding compliance with theſe regulations, and a ſubſcription to a thorough approbation of the Common Prayer, &c. that, during his firſt viſitation, he ſuſpended 233 clergymen for refuſing their aſſent. As future viſitations by this orthodox prelate occaſioned a ſtill greater number of prieſts to loſe their benefices, the diſtreſs of the ejected vented itſelf, in ſupplications to the council, from not only the miniſters, but from the gentlemen of the counties Dr. Whitgift made primate.

* Life of Bernard Gilpin, paſſim. † Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 118.

which

Cent. XVI. which had loſt them. All was, however, in vain; and the archbiſhop, unmoved by the complaints and diſtreſs of the preachers and their families, petitioned the queen for new powers, that he might utterly eradicate the ſchiſm [87].

High-commiſſion court. The powers granted by this high commiſſion, the ſixth that had ever been iſſued, and dated January 7, 1583-4, were ſuperior to any which had before been granted. There were forty-four commiſſioners named, twelve of whom were biſhops, and the reſt privy-counſellors, lawyers, and officers of ſtate. It appeared on the face of this commiſſion that authority was given to enquire into all manner of heretical opinions, 'ſeditious talks,' &c. &c. 'by any means or ways,' certainly including rack and torture. The whole affair brought the Spaniſh inquiſition much too cloſely to the mind; and had a very bad effect on the quiet of ſome perſons, and on the loyalty of others.

Severity of Archbiſhop Whitgift. In order to render the proceedings of this court more effectual, twenty-four articles were invented by the archbiſhop, and each clergyman was to be examined on each of theſe. And ſo well were they calculated to perform the work, that it was hardly poſſible for any one to guard againſt each interrogatory which the commiſſioners were hereby appointed to employ *. This very harſh conduct occaſioned a letter from the treaſurer Burleigh to the archbiſhop, in which he ſays, 'he will not call his proceedings captious, but thinks they are hardly charitable †.' Not long after this, Mr. Beale, clerk of the queen's council, having warmly blamed the archbiſhop for his inveteracy, the primate, in his turn, accuſed him, before the queen and council, among other things, 'of having condemned the racking of offenders as illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the ſubject; and of warning thoſe that uſed torture, although directed by the queen's hand, to look to it that their doings were well warranted ‡.' Theſe charges, which load with diſgrace the flinty heart which conceived them, were thrown with contempt from the council-board.

NOTES.

[87] Heretics ſtill mourned the want of toleration. A taylor and a ſhoemaker were hanged at Bury for diſapproving of the received Liturgy; and John Lewis, a kind of Socinian, was burnt at Norwich in 1583.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 163. † Ibid. p. 160. ‡ Ibid. p. 212.

A fruit-

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A fruitleſs conference.

A fruitleſs conference was held in 1584 before three of Elizabeth's miniſters of ſtate; between the primate and the Biſhop of Winton on one hand, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers on that of the Puritans. It broke up, as uſual, with no viſible advantage on either ſide, nor any conviction *.

After ſuffering, what they thought, very harſh treatment, eſpecially as coming from the hands of old friends [88], the Puritans determined to ſeek

NOTES.

[88] Dr. Aylmer, Biſhop of London, was one of theſe. He had been an exile during the Marian perſecution, and had written with bitterneſs againſt the 'lordly dignities, and civil authority,' of the biſhop. Yet, when he had attained to a ſee, no man carried thoſe dignities to a higher pitch. As an eccleſiaſtical judge we have the following record of his unſeemly warmth while examining a Puritan preacher named Merbury, whoſe coolneſs muſt have been provoking, but ought not to have thrown a prelate off his guard.

Biſhop. 'The Biſhop of Peterborough was overſeen when he admitted thee as a preacher at Northampton.'

Merbury. 'Like enough ſo, I pray God theſe ſcales may fall from his eyes!'

Biſhop. 'Thou art a very aſs! thou art mad! Thou couragious? Nay, thou art impudent. By my troth I think he is mad; he careth for nobody.'

Merbury. 'Sir, I take exception at *ſwearing judges*; I praiſe God I am not mad, but ſorry to ſee you out of temper.'

Biſhop. 'Did you ever hear one more impudent?'

Merbury. 'It is not, I truſt, impudence to anſwer for myſelf.'

Biſhop. 'Thou takeſt upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very aſs, an ideot, and a fool! An overthwart, proud, Puritan knave,' &c. &c. &c.

Merbury. 'I humbly beſeech you, Sir, have patience, and give this people a better example,' &c. &c. &c. [HIST. OF PUR.

The candid reader will find much to blame in the conduct of each party, and will give great allowance to the reſentment of the hierarchy, when aſſailed by ſuch odious ribaldry as the following, which is extracted from a petition to parliament, in 1586, for a reform of the church. Among other things, it prays, 'That all cathedral churches may be put down where the ſervice of God is grievouſly abuſed by piping of organs, ſinging, ringing, and trowling of pſalms, from one ſide of the choir to another; with the ſqueaking of chaunting choriſters, diſguiſed, as all the reſt, in filthy ſurplices; ſome in corner-caps and filthy copes, imitating the faſhion and manner of Antichriſt the Pope, that man of ſin, and child of perdition, with his other rabble of miſcreants and ſhavelings. Theſe unprofitable drones, or rather caterpillars of the world, conſume yearly, ſome 2500l. ſome 3000l. ſome more, ſome leſs, whereby no profit cometh to the church of God. They (the cathedrals) are the dens of idle loitering lubbards, the harbours of time-ſerving hypocrites,' &c.

[A REQUEST FROM ALL TRUE CHRISTIANS TO THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 170.

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The Puritans petition the commons.

redreſs from the parliament which met in November, 1584, and which was no way diſinclined to their cauſe. Three petitions in their favor were introduced by Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Edward Dymock, and Mr. Gates; and, by the advice of the commons, ſixteen articles were drawn up by way of petition, and preſented to the houſe of lords, that they might join in an humble ſuit to the queen in favor of the deprived miniſters. This was accompanied by a ſupplication of thouſands among the poor, who ſet forth, that they had none 'to break the bread of life for them.'

The biſhops [89] anſwered this petition, and propoſed ſome ſmall modifications *, but ſo little to the ſatisfaction of the commons, that they inſtantly prepared a ſharp bill againſt pluralities, and ſent it up to the houſe of lords, where, by the courtly and epiſcopal ſtrength of intereſt, it was loſt [90].

Bills in favor of the Puritans loſt.

Irritated at this, the commons, with unuſual vigor, prepared a number of bills, which, had they been carried, would have brought the church of England perfectly to the Puritan level. But Archbiſhop Whitgift, terrified at the ſwift paſſage through the houſe of one of thoſe bills, which enjoined the approbation of the pariſhioners to the appointment of their prieſt, haſtened † to the queen, and prevailed on her to ſend a meſſage to the commons, reproaching them for encroaching on her ſupremacy by touching on eccleſiaſtical affairs. The ſenators, as uſual, ſhrunk from their ſovereign's reſentment, and the blooming expectations of the Puritans were blighted.

NOTES.

[89] One of the moſt rational and moſt ſtrongly-urged demands of the Puritans was, that the performance of marriage rites ſhould be allowed in any ſeaſon of the year. 'The denial of this,' ſaid a grave non-conformiſt divine, 'reminds us of the character which the Apoſtle gives of an apoſtate from the faith, "Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats".' The anſwer was a weak one: 'This requeſt tendeth to the ſlander of the church, as having hitherto maintained an error.' [Hist. of Pur.

[90] At the ſame time, or near it, a bill was preſented by the Puritan members 'for the more ſtrict obſervance of the ſabbath.' Juſt at the ſame time the lords, apparently from a ſpirit of oppoſition, propoſed to enact that Wedneſday ſhould be appointed a conſtant faſt-day, and that no fleſh, under heavy penalties, ſhould then be eaten. [D'Ewes's Journal.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 209.

† Ibid. p. 198.

In

In 1585 the active primate contrived to perſuade the Star-chamber court * to lay a farther reſtraint on printing, by confining the exerciſe of that art to London and the two Univerſities; and permitted none to ſet up a preſs unleſs a licence was firſt obtained. But the elaſtic non-conformiſts, againſt whom this prohibition was levelled, rendered it of no avail, by printing their works abroad and importing them to England, where they were eagerly read by every rank of life. Cent. XVI. Reſtraint on printing.

The parliament ſoon after brought in a bill for the better obſervation of Sunday; but the quick diſcernment of Elizabeth traced the hand of the Puritan in it, and ſtopped it, as 'trenching on her ſupremacy of the church †.'

A farther exertion of Archbiſhop Whitgift brought ſchoolmaſters under the ſame regulations as preachers, and obliged them to ſubſcribe a declaration of conformity ‡. And on ſchools.

The next year produced an earneſt ſupplication to parliament for a reformation; and a very particular account of the lives and characters of the preſent incumbents. Although this ſchedule abounded not in charity, as may be judged by the ſpecimen below [91], yet it gained credit, and a bill was haſtening through the lower houſe on the plan propoſed. But Elizabeth again interpoſed; and ſome of the warmeſt ſpeakers being ſent to the Tower, the propoſed reformation was heard of no more during the ſeſſion.

The remainder of 1586 paſſed in great ſeverities towards the Puritans, and produced a determination made by thoſe ſpirited ſchiſmatics, that, as the church of England refuſed to relieve their ſcruples, they would remove ſtill farther from her pale. Accordingly a new book of diſcipline for the Seceſſion of the Puritans.

NOTES.

[91] In the deanery of Pendore, Cornwall, we find,

Vicarage, Lanleweric, Mr. Batten, no preacher. He liveth as a pot-companion.

Ditto, Trewardreth, Mr. Kendal, no preacher. A ſimple man.

Ditto, Eſey, John Bernard, no preacher. A common dicer, burnt in the hand for felony, full of all iniquity.

Ditto, Breage, Fitz Jeffery, a preacher, but non-reſident, covetous; his curate, Robert Douay, an ignorant man, &c. &c. &c.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 223. † Strype's Annals, p. 295.

‡ Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 246.

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ſeceding members was ſettled, and ſigned by above 500 clergymen, once beneficed in the Engliſh church, and many of them celebrated preachers *.

Death of John Fox.

In 1587 died the voluminous and laborious hiſtorian John Fox, born at Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, in 1517, and bred at Brazen-noſe college, Oxon. His Martyrology, or Acts and Monuments of the Church, form, though not a perfect, yet a ſtupendous, work. In writing the ſtory of Lady Jane Gray, Fox declares that he ſhed tears. He had fled to Baſil, during Queen Mary's perſecution, where he wrote his Martyrology, and turned it into Latin. He was a moderate but firm non-conformiſt, and endured great hardſhips for his opinions; although the queen had paid the higheſt honors to his book, by ordering it to be placed in all public halls, colleges, &c. where it was almoſt treated with a veneration only due to the Scripture. Towards the cloſe of his life he had an indifferent proviſion in the church of Sarum, and was permitted to officiate without that bone of contention the ſurplice †. It has been ſaid of Fox, as was of Biſhop Burnet, that many perſons ſupplied him with pretended facts in order to ruin the credit of his work. But he ſtands in no need of ſuch an apology.

During 1587 and 88, the dangers impending over the ſtate, from the Spaniſh Armada, ſeeming more imminent than thoſe to the church from Puritanic zeal, the non-conformiſts enjoyed ſome relaxation of epiſcopal ſeverity, and diſtinguiſhed their loyalty by entering the navy and army as chaplains.

Controverſy ariſes on the ordination of Biſhops.

A controverſy concerning the divine right of epiſcopacy, which occaſioned much argument in a later age, had indeed taken its riſe from a raſh ſermon preached at St. Paul's croſs by Dr. Bancroft, the primate's chaplain ‡. This was anſwered by Dr. Rainolds, a celebrated Puritan, who utterly denied to the biſhops any ſuperiority in point of ordination to the clergy in general.

Inſolence of the Papiſts.

At this important juncture the exiled Roman Catholics were not backward in trying to inflame the minds of their brethren in England by ſeditious writings. 'The Admonition,' nominally written by Cardinal Allen, but ſuppoſed by Father Parſons, was one of the moſt dangerous of this claſs, and was very ſedulouſly diſperſed throughout the iſland. It begins

* Hiſt. of Pur. vol. i. p. 483. † Ibid. p. 493.

‡ Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 292.

by

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by a groſs abuſe of the queen; it proceeds to threaten the nobility with judgments from heaven, and devaſtation by the Spaniards, unleſs they join the forces of Philip; it boaſts of the vaſt ſtrength of theſe forces; that they contain more good *captains* than Elizabeth had *ſoldiers*. It aſſerts, that the ſaints in heaven all prayed for victory to the Spaniards, that the Holy Angels guarded them, and that Chriſt Jeſus was with them every day. This performance, which, had the Armada ſucceeded, would have been treated as a prophecy, was, on its defeat, brought up and burnt ſo carefully, that there are very few copies exiſting out of the thouſands which were diſperſed among the Papiſts of England.

Parliament humbled.

Towards the end of 1588, the diſguſting ſcene was repeated in the commons which had more than once before diſgraced that abject aſſembly. The ſame application of the Puritans, the ſame bills hurried through the houſe in their favor, and the ſame tame dereliction of each bill, as ſoon as the queen, rouſed by the convocation (who ſaluted her with 'O Dea certe!' and prayed her protection), had impriſoned ſome of the moſt forward members, and terrified the reſt into a blind ſubmiſſion *.

Two celebrated and learned reformers, Sampſon and Humphreys, died at this period. They had each been exiles during the reign of Mary; and Sampſon had been preſſed by Elizabeth to accept the biſhoprick of Norwich. The unhappy ſcruples concerning the cap and ſurplice deprived the Engliſh church of theſe and many other men of real worth and abilities.

Death of Dr. Edwyn Sandys.

In 1588 alſo died Edwyn Sandys, Archbiſhop of York. He had been an exile under Mary; and a tranſlator of the Bible, and regulator of religious matters, under her ſucceſſor. An unlucky piece of ſatyrical wit coſt him dear. Sir Robert Stapleton, his intimate friend, ſhewed him a ſumptuous houſe which he was finiſhing at an enormous coſt. 'This,' ſaid he, 'I mean to call Stapleton's Stay.' 'Alas!' ſaid the biſhop, 'he would be your friend who would ſay to you "Stay Stapleton".' Sir Robert heard this ſarcaſm on his imprudent undertaking with a concealed acrimony; and, not long after, contrived to introduce the hoſteſs of an inn to Biſhop Sandys' bed-chamber, and on that incident to bring a charge of adultery againſt the venerable reformer. Improbable as this accuſation appears to have

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 280.

been,

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been, the prelate could not ſhake it off without the help of the Star-chamber, by which court the malicious knight was ordered to pay a heavy fine, and make a public recantation [92] of his ſcandal *.

Bitter ſatires printed.

In 1589 a paper-war was carried on, with outrageous virulence, between the church and the conventicle. The Puritans, ſhut out by law from every public preſs, nevertheleſs contrived to obtain a private one of their own. From this now iſſued forth a torrent of acrimonious pamphlets, which were anſwered with nearly equal ſcurrility by the Epiſcopalians [93].

NOTES.

[92] According to the quaint conceit of the times, Sir Robert White, making this '*amende honorable*,' expoſed to view a whetſtone hanging out of his pocket. A myſterious and hieroglyphic way of giving himſelf the lie for what he was then ſaying.

[HARRINGTON'S NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

[93] A few inſtances may amuſe the reader. The favorite book on the Puritan ſide was written under the name of 'Martin Marre-prelate;' and the writer thus addreſſes the hierarchy: 'Right puiſſant and terrible prieſts!' 'Right poiſoned, perſecuting, and terrible prieſts! My horned maſters, your government is anti-chriſtian; your cauſe is deſperate; your grounds are ridiculous.' 'Enemies of the goſpel! and moſt covetous, wretched, and Popiſh, prieſts!' Beſides this book, the ſame preſs produced many others equally abuſive. Nor did the writers on the ſide of the church yield to their adverſaries in buffoonery and abuſe. In the variety of titles of their books they exceeded them; they had, 'Pappe with a hatchet,' alias, 'A fig for my Godſon,' or 'Crack me this nut,' that is, 'A found box on the ear for the ideot Martin to hold his peace.' Alſo, 'An almond for a parrot,' or 'An alms for Martin Marre-prelate.' By 'Cuthbert Curry-knave.' And 'A whip for an ape,' or 'Martin diſplayed.' The following epigram too they publiſhed:

'Martin the ape, the drunke and the madde,
The three Martins are, whoſe workes we have had.
If Martin the fourthe come after Martins ſo evill,
Nor man nor beaſt comes—but Martin the devill.'

One exceeding voluminous title ſhall cloſe the extracts relating to this ludicrous controverſy: 'A counter-cuffe given to Martin junior by the venturous, hardie, and renowned, paſquil of England, Cavaliero. Not of old Martin's making, which newly knighted the ſaintes in heaven with "Uppe! Sir Peter, and Sir Paule!" but latelie dubbed for his ſervice at home, for the defence of his country, and for the cleane breaking of his ſtaffe on Martin's face. Prynted between the ſkie and the grounde, wythin a myle of an oke, and not many fields off from the unprivileged preſſe of the aſs-ſignees of Martin junior.'

[AMES ON PRINTING.

* Harrington's Brief View, p. 203, &c.

Great

Great pains were taken to discover this insolent press, and at length it was found out and silenced; and two knights who protected it, by name Knightly and Wigston, with the printer and the dispersér, were severely fined in the Star-chamber; but, by the intercession of the archbishop, had their fines remitted *. Cent. XVI.

The primate grew every year more strict in his enquiry after concealed Puritans, whom, to the disgrace of that discernment which charity would make us allot to one in so eminent a station, he classed with beings whom he ought to have known to be imaginary. He examined the churchwardens, on oath, whether they knew, among their neighbors or parishioners, any 'common-swearers †, drunkards, usurers, *witches*, *conjurers*, any that went to conventicles or meetings for saying prayers in private houses,' &c. &c. Credulity censured.

The *cruel*, though not the *absurd*, tendency of this enquiry, struck Sir Francis Knollys so forcibly that he sent them to the treasurer, calling them 'Articles of Inquisition highly prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative.' Yet the archbishop altered them not.

In 1590, John Udal, an eminent Puritan preacher, was tried and condemned to die, on evidence which was hardly equal to hear-say ‡, that he was the author of a very bitter 'Demonstration of Discipline,' dedicated 'to the *supposed* Governors of the Church of England.' After lying in prison two years, at the intercession of James King of Scots, and others, he was allowed a pardon on condition of repairing to Asia as chaplain to the Turkey company; but the ships, by some error, sailing without him, he broke his heart and died in confinement. Distresses of Udal.

In the same year died Dr. Thomas Godwyn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, more remarkable for the persecution in which the caprice of Elizabeth, and the avarice of her favorites, involved him, than for any other circumstance [94].

In

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[94] Old, decrepit, and gouty, Dr. Godwyn wedded the elderly widow of a citizen, apparently for her great wealth. Instantly the queen was told that the bride was beautiful and young; that the bishop had promised to alienate, for her sake, half the revenues of the diocese;

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 194. † Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 309, 313.

‡ Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 223.

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And of Cartwright.

In 1594, Mr. Cartwright, who was ſtyled 'Father of the Puritans,' ſuffered a long confinement, with ſeveral of his friends, by order of the court of the Star-chamber. For him too James of Scots interceded, and was permitted to retire unmoleſted to an hoſpital at Warwick, over which he preſided. Many Puritans were at this time in priſon, and their numbers increaſed every day *, ſince, tired of confinement, one or other would frequently, to gain his own liberty, diſcloſe the place where the non-conformiſts met, and the names of thoſe who attended at theſe illegal aſſemblies; and ſuch were inſtantly purſued by the active vengeance of the high-commiſſion court [95].

Blaſphemies of Hacket.

Three execrable blaſphemers drew upon themſelves the attention of government about this time. William Hacket [96], their chief, ſuffered that fate which his deteſtable profaneneſs ſeems to have merited. Coppinger died in priſon. Arthington, the third, was pardoned on recanting his horrid impieties. He even wrote a book to expoſe his late folly and prophaneneſs.

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dioceſe; and that, determined to marry, he had been carried to the altar in an eaſy chair. In vain did a good-humored earl addreſs the queen with, 'Madam, I know not how much the lady is under twenty, but I know a ſon of her's who is more than forty years old.' The queen choſe not to be convinced, and the courtiers ſaid that it made the matter worſe, as it took away the only excuſe that could be urged for the folly. In fine, Elizabeth ſo harraſſed the poor prelate with ſlights and frowns, that he gave her minion one of the beſt epiſcopal manors, and broke his heart for having joined in the ſacrilege.

[Breve View, &c.

[95] It was not only the Puritans who felt the laſh of perſecution; Edmund Jennings, a prieſt from Rheims, was executed for celebrating maſs againſt the ſtatute. His death was attended by two miracles as his legend avers. After his heart was taken out, he ſaid, '*Sancte Gregori, ora pro me!*' on which the hangman ſaid, 'God's wounds! ſee! his heart is in my hand, and Gregory is in his mouth!' The other wonder was, that his thumb came off in the hand of a woman who wiſhed for a relic of ſuch a martyr. [Grainger.

[96] This wretched (and, let us hope, inſane) being was born at Oundle in Northamptonſhire. His ſchoolmaſter having corrected him, he ſprung at him, bit off his noſe, and ſwallowed it, leſt it ſhould be replaced. He profeſſed being invulnerable; and, truſting to the law's ſafeguard, preſſed people to make the experiment by running a ſword through his body. However, Dr. Childerly of St. Dunſtan's tried the ſtrength of his arms, and nearly broke the wriſts of Hacket ('although,' ſays Fuller, 'he was a foul, ſtrong lubber,') in the ſtruggle. [Fuller's Worthies.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 371.

Hacket

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Hacket had ſtyled himſelf 'King Jeſus,' had declared Elizabeth bereft of her throne, and had ſtabbed her picture with a dagger. As theſe three had been non-conformiſts, great endeavours were uſed by thoſe who hated the Puritans to involve that whole ſect in their infamy *; and many tracts were written in their defence againſt ſo odious a charge.

Abject conduct of the commons.

In 1592 a bill had nearly paſſed the lower houſe, introduced by Mr. Morrice to prevent the biſhops from uſing the oath '*ex officio*,' by which a man may be obliged to accuſe himſelf; and to prevent their illegally impriſoning the queen's ſubjects. But Elizabeth inſtantly ſtopped the progreſs of the bill, and ſent Morrice to Tutbury-caſtle; his confinement was long and well-deſerved; for none but a madman would have attempted a project which had been ſeen four times to miſcarry, and which only ſerved to expoſe the inconſiſtent parliament to the contempt and ridicule of deſpotiſm. Nor had the year ended before the ſame ſenate, which had meant ſo well to civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty, was brought by the court to paſs the ſevereſt bill that exiſts againſt the Puritan intereſt; one which makes it felony, without benefit of clergy, even to raiſe any doubts of the queen's power over the affairs of the church †.

Two Brownists executed.

Towards the cloſe of 1592 the reſentment of the archbiſhop was directed againſt the Browniſts, who had riſen again under a Mr. Barrow; theſe were again become numerous, and Sir Walter Raleigh acquainted the houſe that he would anſwer for there being 20,000 of them in Norfolk, in Eſſex, and near London. It was eaſy to diſcover their haunts ‡. Fifty were ſeized at once, and committed to priſon by order of the high-commiſſion court, where, from the cloſeneſs of the room, ſixteen of them died. Two of their leaders, Barrow and Greenwood, were executed on a gallows, after having been tried and condemned on the ſtatute Eliz. 23, 'for writing and publiſhing ſundry ſeditious books,' &c. &c. Two other divines were reprieved at the place of execution §.

That theſe perſons ſuffered for their obſtinacy cannot be denied, ſince it is certain that they were offered mercy if they would only *promiſe to come to church* ‖. Yet, as nothing was alleged againſt them but their diſlike of the cap and ſurplice, of the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and of a few

* Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 386.
† Acts, 35 Elizabeth, cap. 1.
‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ult. p. 174, 175.
§ Hiſt. of Pur. p. 558.
‖ Broughton's Works, p. 731.

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ceremonies, and their having written in defence of theſe principles, and not againſt the queen, but the biſhops, they ſeem to have met with hard meaſure. There is indeed reaſon to believe that Elizabeth felt great concern when ſhe heard in what ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty the two ſufferers employed their lateſt breath; and that ſhe directed that no Browniſts for the future ſhould ſuffer a heavier penalty than exile.

Fate of John Penry.

In 1593, John Penry, or Ap Henry, a Welſh divine of good abilities, but of a violent temper and unconquerable obſtinacy, met with ſevere treatment. He was ſeized, as he was on the road to the palace, with a petition in his pocket, which he meant to deliver into the hands of the queen. As he had concealed himſelf, during ſome years, knowing that he was ſuſpected to be the author of 'Martin Mar-prelate;' he could not therefore be tried by the ſtatute 'againſt ſeditious words or writings *,' ſince the given time for bringing in the accuſation was elapſed; he was therefore brought to judgement, and executed for papers found in his pocket, 'which, though they acknowledged her majeſty's royal power to eſtabliſh laws, eccleſiaſtical and civil, had avoided the uſual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining, laws, which imply a moſt abſolute authority.'

It was about this time, that a much more ſucceſsful and reſpectable defender of the Engliſh hierarchy than Archbiſhop Whitgift, aroſe; a defender whoſe bulwark will remain unſhaken, and attract veneration, when the priſons, the racks, and the gibbets, of the high-commiſſion court, are only recollected with horror.

Account of Richard Hooker.

Richard Hooker (ſtyled by Elizabeth 'the judicious Hooker') was born near Exeter, and bred at Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford †. Archbiſhop Whitgift made him Maſter of the Temple; but, finding too much buſtle and diſtraction in that ſtation, as ſome ſay, he retired firſt to Wiltſhire ‡ and then to Kent, that he might give his whole time to the great work he had undertaken.

His 'Eccleſiaſtical Policy' is a cool rational defence of the Engliſh church. The principles he lays down are theſe: 1. That the Scripture, though a ſtandard for doctrine, is not a rule for diſcipline. 2. That the practice of

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 412. † Fuller's Worthies, Devonſhire, p. 264.
‡ Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 421.

the

the Apoſtles, as they acted according to circumſtances, is not an invariable rule for the church. 3. Many things are left indifferent, and may be done without ſin, although not expreſſly directed by ſcripture. 4. The church, like other ſocieties, may make laws for her own government, provided they interfere not with the Scripture. 5. Human authority may interpoſe where the Scripture is ſilent. 6. Hence it follows, that the church may appoint ceremonies within the limits of the Scriptures. 7. All born within the diſtrict of an eſtabliſhed church ought to ſubmit to it. The church is their mother, and has a maternal power over them. 8. The laws of the church not being moral are mutable, and may be changed according to the will of its directors. Cent. XVI.

His perſon and manner.

'Mr. Hooker's voice was low,' ſays Dr. Fuller, 'ſtature little, geſture none at all; ſtanding ſtone-ſtill in the pulpit, as if the poſture of his body were the emblem of his minde, immoveable in his opinions *.'

He had had a ſharp conteſt [97], while he preſided at the Temple, with a Puritan of great learning and pulpit elocution, Mr. Travers, concerning the church of Rome; which Hooker held to be a true church, although not pure nor perfect. Archbiſhop Whitgift ſtopped the debate in the outſet, by ſilencing the helpleſs non-conformiſt †. This ſtep, though harſh, was, however, not unneceſſary; for when Hooker preached in the morning orthodox doctrine, the ſubtle Puritan, having liſtened to his diſcourſe, regularly took the ſame text in the afternoon, and attacked ſeparately each argument which the epiſcopalian had advanced; and as the audience was compoſed of the ſame perſons, this conteſt had a very bad effect on their principles of religion.

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[97] A much ſeverer and more laſting contention was kept up between the good divine and a bitter ſhrew whom he had unfortunately choſen for a wife. His pupil, Edwin Sandys, came ſuddenly one day to his retreat in the country, and found him keeping ſheep. His conſort had ſent away the boy who uſed to aſſiſt him, and ſoon after directed Hooker himſelf to haſten in doors and tend the rocking of the cradle. It was this unpleaſant and humiliating ſcene which, when repreſented to the primate, procured for the meek prieſt the maſterſhip of the Temple. [BERKENHOUT.

* Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. ix. p. 216. † Ibid. p. 217.

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Dr. Aylmer dies.

In 1594 died Dr. John Elmer [98], or Aylmer, Biſhop of London. He had been preceptor to Lady Jane Gray, had fled to Switzerland from Mary's tyranny, and under Elizabeth had met due preferment. He aſſiſted in tranſlating Fox's Martyrs into Latin, and anſwered the petulant performances of John Knox. When his audience were languid, he rouſed their attention by reciting Hebrew verſes from a Pocket-bible. He had great perſonal courage; and once had a tooth drawn, to encourage Elizabeth to do the like. His diſpoſition was warm, and as he was exceedingly ſevere to the Puritans, among whom he had once been counted, he was aſſaulted virulently by their ſarcaſtical writers; and was the hero [99] of the celebrated Martin Mar-prelate *.

And Cardinal Allen.

The ſame year freed Elizabeth and the reformed churches from their moſt inveterate enemy, Cardinal William Allen [100], who died at Rome, and choſe rather to be buried at the Engliſh college than at the church of St. Martin, whence he took his title.

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[98] Dr. Aylmer was ſo very diminutive in ſize, that once, when hotly purſued as an heretic, he eſcaped by being concealed in a pipe of wine which had a falſe bottom; and while Aylmer lay hid in the upper half, wine was drawn from that below.

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.

[99] That bitter Puritan accompanied the biſhop moſt pitileſsly to his domeſtic amuſements. 'He will cry to his bowle,' writes Martin, "Rub! Rub! Rub!" And when it goeth too far, he will ſay, "The divell goe with it!" And then *the biſhop will follow!*'

Dr. Aylmer's temperament was too warm to allow him time always to conſult the moſt epiſcopal plan of acting. He had married a favorite daughter to a celebrated and learned clergyman, named Adam Squire; whoſe fantaſtic turn may be gueſſed by the text of the ſermon which he preached on his wedding-day: 'It is not good for *Adam* to be alone.' This Adam, however, ſought more than one Eve; and meanly tried to extenuate his fault by unmerited recrimination on his innocent wife. But the biſhop, who, though a dwarf in ſtature, had the gallantry of a Paladin, having cloſely ſearched into the charge, and found it totally groundleſs, took the law into his own hands, and ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed the culpable Adam with his cudgel (ſtyled by Harrington 'a good waſter'), that he humbled himſelf to his lady, and hankered no more after forbidden fruit.

[MARTIN MAR-PRELATE. HARRINGTON'S BREFE VIEW.

[100] This ſubtle polemic was well-born in Lancaſhire, and bred at Oriel College, Oxford, where he became head of St. Mary's Hall. He fled at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, was made a profeſſor at Douay, canon of Rheims, &c. and at length, by a ſeries of ſignal ſervices.

* Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. ix, p. 223, 224.

In 1595 Dr. Bound, one of the moſt eminent among the Puritans, made a rude aſſault on the ſports of dancing *, fencing, ringing, wreſtling, &c. uſual on the Sabbath-day, by a book which he wrote to prove them impious and heatheniſh. Many people took part with his arguments [101], and the faſhion of the Sunday evening was generally changed from gaiety and mirth to a more ſad and formal, but more decent reſerve. A Mr. Rogers, ſome years after, wrote a treatiſe in anſwer to this work; but Archbiſhop Whitgift had inſtantly on the publication of Bound's performance ſilenced the author; and Lord Chief Juſtice Popham had ordered all the copies to be ſeized and burnt †. Cent. XVI. Attack on Sunday ſports.

Dr. Whitaker, the queen's profeſſor of divinity at Cambridge, died about this time. His paſſion for theology deſtroyed him. The queſtion, 'Whether or no, true juſtifying faith can be loſt?' broke his reſt and killed him.

A very warm diſpute now was revived concerning the doctrines of predeſtination, free grace, and the advantages derived from the redemption of Jeſus Chriſt. The debate was commenced by a Mr. Barret of Cambridge, who attacked the believers of predeſtination with great fervor. As the matter was grave and important, a deputation from the univerſity attended on the archbiſhop at his palace, and there nine articles were ſettled to regulate the belief of the orthodox. They were ſubſcribed by the primate, by Hutton, Archbiſhop of York, Fletcher, Biſhop of London, Diſpute concerning predeſtination.

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ſervices againſt his own country, he merited and obtained the ſcarlet hat. He may be ſtyled founder of the ſeminary of Douay, as it was he who collected the Engliſh exiles into a body and planted them there. His character is ſo differently ſpoken of by two oppoſite parties, that it is beſt to leave it in abeyance. His utmoſt endeavors were certainly exerted to overthrow the government and religion of his native iſland. How far ſincerity in *his* religion may excuſe his inceſſant machinations for miſchief, will only be known hereafter. [FULLER'S WORTHIES.

[101] 'On that day,' ſays Dr. Fuller, 'the ſtouteſt fencer laid down his buckler; the moſt ſkilful archer unbent his bow; maygames and moriſh dances grew out of requeſt; and good reaſon that bells ſhould be ſilenced from gingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in ſteeples were judged unlawful,' &c. &c. [CHURCH HISTORY.

* Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. ix. p. 227. Dr. Bound on the Sabbath, p. 202, 206, 209.

† Rogers's Pref. to the Articles, parag. 20.

Vaughan,

Cent. XVI. Vaughan, of Bangor, and Young, of Rochester; and given, as the primate writes to the university, not as new decrees, but as an explication of certain points 'corresponding to the doctrine professed by the church of England, and already established by the laws of the land.'

Lambeth articles.

1. 'That God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life, and reprobated others to death.

2. 'The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated, but the good will and pleasure of God.

3. 'The number of the predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or encreased.

4. 'They who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily condemned for their sins.

5. 'A true, lively, and justifying faith, and sanctifying influence of the Spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail or go off either finally or totally.

6. 'A justified person has a full assurance and certainty of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

7. 'Saving grace is not communicated to all men; neither have all men such a measure of divine assistance that they may be saved if they will.

8. 'No person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draws him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ.

9. 'It is not in every one's will and power to be saved.'

Variety of new doctrines.

New opinions, so energetically supported as to become subjects of debate among the heads of the church, sprang up every year. In 1596, Dr. Baro, an alien, having been, during 25 years, Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, humanely argued, that all mankind were born to eternal life; and that the propitiation offered by Jesus Christ for the sins of the human race was meant to confer eternal happiness on the whole world. But the queen, displeased at this too benevolent system, obliged him to be silent *, and retire from his professorship.

A controversy in the same year arose among the learned concerning the nature of Christ's descent into hell; Mr. Hugh Broughton †, a singularly

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 473. † Heylyn's Hist. of Presb. p. 249.

learned

learned polemic, maintaining, that Hades ought to be tranſlated not Hell, but the inviſible world. Cent. XVI.

The year 1597 produced an uncommonly artful and wicked divine of the Puritan perſuaſion, by name Darrel, who pretended to maintain the frequency of diabolical poſſeſſions; and the power of the faithful to caſt out devils. As Darrel was not on the ſide of thoſe in authority, he was cloſely watched; and detected * at length in a kind of conſpiracy with one William Somers of Nottingham, who, after having been trained up four years, had with great dexterity acted the part of one poſſeſſed by an evil ſpirit. Darrel attempted to clear himſelf chiefly by calling down judgments on his own head if guilty. This had little effect on the public, or on his judges, who condemned him to a long impriſonment for the impoſture. Pretended exorciſt detected.

Richard Fletcher, Biſhop of London, died about this time. His qualities ſeem to have been chiefly perſonal. His ſtature and figure are commended; and his riding 'the great horſe' is mentioned by all his biographers. He married a gay ſecond wife. Elizabeth, who diſliked all marriages, but particularly thoſe in the epiſcopal line, frowned upon him; and he was too good a courtier to ſurvive her frown †.

The eccleſiaſtical branch of Engliſh hiſtory, during the ſhort remainder of Elizabeth's [102] reign, affords little that is worthy of remark. The

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[102] About this time died Dr. Andrew Perne, a man of wit and learning, bred at Peterhouſe, Cambridge, of which college he became at length maſter, as well as vice-chancellor of the univerſity. Although he changed his religion four times in twelve years, he yet was beloved ſtedfaſtly by the Proteſtants, as his intereſt was exerted to ſave many from the flames. His turn was extremely ſarcaſtical. He had once chanced to call a clergyman, fool. The irritated prieſt threatened that he would complain to his biſhop. 'Go to your biſhop,' replied the bitter Perne, 'and he will *confirm* you.'

A jeſt is ſaid at length to have coſt the doctor his life. Elizabeth, at the cloſe of her reign, increaſed in pettiſhneſs and obſtinacy. She would ride out in the rain in ſpite of the humble intreaties of her maidens; and the only hopes they had of ſtopping her was to ſet her buffoon, Clod, to laugh her out of it. 'Heaven diſſuades you, madam, in the perſon of Archbiſhop Whitgift, and earth diſſuades you in the ſhape of your fool, Clod; and if this will not ſerve, at leaſt attend to the diſſuaſions of Doctor Perne, who has long been ſuſpended in religious doubts, between heaven and earth.' The queen applauded the joke, but the doctor ſank under it, accompanied his patron, Dr. Whitgift, to Lambeth, and very ſoon after expired. [FULLER'S WORTHIES, &c.

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 492, 495.

† Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. p. 233.

many

Cent. XVI.

Spiritual courts ſomewhat curbed.

many abuſes which had been encouraged in the ſpiritual courts were grown ſo enormous, that the parliament, in 1598, ſaw the neceſſity of checking them by a bill. This attempt was as uſual frowned on by Elizabeth; and, as uſual, it ſunk to nothing at her frown. But ſhe ſeems to have winked at a kind of 'prohibitions' which the ſufferers eaſily obtained, and which prevented the eccleſiaſtical courts from proceeding. Archbiſhop Whitgift took great offence at this indifference in the queen, but his influence was not ſufficient to reſtore the authority of his courts of judicature *.

As the high-commiſſion court had an unlimited power over all publications, it exerted that power moſt ſeverely, in 1599, by ſweeping away from Stationer's-hall Marſton's Pygmalion, Marlowe's Ovid, the Satires of Hall and Marſton, with the 'Caltha Poetarum.' Theſe, by the direction of the prelates, Whitgift and Bancroft, were ordered (together with 'The Shadowe of Truth,' 'Snarling Satires,' 'The Booke agaynſt Women,' and 'The XV Joyes of Marriage,') to be inſtantly burnt [103]. The books of Naſh and Gabriel Harvey were at the ſame time anathematized; and ſatires and epigrams were forbidden to be printed any more. That Hall and Marſton ſhould both be included in the ſame prohibition ſeems a ſentence grounded on rigor rather than juſtice, ſince, as they darted the ſtings of their ſatires at parties preciſely oppoſite, they could not eaſily be both in the wrong [104].

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[103] Writers of light or ludicrous eſſays were now, it muſt be owned, in danger. While the axe of the *Epiſcopal* phalanx threatened their very exiſtence, the ſubtle laſh of the *Puritan* lacerated their limbs, and rendered them odious to the fanatic mob.

A kind of pantheon was cenſured, in 1599, by H. G. 'a painful miniſter of God's word in Kent,' as 'the ſpawne of Italian Gallimaufry.' And George Potter publiſhed in the ſame year 'A Commendacyon of true Poetry, and a Diſcommendacyon of all baudy, pye-balde, paganizde, Poets.'

[104] The enthuſiaſtic attachment of the Puritans to the Song of Solomon, and one particular verſion among many, ſtyled 'The Poem of Poems, or Sion's Muſe, contayning the divine Song of King Solomon, divided into eight Eclogues,' dedicated to 'the ſacred Virgin, divine Miſtreſs Elizabeth Sydney, ſole Daughter of the ever-admired Sir Philip Sidney,' were intolerable to the keen ſpirit of Dr. Hall (afterwards Biſhop of Norwich, and

* Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 537.

The tranſactions between the crown of England and the Roman Catholics, as they relate more to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical branch of this work, have been chiefly ranged under that head; where alſo may be found ſome account of the diſpute between the Jeſuits and ſecular prieſts, which took place at the cloſe of this buſy reign. Cent. XVI.

It may perhaps be expected that ſome judgment ſhould here be paſſed on the conduct [105] of Elizabeth to the various ſects into which her ſubjects Conduct of Elizabeth accounted for.

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and of whom more will be ſaid in another reign); and after having mentioned another poem, probably of the ſame caſt, he proceeds,

'Yea, and the prophet of the heavenly lyre,
Great Solomon, ſinges in the Engliſh quire,
And is become a new-found ſonnetiſt,
Singing his love, the holie ſpouſe of Chriſt;
Like as ſhe were ſome 'light ſkirtes' of the reſt,
In mightieſt inkhorniſms he can thither wreſt.
Ye 'Sion Muſes' ſhall, by my clear will,
For this your zeel and ſelf-admired ſkill,
Be ſtraight tranſported from Jeruſalem
Unto the holie houſe of Bethlehem.'

But John Marſton, a ſober bard, of whom little is known, but of whom Langbaine ſpeaks with great reſpect and conſideration, anſwered the cauſtic bard in no contemptible verſe:

'Come daunce, ye ſtumbling ſatyres, by his ſyde,
If he liſt once the Sion muſe deride.
Ye, Granta's white nymphs, come, and with you bringe
Some ſyllabub, whilſt he doth ſwetely ſinge
'Gainſt Peter's teares, and Marie's moving moane;
And, like a fierce enraged bore, doth ſoame
At ſacred Sonnets.—O dire hardiment!
At Bartas' ſweet ſemaines, rail impudent!
At Hopkins, Sternhold, at the Scottiſh king,
At all tranſlators that do ſtrive to bring
That ſtranger language to our vulgar tongue,' &c. &c.

[MARSTON'S SATIRES, B. IV.

[105] Nothing can be more amuſing to a cool diſpaſſionate reader of hiſtory than to obſerve the contradictory ſentiments of warm party writers, when treating on the ſame ſubject. Thus we find in Carte's Engliſh Hiſtory, that 'it is much to be lamented that ſhe (Elizabeth) acted by halves in the eſtabliſhment of the church of England. She had ſcarce reſtored it

Cent. XVI.

jects were divided. But facts, not opinions, are what a hiſtorian ought to preſent to the public; and, when thoſe facts are candidly told, to reaſon upon them, ſeems only unwarrantably to foreſtal the judgment of the reader. Should that reader condemn the ſevere proceedings of the queen againſt men reſpectable for their piety, learning, eloquence, and ſufferings; men to whoſe indefatigable and inceſſant zeal for reformation ſhe owed the very power which ſhe exerted to oppreſs them; men who only diſobeyed her ordinances in trifles almoſt too ludicrous for a ſerious complaint; in preferring a round cap to a cap with four corners; the extenuation of her apparent inhumanity would ſoon preſent itſelf. He would find that the deſire of curbing the then unlimited powers of the crown went, among the Puritans, hand in hand with their wiſhes to avoid the ceremonies of the church. And if he will conſult the Journals of D'Ewes *, he will be ſatisfied that the ſpeeches of Strickland, Carleton, Yelverton, and particularly of Peter Wentworth, the great ſupport of the Puritan party, were as much aimed at the enormities of the ſceptre as of the crozier. The ſagacious daughter of Henry VIII. penetrated into their deſigns; and, as ſhe was determined never to yield a tittle of the power which her father had exerciſed, ſhe applied ſeverity as the only argument which would have any effect on thoſe whom ſhe thought unreaſonable mal-contents. Yet were

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before ſhe impoveriſhed it; and though the Puritans oppoſed her favorite branch of the royal prerogative, broke through all order and decency, and carried on their oppoſition to the liturgy, government, and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed church, with an unparallelled inſolence, and ſhe might eaſily have ſuppreſſed them at firſt; yet, by the unſteadineſs of her proceedings, proſecuting them one while to give them a colour to complain of perſecution; and another while ſtopping the execution of the laws againſt them; ſhe left that turbulent ſet of men in a condition that enabled them to diſtreſs her ſucceſſor,' &c. &c. &c.

'She underſtood not,' ſays a writer of very oppoſite principles, 'the rights of conſcience in matters of religion, and therefore is juſtly chargeable with perſecuting principles. She countenanced all the engines of perſecution, as ſpiritual courts, &c. and ſtretched her prerogative to ſupport them beyond the law, and againſt the ſenſe of the nation.'

Could one well ſuppoſe that both theſe hiſtorians were men of integrity, and both wrote of the ſame perſon? Yet ſuch is the fact.

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 156, 157, 175, 176, 236, 237.

her great qualities univerſally acknowledged; and a generous, though a bitter foe to her intolerant character, thus expreſſes himſelf at the cloſe of her reign: 'But with all theſe blemiſhes Queen Elizabeth ſtands on record as a wiſe and politic princeſs; and though her Proteſtant ſubjects were divided about church-affairs, they all diſcovered a high veneration for her royal perſon and government; on which account ſhe was the glory of the age in which ſhe lived, and will be the admiration of poſterity *.'

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Candor of a profeſſed enemy.

* Neal's Hiſt. of Puritans, vol. i. p. ult.

CHAP II. SECTION II.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. A. D. 1542, TO THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. AND VI. TO THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, A. D. 1603.

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Death of Cardinal Beaton fatal to Popery.

THE ſtroke which ſlew Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, proved fatal to the intereſt of the Papal church in Scotland. No leader of talents and ſpirit could be found to head the Roman Catholics; and there was only remaining in the party a fatal power of irritating the ſpirits of the reformed, by perſecuting their brethren *. The courts of juſtice were, indeed, ſtill in their hands; and it was by direction of one of theſe, in 1550, that Adam Wallace, a harmleſs ruſtic, expired at a ſtake in Edinburgh. Nor did the abſurd diſpute among the Scottiſh clergy, 'Whether or no the Lord's Prayer might be addreſſed to the ſaints †?' increaſe the reſpect of the nation for a declining cauſe [106]. This hereſy was checked by a ſynod, and a ſmall catechiſm was printed in Engliſh by authority, for the uſe of congregations, which was ſtyled by the vulgar, 'The Twopenny Faith.'

The Proteſtants loſt, in 1553, a prudent, but witty and ſpirited friend, Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, whoſe ſarcaſtic muſe had been employed with great ſucceſs in the cauſe of reformation [107].

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[106] The arguments of a diſputing friar on this ſubject may amuſe the reader. "Our Father" we may ſurely ſay to the ſaints as to any old man we meet in the ſtreets. "Which art in heaven." Good! we know each of them to be in heaven. "Hallowed be thy name." Yes, God has ſanctified their names. "Thy kingdom come." Heaven is *their* kingdom by inheritance. "Thy will be done." Had not their will been the will of God they had not been there.' Thus far the monk had proceeded with plauſibility; but not being able to gloſs over the prayer for 'daily bread,' his rough audience burſt into laughter, and the ſhouts and hiſſes of thoſe who met him in the ſtreet, drove him from St. Andrew's, the ſcene of his confuſion. [SPOTISWOOD.

[107] Sir David Lindſay was a ſtateſman and a poet as well as a reformer. He was born in 1490, and bred at the univerſity of St. Andrew's. In 1514 he returned from travelling through Europe, and ſoon after was entruſted with the education of his young king, James V. After the death of that prince, in 1542, Sir David became a favorite with Arran, the regent; but finding the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's (the regent's brother)

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* Spotiſwood, p. 90. † Ibid. p. 91.

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In 1554 the ſtern John Knox, of whom much has been ſaid in a former book, returned to Edinburgh; and, notwithſtanding the intolerance of the times, and the friendly cautions of the courtly Maitland of Lethington, he thundered from the pulpit of a private meeting with eloquence ſo adapted to the unpoliſhed minds of his hearers, that the regular churches were deſerted. For this contempt Knox was cited by the biſhops; who, nevertheleſs, dared not proceed againſt him; ſo popular was his doctrine, and ſo well was he ſupported by the numbers who admired his principles and his intrepidity.

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to be his enemy, he retired to his eſtate, and ſpent the reſt of his days in literary leiſure. Sir David was a man of great learning, and conſiderable ſkill in heraldry; in the court of which he bore an office. He had likewiſe been employed on embaſſies to Charles V. and to Francis I.

The poetical works of Lindſay are voluminous, and have great merit. He was a thorough friend to the reformation; and ſeems to have prepared the way for John Knox by his poems, which were ſo obnoxious as to be publicly burnt at Edinburgh by the Popiſh aſſembly in 1558. Sir David thus ſpeaks of a now-forgotten pageant:

'Of Edingburgh the great idolatrie,
And manifeſt abominatioun!
On thair feiſt day all crëature may ſee
Thay beir an awld ſtok-image (*a*) throw the town,
With talbrone (*b*), trumpet, ſhalme, and clarioun,
Quilk has been uſid mony on year bygone,
With prieſtis, and frairs, into proceſſioun,
Sic lyke as Baal was borne thro' Babilone.'

In another poem he thus attacks the vanity of female trains:

'Every lady of the land
Should have her tail (*c*) ſo ſyde-trailand (*d*),
Quharever thay go it may be ſene
How kirk and calſay (*e*) thay ſuepe clene.
Kittok, that clekkit (*f*) was yeſtrene,
The morn will counterfete the quene;
And muirland Megg, that milk'd the cowis,
Claggit (*g*) with clay about the howis,
In barn nor byir ſcho woll not byde,
Without her kyrtle tail beſide.
They waſte mair claith within fewe yeres,
Than wolde claith fyftie ſcore of freres.'

(*a*) Wooden image. (*b*) Tabor. (*c*) Train. (*d*) Trailing on one ſide. (*e*) Sweep the church and cauſeway clean. (*f*) Kitty, that was born yeſterday, next morn will, &c. (*g*) Clogged.

If

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Wealth and profligacy of the Scottiſh clergy.

If any members of a hierarchy could be ſaid to be ripe for a fall, thoſe who now governed the Scottiſh church certainly came under that deſcription. The ſlain cardinal had lived many years in a free and open commerce with a woman of quality, and had publicly celebrated the marriage * of his and her daughter, with a ſon of the Lord Crawfurd; nor were the other prelates entitled to the praiſe of a better life than the primate. The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, in particular, ſet an example of the moſt licentious and diſſolute manners.

The riches of the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics far exceeded their juſt proportion. They paid one half of every impoſt laid on land; and there is no reaſon to think that a body ſo potent would permit themſelves to be over-rated. Theſe vaſt poſſeſſions, it muſt be owned, contributed much to the abolition of the Roman Catholic faith in both the iſland-kingdoms. The people had long felt with diſpleaſure that ſuperiority with which the wealth, the power, and the ſubtlety of the clergy had endowed them; and greedily ſwallowed any doctrines which taught that theſe revenues, having been alienations unjuſtly made by antient poſſeſſors, might be with juſtice reclaimed. They enjoyed with tranſport the complex idea of lowering the pride and luxury of each pampered prieſt, and of profiting by his ſpoils. When motives like theſe were reinforced by ſtrong nervous appeals to conſcience and common ſenſe, it cannot be a matter of wonder that a reformation ſhould burſt forth with the ardor of a volcano †.

John Knox retires.

In 1556, Knox, having been elected preacher to the Engliſh church at Geneva, left his friends in Scotland for a while. Scarcely had he departed ere he was cited anew, condemned, and burnt in effigy at the market-croſs at Edinburgh ‡. His abſence was fortunate for the cauſe of reformation. That great work, from motives of policy, was connived at by Mary of Guiſe, the regent, and gained, ſilently, ground every day. But had the fierce Northern apoſtle remained in Scotland, the train might have caught fire before meaſures were in forwardneſs to ſecond the exploſion.

Meanwhile, that hatred to the French which was with the Scots a new, but a favorite, paſſion, aided the new faith in its progreſs; nor could the natives think well of a religion, whoſe profeſſors had plundered their country, and, as they believed, poiſoned their ambaſſadors.

* Keith, p. 42. † Robertſon, vol. i. p. 128, 129. ‡ Spotiſwood, p. 94.

The

The barbarous execution of Walter Mills *, an old decrepit prieſt, who had only offended by refraining for ſome time from celebrating the maſs, ſeems to have ſigned the death-warrant of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It affected his brethren in faith ſo ſenſibly, that they united in a reſolution to defend each other by force of arms, ſhould the perſecution continue. Luckily the mere determination had a good effect; and Walter Mills was the laſt martyr who ſuffered by the flames [108] in Scotland.

Cent. XVI. Walter Mills burnt.

The very cloſe connection of the Scottiſh civil and military hiſtory with that of the church, has neceſſarily occaſioned the proceedings of the aſſociated reformers, 'The Lords of the Congregation,' to be told in a former book. The timely aid of the Engliſh Elizabeth extricated the Scots from the ſnares of the French; and the death of Francis II. of France, the huſband of Queen Mary, which happened not long after, gave them a fair proſpect of enjoying their favorite religion undiſturbed.

The parliament, in 1560, was perfectly diſpoſed to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant faith. Petitions † in favor of reformation were kindly received; and the few Roman Catholics who ſate in the houſe were ſilent, as they ſaw their party contemptibly weak. There was little difficulty in carrying every wiſhed-for point. The Papal authority was aboliſhed; the ſervice appointed to be read no longer in Latin; a confeſſion of faith, agreeable to the principles of reformation, was adopted; and general directions given

Popery aboliſhed.

NOTES.

[108] The good old reformer died with wonderful intrepidity. During his examination he had anſwered with an acuteneſs ſtrongly ſavoring of wit. *Oliphant*, a prieſt, aſked him, 'Say you there are not ſeven Sacraments?'

W. Mills. 'Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, and part the reſt among you.'

Oliphant. 'What think you of matrimony?'

W. Mills. 'I think it a bleſſed bond. You abhor it, and take other men's wives and daughters.'

Oliphant. 'What of the adminiſtration of the Sacrament?'

W. Mills. 'I will tell you. A Lord inviteth many to dinner; he ringeth his bell, and they come into his hall; he then turneth his back on the called gueſts, and catcheth and drinketh all himſelf, giving them no part; *and ſo do you*,' &c. &c. [SPOTISWOOD, &c.

* Spotiſwood, p. 95. † Knox, p. 237.

in

Cent. XVI. in favor of the new doctrines [109]. Sir James Sandilands was directed, before the houſe broke up, to carry to the queen, in France, an account of what had been done, together with ſtrong profeſſions of loyal affection. He performed the taſk, met with a very diſobliging * reception, and returned much diſpleaſed with the politics of the family of Guiſe.

New ordinances for the church.

A convention being held at Edinburgh, in 1561, it was judged proper by the friends of reformation to conſult on a new ſyſtem of eſtabliſhment for the Scottiſh church.

In thoſe countries where a change of faith had been begun by the governing powers, as in England, it merits obſervation that the epiſcopal function had only been weakened and diminiſhed, and not utterly aboliſhed; but, where the lower orders ſtood forward as the firſt movers of innovations in point of religion, both biſhops and their cathedrals have been laid low, and the prieſthood brought to an unqualified level.

It was nearly on this latter ſyſtem that Knox, Willock, and the leading members of what ſoon began to be called the Preſbyterian church, meant to form the eccleſiaſtical plan for Scotland. They propoſed, indeed, to have ten or twelve ſuperintendants in lieu of biſhops †, but to grant them little power and no rank. They had prepared a complete book of diſcipline, and a long and particular 'Form of Church Policy ‡,' and preſented both to their powerful friends in the convention. Both were received graciouſly; and although the latter was not regularly paſſed into a law, it was ſigned by moſt of the members, and carried into execution. One part, however, was carefully excepted—that which allotted national and beneficial uſes for the church revenues. Theſe had been ſeized by laymen, and not a penny would one of the plunderers conſent to reſtore. They were ready to promiſe, indeed, that the clergy ſhould be decently provided for from a part of them; but even that promiſe they forgot to fulfil. A nobleman declared Knox's plan to be 'a pious imagination; no better than a dream, as it could never

Church lands retained.

NOTES.

[109] So little had the Proteſtant Scots learned to profit by the odious appearance of that perſecution which had martyred their brethren, that one of their new laws enacted death as the puniſhment for a third offence againſt its directions as to church-worſhip. [ROBERTSON.

* Knox, p. 255. † Spotiſwood, p. 158. ‡ Ibid. p. 152.

take

take effect *.' But that warm reformer ſhould have taken, in due ſeaſon, the advice ſent him ſome time before by the ſhrewdly diſcerning Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. 'He has begun too haſtily,' ſaid the ſubtle prelate, 'and pulls down before he has got a ſubſtitute to ſet up in the place. Things, it is true, want reformation; but the revenues of the church have been the work of ages, and ſhould not be deſtroyed, nor put out of the hands they are now in, until a better uſe be appointed for them.' Such was the purport of the archbiſhop's counſel; and he added, with ſome candor, 'Maſter Knox, I know, eſteemeth me an enemy; but tell him from me, that he ſhall find it true as I ſpeak †.' Cent. XVI.

An act paſſed in the ſame convention for demoliſhing cloiſters, abbey churches, &c. and the execution of it was committed to different ſets of noblemen and gentlemen as a meritorious and neceſſary work. Deſtruction of public buildings.

If it were certain that the Proteſtant doctrines could not have found admittance to the kingdom of Scotland until every beautiful and venerable edifice were demoliſhed, beauty and grace muſt undoubtedly have given way to the more important concern of ſalvation; but if, as probably was the caſe, the love of that poor plunder which a ruined cathedral could beſtow, was the motive of the great men; and if the lower orders were only moved by hatred and envy of the indolent, luxurious monks, and a puerile paſſion for deſtroying what their wit could never raiſe, then no appellation with which the much leſs offending, becauſe ignorant, Goth has been loaded, can be too ſevere to be applied to thoſe who framed and who executed that illiberal [110] ordinance.

NOTES.

[110] 'The very ſepulchres of the dead were not ſpared; the regiſters of the church, and the Bibliothekes, caſt into the fire. In a word, all was ruined.' One of the moſt lamentable among theſe acts of brutality, goaded by avarice, was the deſtruction of Aberdeen's beautiful and ſtately cathedral. 'The barons of the Merns,' ſays the writer of the above, 'accompanied by ſome townſmen of Aberdeen, having demoliſhed the monaſteries of the Black and Gray Friars, fell to rob the cathedral, which they deſpoiled of all its coſtly ornaments and jewels, and demoliſhed the chancel. Having ſhipped the lead, bells, and other utenſils, intending to expoſe them to ſale in Holland, all this ill-gotten wealth ſunk (by the juſt judgment of God on ſacrilege) not far from the Gridleneſs.'

[SPOTISWOOD'S SCOTTISH HISTORY.

* Knox, p. 256. Spotiſwood, p. 174. † Spotiſwood, ibid.

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Indigence of the clergy.

In 1561 the neceſſities of the Proteſtant clergy throughout the kingdom were become too preſſing to be any longer left without attention. They had, indeed, no ſupport whatever. Moſt of the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics continuing to hold their revenues, although prevented by the populace from doing any duty; and thoſe benefices which were not in their hands having been ſeized by the moſt powerful land-holders in their neighborhood.

Ill relieved.

It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that great difficulties attended this diſcuſſion; it was, however, ſettled at length, that an exact account of all the church property ſhould be taken *; that two thirds of the whole ſhould be veſted in the actual occupiers; that the remaining third ſhould be put in the hands of government; and that, out of that third, all the pariſh clergy ſhould be paid.

The ſtipends which this allotment would afford were very ſmall; for very unfair accounts of revenues were delivered in, and the thirds due from the moſt powerful noblemen were generally paſſed over †. Indeed the extreme penury to which the Scottiſh miniſters were reduced by this hard meaſure, was the ſource of unceaſing complaints and remonſtrances during many years; nor will this appear ſtrange when the reader is told, that *twenty-four thouſand pounds Scottiſh* ‡ appears to have been the whole ſum allowed for the yearly maintenance of a national church.

The eccleſiaſtical tranſactions for ſome years were not important in Scotland. That narrow bigotry which, in 1563, denied to the ſovereign the exerciſe of her religion, and the candor and honor of her brother, the Lord James Stuart, which eſtranged from him, for a time, the ſtern Knox's regard, have been already recorded.

Baptiſm of James.

In 1566, the baptiſm of the young James by the ritual of Rome [111] gave much diſpleaſure to the Proteſtant clergy [112]; nor were they conſoled

NOTES.

[111] One trifling and indelicate circumſtance excepted. [Spotiswood.

[112] The ſuperintendant of Lothian waited on Mary to aſk that the prince might be baptized a Proteſtant. The queen gave no poſitive anſwer, but treated him with great politeneſs, and ſent for the child. As ſoon as he came the good prieſt took him in his arms, knelt down, and with great energy pronounced an oriſon for his future good conduct and

* Spotiſwood, p. 183. † Keith, App. p. 188.

‡ Keith, ubi ſupra. Spotiſwood, p. 198.

conſoled when they ſaw the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's reſtored to his functions as to regiſtering of wills, and the control of the ſpiritual court. Cent. XVI.

A letter appears, dated in the ſame year, ſent by the Aſſembly of the Scottiſh church to the Engliſh biſhops on behalf of ſome non-conformiſt preachers; who, as they expreſs it, 'refuſe thoſe Romiſh rags,' meaning the veſtments. The application had no effect, although couched in language ſuited to the times, ſcurrilous and enthuſiaſtic. Letter to the Engliſh prelates.

The very little weight which the clergy of Scotland ſeem to have had when they endeavored to obtain redreſs for their own grievances, when contraſted with their power of exciting the citizen and the ruſtic to tumult, ſeems wholly unaccountable. Potent as they were over the minds of their congregations, the miniſters were not able, though headed in their remonſtrances by the emphatic Knox, to gain from the parliament even a decent proviſion; and although, in 1567, when the aſſiſtance of their zeal and elocution was needed by the Earl of Murray, the reſtoration of the church's patrimony was ſolemnly, by articles *, promiſed, yet no ſuch ſtep was taken; and annual complaints of ſuffering paſtors diſgrace the journals of parliament.

In the ſame year the Aſſembly of the Church depoſed the Biſhop of Orkney, Adam Hepburn, for having wedded the queen to the Earl of Bothwell; and, having cited the Counteſs of Argyle to appear, ſhe was made to perform public penance in the chapel at Stirling, on a Sunday after ſermon, for having been preſent at the Papiſtical baptiſm of the Prince of Scotland †. A biſhop depoſed.

In 1568 the Biſhop of Orkney was, on his ſubmiſſion to the Aſſembly, replaced in his ſee; at the ſame meeting, John Willock, the moderator, complaining of the confuſed ſtate of the aſſembly, it was ordered, that only ſuperintendants, viſitors of churches, commiſſioners of ſhires and univer- Regulations for the aſſembly of the clergy.

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and fortune; and, having finiſhed the prayer, with great puerility, and much to the diverſion of Mary, he bade the infant 'ſay Amen for himſelf.' The ſuperintendant lived long; and was never known at court, nor ſpoken of by Mary or James, by any other name than 'Amen.' [SPOTISWOOD,

* Spotiſwood, p. 209. † Ibid. p. 214.

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ſities, and ſuch miniſters whom the ſuperintendants ſhould chuſe, and for whoſe diſcretion they ſhould anſwer, might be admitted to ſpeak and vote *.

Biſhops received.

The year 1572 ſaw three Proteſtant miniſters introduced by the Earl of Morton as biſhops, to the convention then ſitting at Leith. As it was publicly known that theſe prelates enjoyed but a ſmall part of the epiſcopal revenues, and were only named biſhops that certain great men might more plauſibly poſſeſs the reſt of the income, it is aſtoniſhing that a procedure ſo groſsly ſimoniacal could be connived at by the aſſembly and by John Knox. But the aſſembly dreaded the regent, and the intrepid John Knox was no more, or at leaſt was very near his deceaſe †. He expired within the year [113].

Death of John Knox.

Little worth recording ſeems to have fallen out until 1574, when the artful regent, Morton, contrived to perſuade the clergy, that if they would ſurrender into his hands the thirds which had been appointed to be managed by the ſuperintendants for their profit, he would undertake to enlarge their very moderate ſtipends. Truſting to this promiſe, they allowed him to ſeize their revenue, and he, in return, with a total dereliction of all honor, augmented their diſtreſs, by appointing three or four churches

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[113] The demiſe of John Knox was adorned both with piety and philoſophy, and, as his followers added, with the gift of prophecy. To the Earl of Morton, who attended his laſt moment, he gave a ſpirited admonition, and warned him of his fate if he did not amend. To Kirkaldie of Grange, then holding the caſtle of Edinburgh, he ſent an affecting meſſage, reproaching him for deſerting his old friends. He then took particular attention to the making and fitting of his coffin, and departed with ſerenity both of mind and of countenance.

Archbiſhop Spotiſwood takes pains to prove that Knox was not the author of that 'Hiſtory of the Church' which bears his name, and brings ſtrong circumſtantial evidence. Knox (he obſerves) is made in that hiſtory to refer to Fox's Martyrology; a book which was not publiſhed till twelve years after his death.

The features of Knox's character were ſtern and unamiable; but thoſe very qualities made him a fit inſtrument to be employed in the reformation of a fierce, unpoliſhed nation. Zeal, intrepidity, and diſintereſtedneſs, were qualities allowed to him even by his enemies. He was acquainted with the learning which his age moſtly cultivated, and was peculiarly excellent in that ſpecies of rough eloquence which is calculated to rouſe and inflame. He had lived 67 years. [Spotiswood. Robertson, &c.

* Spotiſwood, p. 219.

† Ibid. p. 266.

to

to one miniſter, and paying the incumbent very indifferently. This cauſed a complete breach between Morton and the prieſthood; nor could he ever find the means of reconciliation. Cent. XVI.

In 1578 Mr. Andrew Melvill, the leading man among the Scottiſh clergy ſince the deceaſe of Knox, and who moſt reſembled him in intrepidity, ferocity, and inſenſibility, preſented to the convention a form of church policy. This was approved by that aſſembly; was allowed to be right and proper; and confirmed as to almoſt every article, except ſuch as had any tendency to take the eſtates of the church from the preſent lay-poſſeſſors. Andrew Melvill ſucceeds him.

Finding little hopes of obtaining a decent ſubſiſtence, the members of the aſſembly, unable to cope with their intereſted parliamentary adverſaries, turned their reſentment againſt an order which they hated and perhaps ſomewhat envied; and urged Dr. Boyd, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to permit his epiſcopal power and revenue to be reformed, according to the regulations of the Preſbyterian church. But the good and learned prelate (for ſuch Dr. Spotiſwood affirms him to have been), after firmly and modeſtly refuſing to ſubmit, found the dread of ſuch a contention too alarming for his age and weak ſtate of health. He grew melancholy and died, after bitterly reproaching the ingratitude of Melvill; who, although he had educated him, and promoted him to be Principal of the univerſity of Glaſgow, had ſtirred up this perſecution, and had treated his benefactor with public incivility *. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow dies.

As the Scottiſh reformers made war equally on ſuperſtition and on taſte, it cannot be a matter of ſurpriſe that the ferocious Andrew Melvill ſhould incite his hearers, in 1579, to demoliſh the magnificent and beautiful cathedral of Glaſgow. 'It drew the Papiſts together;' he ſaid, 'it was too large for the voice, and ſeveral little churches might be formed from the materials.' His Gothic eloquence had prevailed on the magiſtrates to take the work in hand; they had collected maſons, quarriers, and other laborers, around the cloſe; and that cathedral, the only relique of eccleſiaſtical ſplendor in Scotland, had fallen in precipitated ruin, had not the 'Crafts,' or mechanics, gallantly ſtood forth and protected the ornament of their city. They heard the bell which gave the ſignal of deſtruction; they Cathedral of Glaſgow in danger of deſtruction.

* Spotiſwood, p. 303.

ruſhed

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ruſhed out in arms, placed themſelves round their altars, and ſwore that the firſt man who touched the ſacred walls ſhould be buried in the ruin he had made. Frighted at this exertion, the magiſtrates abandoned their deſign. A faint attempt was made to puniſh the inſurgents; but, young as he was, the infant king applauded the conduct of thoſe who had defended the cathedral, and obſerved, that 'too much miſchief had already been done *.'

Biſhops exploded.

In 1580, the Aſſembly of the Church, convened at Dundee, voted that the office of a biſhop had no foundation in the word of God; and therefore they gave notice to all biſhops to quit their ſees, and to deſiſt even from the *miniſterial* † function, until the ſame authority ſhould give them permiſſion to reſume it.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed with what indignation this raſh ordinance was received; indeed it appears to have diſguſted many of the miniſters themſelves; and, in 1581, it was objected to in the aſſembly; but a new and intereſting buſineſs now came forward.

Lenox makes an archbiſhop.

The Duke of Lenox had been perſuaded to appoint one Robert Mongomery to the Archbiſhopric of Glaſgow, on condition of his paying almoſt all the revenue to his patron [114]. Had the aſſembly aſſaulted the ſimoniacal tendency of this contract it might have ſucceeded, but it was the epiſcopal appointment to which it objected. The king inſiſted on this point being dropped, and referred to the conduct of the aſſembly held at Leith in 1582, where it was agreed, that biſhops might be appointed to the church until the king ſhould be of age, and make ſuch orders as might be convenient. The aſſembly then enquired into the moral character of Mongomery, and preſented to the king ſome very extraordinary ‡ charges againſt him, but without effect. It was therefore obliged to be

NOTES.

[114] This kind of prelate was humorouſly baptized a 'Tulchan biſhop;' a 'tulchan' is a calve's ſkin ſtuffed, and preſented to the cow, that, miſtaking it for her calf, ſhe may let down her milk. [HIST. OF CH. OF SCOTLAND.

It was not only Mongomery at whom the anger of the aſſembly was pointed; nearly at the ſame time, Dr. Adamſon was appointed to ſucceed Dr. Douglas as Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; and, as there was a kind of rivalry between him and John Melvill, in learning and eloquence, great uneaſineſs followed his promotion.

* Spotiſwood, p. 304. † Ibid. p. 311. ‡ Ibid. p. 316.

contented with prohibiting the obnoxious prelate from all epiſcopal function. Some of the miniſters, particularly Walter Balcanquel, ſpoke of the king's conduct with unſeemly harſhneſs. 'Papacy,' he ſaid, 'had entered the country and the court, and was maintained in the king's hall by tyranny of a champion called "*Grace.*" But if his Grace continued to oppoſe God, and his word, he ſhould come to little *grace* in the end.' This wretched conceit diſpleaſed the king, who complained of him to the aſſembly. Finding, however, that Balcanquel had too many friends there, James withdrew his accuſation; but the aſſembly would not let the matter drop, but tried Balcanquel, and declared, to the king's great diſpleaſure, his doctrine to have been good and ſound*.

Cent. XVI. A bold preacher.

In the ſame year the church was indulged, by the profligate Arran, with a ſtatute to prevent the appointment of two or three churches to the care of one miniſter.

In 1582, Mongomery, whoſe character ſeems to have been but indifferent, both as to morality or political principles, after apparently ſubmitting to the decrees of the church, changed his mind on meeting a cool reception at court, and determined to maintain his right to the ſee of Glaſgow, independent of the aſſembly. And the king, having determined to ſupport him, impriſoned † the moderator of the Glaſgow preſbytery for not attending to his warrant, and deſiſting from a proceſs againſt the unſteady prelate. This, and the expulſion of John Dury, a violent preacher, exaſperated the populace, and gave great offence to the heads of the church. They faſted and remonſtrated, but both in vain. They even excommunicated Mongomery; but ſtill the Duke of Lenox protected him, nor heeded the complaints of thoſe who were deputed to acquaint him with the anathema.

James ſupports epiſcopacy.

The 'Raid of Ruthven' altered the face of affairs, and the preachers, again triumphant, loudly, and with great commendation, extolled from their pulpits an enterprize which brought their friends into power; while the young king, prudently yielding to the fortune of the day, owned, 'that he believed religion was in hazard, and his own danger was connected with the attempts made to overturn the national church.'

Temporizes at the Raid of Ruthven.

* Spotiſwood, p. 317. † Ibid. p. 319.

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The leaders of the Preſbyterians had hardly time to make any advantage of this favorable event before the king had regained his authority, and replaced his favorite, but odious and profligate, miniſter, the Earl of Arran.

Silences turbulent preachers.

In conſequence, Dury, who had returned to his charge, was again ſilenced, and the zealous and turbulent Andrew Melvill, who had preached, 'that James had perverted the laws * both of God and man,' driven from the city. He fled to England, and the churches of Edinburgh reſounded moſt incautiouſly with loud complaints, 'that James had extinguiſhed the light of learning † in his kingdom, and deprived the church of its moſt faithful defender.'

But little did theſe complaints avail, ſince the independence of the church of Scotland was doomed, in the ſame year, 1584, to receive its death-wound. Determined on humbling a power too nearly equal to that of the crown, James ſummoned a parliament in haſte. The members were devoted to the court, and carried on their taſk with vigor and ſecreſy, and the Lords of Articles were ſworn to ſilence.

Terrified at theſe ominous precautions, the preſbytery ſent David Lindſay, a miniſter, to explore the cauſe; but he was intercepted and ſent to priſon; others were refuſed admittance ‡; and, until the exploſion, the miniſters were entirely unacquainted with the extent of their danger.

Power of the church reſtrained.

Thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who had hitherto kept the king and the parliaments in awe, had reaſon to be alarmed. The laws which had been enacted in ſecreſy were meant to diſarm the church of its moſt formidable weapons. It was now ordained, that 'The refuſal to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the privy-council, the pretending to an exemption from the authority of the civil courts, the attempting to diminiſh the rights of any of the three eſtates in parliament, were HIGH TREASON;' and that 'To hold any aſſembly, civil or eccleſiaſtical, without the king's permiſſion or appointment, and to utter, either privately or publicly, in ſermons, &c. any falſe and ſcandalous reports againſt the king, his anceſtors, or miniſters, were CAPITAL CRIMES §.'

The king unpopular.

An univerſal conſternation ſeized both the ſhepherds and their flocks on the promulgation of theſe extenſive ordinances, by which the power of

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* Spotiſwood, p. 330.
† Ibid.
‡ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 565.
§ Parl. 8 Jac. VI.

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the church was done away, and the miniſters as completely deprived of all conſequence and authority as they had been of pecuniary emoluments by the rapacity of the men of intereſt. The moſt intemperate of the preachers, dreading proceedings 'ex poſt facto,' fled to England. The king was univerſally reported to have become a Papiſt; and the general diſaffection gained ſuch ground, that it was judged neceſſary to publiſh a juſtification of the king's meaſures, in which the 'petulance of the Edinburgh miniſters, the inſult offered to government, by ordering a faſt on the day when a feaſt was given to the French ambaſſadors,' and other perverſe dealings of the preachers, were ſummed up and given as reaſons for the edict *. Cent. XVI.

Before the cloſe of 1584, the miniſters remaining in Edinburgh were called on by the council, and directed to ſubſcribe a paper of articles to the purport of an acknowledgment, that all the rules and ordinances lately appointed, reſpecting the church, were good and ſalutary. Not many could be prevailed on to ſign ſuch a declaration, and another emigration to England took place.

A new revolution having, in 1585, reſtored the lords concerned in the 'Raid of Ruthven' to the favor of James, the miniſters of the church expected to have been re-inſtated in their conſequence; but ſo bold a meaſure was not attempted, and a paſſionate preacher ſuffered for venting virulent complaints. Exiles reſtored.

In 1586 a general aſſembly was held, and meaſures taken to compromiſe a diſgraceful feud between Archbiſhop Adamſon and John Melvill, who had reciprocally hurled excommunication at each other. The epiſcopal name and office was there confirmed to the church, although much diminiſhed in power and revenue; the prelate yielded to the new rules, and his excommunication was annulled †. Notwithſtanding this proceeding, Melvill and others openly declared, that they ſtill looked on the archbiſhop as one 'juſtly delivered over to Satan.'

In 1587 a parliament was called on the king's attaining the age of twenty-one. It was an important one to the Scottiſh church, for it ſettled the whole of the church lands on the king, except ſuch as had been granted away. The tithes were reſerved for the incumbent's ſupport, as was the Church lands annexed to the crown.

* Spotiſwood, p. 334. † Ibid. p. 347.

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manſion-houſe for his reſidence. The Proteſtant biſhops ſuffered moſt by this arrangement, but they were neither potent nor popular, ſo that none liſtened to their remonſtrances *.

The extreme danger of the unfortunate Mary prompted the king to direct prayers to be ſaid on her behalf in all the churches of the capital. This natural and humane duty many of the preachers refuſed. Such was the bigotry of the time [115]!

A national covenant.

A ſenſe of general danger from the vaſt preparations of the Roman Catholics at this juncture, united the greater number of the Scots, and incited them to join in a national covenant. By this ſolemn tie they bound themſelves to defend their religion, and the perſon of their king, from all enemies, domeſtic and foreign †. The king, the noblemen, the clergy, and the people, ſubſcribed it with equal alacrity. No meaſure could be better adapted to oppoſe the Roman Catholic league, which had united half Europe againſt toleration.

Scotland at this period ſwarmed with Jeſuits, and the kirk miniſters, excuſing themſelves by their dread of Popery, headed a vaſt mob, and ſurrounded the king in his palace of Holyrood-houſe, and demanded ſome ſpeedy meaſures to be purſued againſt that obnoxious fraternity.

Nothing of importance occurred in the church hiſtory of Scotland, except jealous remonſtrances of the miniſters againſt the favors ſhewn to Papiſts, and fretful petitions for more power and larger ſtipends, until 1590; when the king, whoſe partiality to the Roman Catholic peers had rendered him unpopular, ſeeking to gain the affections of the Preſbyterians, attended their general aſſembly held at Edinburgh in Auguſt, there, 'taking off his bonnet ‡, with his eyes and hands lifted to heaven,' he thus addreſſed the ſolemn throng. 'He praiſed God that he was born in the time of the light of the Goſpel, and in ſuch a place as to be king of ſuch a kirk, the ſincereſt kirk in the world. The church of Geneva,' added he, 'keeps Paſch and Yule §; what have they for them? They have no inſtitution.

James ſoothes the kirk miniſters.

NOTES.

[115] Yet the prayer was modeſt: 'That God would pleaſe to illuminate her with the light of his truth; and ſave her from the apparent danger into which ſhe was caſt.'

* Parl. 2 Jac. VI. cap. 29. † Dunlop's Collection, vol. ii. p. 108.

‡ Calderwood apud Crookſhanks Ch. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 13. § Eaſter and Chriſtmas.

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As for our neighbor kirk in England, their ſervice is an evil ſaid maſs in Engliſh; they want nothing of the maſs but its liftings. I charge you, my good people, elders, doctors, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, ſtand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the ſame; and I forſooth, ſo long as I brook my life and crown, ſhall do the ſame.'

And reſcinds the acts of 1584.

Not long after, in 1592, favors of real value were conferred on the kirk by the king and parliament. The acts of 1584 were either reſcinded or explained *, and the church placed on the footing which its members had long wiſhed, but had never been able to attain. The Preſbyterian government was here completely eſtabliſhed, with the aſſemblies, the ſynods, the preſbyteries, and kirk ſeſſions. It muſt have been the uneaſy and dangerous ſituation of James at that period which occaſioned this ſtrange condeſcendence. Beſides his lenity to the Popiſh peers, he had loſt great credit by not purſuing the murtherers of the young Earl of Murray. His favorite, the chancellor, too, was threatened by a ſtrong party; and Lord Bothwell, whom the king hated and dreaded, poſſeſt the ear of the queen, and kept him in inceſſant terror. Amid theſe perils he probably thought it right to ſecure the friendſhip of a numerous corps of rough, ill-bred, diſguſting, but well intentioned men.

His reaſons.

Violence of the Preſbyterian clergy.

The Preſbyterian clergy were not formed to enjoy ſuch advantages with indifference. They declaimed more loudly than ever againſt the encouragement given to Roman Catholics; and the ſynod of Fife, in 1593, excommunicated the Popiſh peers, in ſpite of the earneſt endeavors of James; who condeſcended to intreat Robert Bruce, a favorite miniſter, to ſtop the ſentence, but in vain. 'Well,' ſaid the irritated king, 'I could have no reſt till ye got what ye call the "diſcipline of your church" eſtabliſhed; now, ſeeing I have found it abuſed, and that none among you hath power to ſtay ſuch diſorderly proceedings, I will think of a mean to help it †.' Yet, notwithſtanding this ſudden diſpleaſure of the unſteady James, he had ſtrangely permitted the church to gain one great point, in the laſt parliament: an act to declare ſuch perſons who obſtinately ſet at defiance the cenſures of the church, outlaws ‡, rebels, and liable to the penalty of rebellion.

* Spotiſwood, p. 388. † Ibid, p. 398.

‡ Stat. 164. Parl. 13, Jac. VI.

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Edinburgh humbled,

In 1596 the Scottiſh miniſters, incenſed beyond meaſure at the indulgence ſhewn by the timid James to the inſolent conduct of the Roman Catholic peers, inſulted their monarch in his palace. But enough has been ſaid of this, and of the conſequent humiliation of the citizens of Edinburgh, in another place.

It was now, that, from a retroſpect to the conteſts in which the crown had been perpetually engaged againſt the clergy, it began to ſtrike the not-unobſerving king, that it might be more eaſy by gentle means to perſuade the aſſemblies to lay reſtrictions on themſelves, than to attempt compulſion by acts of parliament, which always created ſuch a ſpirit of reſiſtance as made their execution dangerous and doubtful.

James alters his plan of ſubduing the church.

In conſequence of this well-judged plan, he ſent to the North, and other diſtant diſtricts, and allured numbers of clergymen, leſs prejudiced againſt the regal authority than thoſe of the capital, to attend and vote. Two general aſſemblies, held in 1597, modulated thus, and ſomewhat freed from the deſpotic command of the violent Bruce, Melvill, Black, &c. agreed to many regulations which, had they ſprung from any other ſource, would have met an obſtinate reſiſtance. They reſtrained the hitherto unlimited licence of inveighing againſt the king or private perſons from the pulpit; they gave up the privilege of convoking aſſemblies without the king's leave; and they allowed him to nominate miniſters for the principal towns. By theſe compliant ſynods the Popiſh earls were allowed to make a public recantation of their errors, were abſolved from excommunication, and received into the boſom of the church [116].

Gains every point, and inſtitutes biſhops.

But the moſt difficult taſk was yet to come. James wiſhed to procure ſeats in the ſenate for the heads of the church, and this idea affected every good kirk miniſter with horror. In vain were they told of the vaſt addition to the credit and conſequence of their fraternity. Still they were reſolute. 'Varniſh over this ſcheme with what colors you pleaſe,' ſaid

NOTES.

[116] Theſe ungracious babes tarried not long with their forgiving parent, but repaired again to haunts of her whom the Scots preachers honored with the title of the Whore of Babylon. [ROBERTSON.

one of the leading clergymen, 'deck the intruder with your utmoſt art; under all this diſguiſe I ſee the horns of the mitre.' Yet even this point was gained at laſt, and fifty-one perſons, it was ſettled, were to be choſen from the clergy to repreſent that eſtate in parliament; but the manner of their election, their powers, and even their titles, were left for future diſcuſſion. Cent. XVI.

The king, in 1598, with great goodnature, remitted all the errors of the Edinburgh preachers, and gave them leave to take the ſame ſtations which they had formerly poſſeſſed. The petulant Robert Bruce alone raiſed ſome ſcruples concerning receiving a new form of ordination. The reſt acquieſced and were grateful; and even Bruce, on his ſubmiſſion ſome time after, was permitted to preach in the capital. Seditious preachers forgiven.

In 1599 a correſpondence between James and the Pope gave great alarm to the warm Proteſtants in the North. Indeed, from the extreme ſolicitude which the cautious monarch teſtified to gain the favor of every party, there is nothing ſurpriſing in the fact of his writing to the pontiff in polite terms, addreſſing him as 'Beatiſſime Pater *,' and giving him hopes of more indulgence for the Roman Catholics. Elphinſton, the ſecretary, however, taking the whole affair on himſelf, the matter was dropped. Letter to the Pope.

In 1601 an aſſembly of the church at Brunt-iſland reſounded with complaints againſt the depravity of the age. It was agreed that the nation muſt ſoon be ſwallowed up by Popery or Atheiſm. To prevent theſe evils, it was determined, with laudable perverſeneſs, to faſt on the two laſt Sundays in June, and to double the ſeverity with which all the Roman Catholics were treated. A very inſolent letter from John Davidſon was ſent to the aſſembly, ridiculing the indolence and apathy of the Scottiſh church, and lamenting the ſtriding approach of Popery and prelacy. Terrors concerning Popery and Atheiſm.

The complaints of the parochial clergy were loudly ſounded in the ears of the king at this juncture. They were ſtill kept at a very ſhort allowance, and even that was irregularly paid. The king, as he had often done before, promiſed redreſs, but took no effectual ſteps.

No farther tranſaction of any importance is to be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland at the opening of the ſeventeenth century.

* Calderwood, p. 427.

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. III.—PART II.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS, OF ENGLAND, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.

Slow progreſs of the commons in importance.

ALTHOUGH in examining the ſtate of the Engliſh conſtitution [1], during the latter half of the ſixteenth century, we ſhall find no variation in the great outline, yet ſome uſeful obſervations may be made on the ſlow gradation of the commons towards national importance. Browbeaten, fined, and impriſoned, by the moſt ſtern of ſovereigns, they had

NOTES.

[1] An author is hardly juſtified in calling that ſyſtem of government a conſtitution which is every inſtant violated. Such was the caſe of the Engliſh government under the Tudors; let whatſoever ſtatute be enacted, the proclamation from the monarch, and even the decree of council during a minority, annulled the helpleſs law, and derided the ſubject who claimed its protection. [HIST. OF ENGLISH LAW.

yet

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yet gained, before the cloſe of Elizabeth's long reign, a ſort of paſſive courage, which rendered them awful to her leſs reſolute ſucceſſors.

Change of form at the coronation of Edw. VI.

There was ſomething worth notice in the conſultation which was held in 1547 by the counſellors of the late king, concerning the form of the young Edward's coronation. It had been uſual, they agreed, to ſhew the new king to the people at the four corners of the ſtage, and to demand the conſent of thoſe there aſſembled to his coronation *. The ceremony was judged too tedious for the tender years of Edward to ſupport, and, in conſequence, ſome parts were left out, and the terms uſed at the preſentation of the king to his people [2], left to the diſcretion of the primate.

Weakneſs of government.

The deſpotiſm of Henry VIII. which, though odious, had vigor and enterpriſe, was ſucceeded by a kind of nerveleſs ariſtocracy. A few potent noblemen, throughout the reign of Edward, ſtruggled for power and profit, and left the people to be plundered and ruined by bribed ſenators and iniquitous judges. Edward undoubtedly had good diſpoſitions; but, except the ſpirited Latimer, who attempted by his plain but ſatirical diſcourſes to open his eyes, he ſeemed hardly to have a ſingle perſon about him who was not a party in ſupporting the wretched ſyſtem of corruption then prevailing. The mildneſs of Cranmer rendered his advice ineffectual; and Somerſet, though not a bad man, was notoriouſly greedy, and was governed by his wife, the vaineſt of women.

Supremacy of the crown effectually maintained.

Great attention was paid by thoſe who governed to maintain the ſupremacy of the crown in every point. Every perſon in office was made to reſign his commiſſion, and provide himſelf with a new one in the name of the young king. Even the biſhops were not exempted from this ordinance; nor were theſe new powers granted without a ſpecial note that they were held only during the king's pleaſure †; nor without a poſitive averment, that all manner of authority, whether civil or military, is derived from the crown ‡.

NOTES.

[2] To make alterations in a ceremony ſo awful was certainly a bold meaſure. It appears that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was ordered by the council 'to demand the conſent of the people, and yet in ſuch terms as ſhould ſhew that he (Edward) was no elective prince.' It ſeems ſtrange that no form for this addreſs ſhould have been preſerved from former coronations for the primate's direction.

* Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 12. Collections of Ditto, N. 4.

† Hiſt. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 5, 6.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 141.

Little

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Judges cenſured.

Little can be ſaid for the ſtate of the Engliſh, during the reign of Edward VI. as to their ſecurity in perſon or property. Somerſet, the protector, ſetting aſide his unbounded depredations on the church, for which, perhaps, his hatred to popery furniſhed to his ready conſcience ſome plauſible extenuation, was an honeſt pious man. He ſaw the depraved ſtate of the adminiſtration of civil juſtice; but, having neither reſolution nor capacity to reform the courts, he attempted a meaſure which, though perfectly well intended, was illegal, and haſtened his downfall. He erected in his own palace * a 'Court of Requeſts,' to which the injured ſuitors, or the diſtreſſed poor, unable to pay counſel, might apply for redreſs.

The corruption of the judges, although it was connived at by the great, or paſſed by as incurable, could not eſcape the piercing eye of the good Hugh Latimer, who, having been appointed preacher to the king, could make his counſel be heard where, only, redreſs could be had.

Dr. Latimer's ſpirited rebukes.

There is no point which this honeſt preacher preſſed more cloſely on the young monarch, and on Somerſet, than the neceſſity of reforming the conduct of his profligate magiſtracy: 'I muſt deſire,' ſays he, 'my Lord Protector's grace to hear me in this matter, and likewiſe, that your grace would hear poor men's ſuits yourſelf; put them to no other to be heard; let them not be delayed. The ſaying is now, that "Money is heard every where;" if a man be rich there ſhall ſoon be an end of his matters. Others are fain to go home with tears for any help they can have from any judge's hand. Hear men's ſuits yourſelf, I require you in God's behalf! and put them not in the hearing of thoſe velvet coats and up-ſkips; now a man can ſcarce know them from the ancient knights of the county.' He proceeds: 'And you, proud judges, hearken what God ſays in his holy book: "Hear the poor," he ſays, "as well as the rich!" Mark that ſentence, thou proud judge! The devil will bring this ſentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of ſuch proud judges †.'

Juſtice ill adminiſtered.

'Now-a-days,' ſays he in another place, 'the judges are afraid to hear a poor man againſt the rich; they will either pronounce againſt him, or drive the ſuit ſo that he ſhall not be able to go through with it. But the greateſt man in the realm cannot hurt the judge ſo much as a poor widow, ſuch a ſhrewd turn ſhe can do him.' He then relates the tale of a judge who

* Strype, vol. ii. p. 183. † Gilpin's Latimer, p. 105.

Cent. XVI. was ſkinned for taking bribes, and his ſkin nailed to a chair for future judges to ſit in;' and adds, with bitterneſs, 'ſurely it was a goodly ſign, the ſign of a judge's ſkin. I pray God we may once have the ſign of the ſkin in England!'

Dread of the great.

Again he advances with ſpirit: 'The magiſtrates ſhew favor to ſome, and will not ſuffer them to be rooted out or put to ſhame: "Oh! he is ſuch a one's ſervant, we may not meddle with him. Oh! he is a gentleman, we may not put him to ſhame."

Again, 'If there be a judgment between a poor man and a great man, what! muſt there be a corruption of juſtice? "Oh! he is a great man, I dare not diſpleaſe him." Fie upon thee! Art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not be he ever ſo great a man, but uprightly do true juſtice.'

In one point, at leaſt, the rough ſatire of Latimer was ſucceſsfully employed. He inveighed bitterly againſt thoſe who bought or ſold offices under the king. 'Oh that your grace,' ſaid the nervous preacher, 'would ſeek through your realm for men meet for offices, yea, and give them liberally for their pains, rather than that they ſhould give money for them; you ſhould ſeek out wiſe men, and men of activity, that have ſtomach to do their buſineſs, not milk-ſops, nor white-livered knights, but fearers of God; for he that feareth God will be no briber *.' It was probably in conſequence of this that a very ſtrict ordinance was made in parliament againſt the ſelling of any office which might be connected with the adminiſtration or execution of juſtice †. Except this act, no notice appears to have been taken of the ſpirited orator's reproofs; but it ſpeaks in favor of one of the worſt-principled courts which hiſtory can produce, that ſo bold and ſarcaſtic a monitor was not driven from his pulpit, and purſued by miniſterial vengeance.

Sale of offices forbidden.

When the faction of Warwick overpowered that of the Protector, matters went on ſtill worſe; and the execution of martial law on the moſt trivial occaſions, and on the ſlighteſt evidence, rendered the poſſeſſion of life extremely precarious. Under the ſame adminiſtration, an act of parliament was promulgated, teeming with perilous and contradictory folly. It enacted, that whoever ſhould ſtyle the king, or any of his heirs (named

Inconſiſtent ſtatute.

* Gilpin's Latimer, p. 114.

† Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 26.

in ſtat. 35 Henry VIII.), heretic, ſchiſmatic, &c. ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit goods and chattels; for the ſecond, incur a premunire; and for the third, the penalty of treaſon. At this period, it is to be noted, the king and his next heir were of oppoſite religions. The ſame houſe of commons, though ſo careleſs in this great point, had refuſed to renew the cruel ſtatutes of Henry VIII. concerning treaſon, which Edward in his firſt year had repealed. Cont. XVI.

The firſt act of Mary's reign, which aboliſhed all treaſons except thoſe in the famous act of Edward III. and all felonies except thoſe that were ſo before Henry VIII. would have been popular; had not the clauſes of a riot act, paſſed under Edward VI. which re-inſtated many penalties, been revived before the end of the ſeſſions [3]. Popular ſtatute of Mary.

It appears that, at this period, the office of a magiſtrate was in danger of becoming an appendage to the train of opulent and potent noblemen. It was to prevent this, that in the reign of Philip and Mary a bill was paſſed, that 'no man's ſervants, wearing their cloth, ſhall be juſtices of the peace, but * the king's and queen's †.' Honor of magiſtrates protected.

The conveying of landed property from one to another, ſeems to have been tranſacted nearly in the ſame manner as in the 17th and 18th centuries. The following verſes, printed in 1586, as '*Olde* Engliſh rules for purchaſing lande,' will give no bad ſpecimen of the ſcience, whatever it may of the poetry, of its compoſer. Rules for conveying landed property.

'Whoſo'll be wiſe in purchaſing,
Let him conſider the points following:

NOTES.

[3] A curious anecdote is related of an act paſſed at this period, declaring Mary, though a *queen*, to have all the privileges uſually held by the *kings* of England. Gardiner, who, ſetting aſide his bigotry, was no bad patriot, contrived that law, that it might confine her within the ſame bounds as had been preſcribed to her predeceſſors. This he thought neceſſary, as he found that the Imperial ambaſſadot had given her the copy of a plan to render her deſpotic. This ſcheme ſhe ſpiritedly threw into the fire with diſguſt, after ſhewing it to Biſhop Gardiner. But that wily old ſtateſman probably foreſaw that ſhe might not always be of the ſame mind, and brought about the act now ſpoken of.

* Except. † Stat. 2 and 3 P. and M.

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See that the land be cleare
In title o' th' ſellere;
And that it ſtand in dangère
Of no woman's dowriè,
If the tenure be bond or free,
Releaſe of every feoffee.
See that the ſellere be of age,
And that it lye not ìn mortgage;
Whether a taile be thereof found,
And whether it ſtand in ſtatute bound.
Conſider what ſervice 'long'th thereto,
And what quit-rènt thereout muſt go.
And if it be come of a wedded woman,
Thinke thou then of "covert baròn."
And, if thou mayſt in anywiſe,
Make thy charter by warrantiſe,
To thee, thine heires, aſſignes alſo.
Thus ſhould a wiſe purchaſer do *.'

The judges who preſided during the reign of Elizabeth were probably more attentive to their duty than thoſe who diſgraced the indolent reign of Edward, and leſs ſanguinary than thoſe of Mary; but the country magiſtrates ſeem to have deſerved little approbation. A juſtice of the peace was deſcribed, towards the cloſe of Elizabeth's reign, by a member in the lower houſe, as 'an animal who for half a dozen of chickens would readily diſpenſe with a dozen penal laws †;' and Elizabeth herſelf, in àn earlier juncture, complains bitterly of negligence in the magiſtrates. She had good reaſon, if we may truſt to a ſenſibly-written account of the ſtate of Somerſetſhire at that period, preſerved by Strype, and written by an eminent magiſtrate of that county. This avers, that 'forty perſons were executed in a year within the ſhire for robberies and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand; thirty-ſeven whipt; and 183 diſcharged. Theſe laſt were all deſperate

Juſtices of the peace venal.

* Booke of the Art and Mannar, &c. &c. by Leonard Maſcal, 1586.
† D'Ewes Journals, p. 661, 664.

rogues;

rogues; none would employ them, nor would they do work if they had it. That not the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were brought to trial, ſo negligent or ſo fearful were the magiſtrates; that the innumerable vagabonds terrified the country people and forced them to watch their flock, herds, corn, woods, &c. all the night. That other counties fared as ill or worſe; that 300 or 400 vagabonds infeſted every ſhire, and met in bodies of ſixty rogues together, that they might plunder with impunity. That if all the felons of this ſort were aſſembled, they would give ſtrong battle to the moſt potent enemy the queen has; that the magiſtrates dreaded them, and that inſtances might be given that ſome have been intimidated by the confederates of the condemned felons into an interpoſition to prevent the execution of a ſentence which they themſelves had pronounced *.

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Wretched ſtate of police.

Yet this accumulation of villany was by no means owing to the want of penal [4] ſtatutes. Theſe increaſed wonderfully; the ſtealers of horſes †, the cutpurſes or pickpockets, the breakers into houſes, and the violators of female chaſtity, were declared felons without benefit of clergy; perjury and forgery ‡ were puniſhed by loſs of ears; and clipping coin was made high-treaſon. The proceſs of outlawry in the diſtant and detached diſtricts, ſuch as Wales and Cheſhire, was rendered more eaſy and more effectual §; vagabonds were made ſlaves ‖, and gypſies felons ¶.

Severe penal laws.

It will probably aſtoniſh thoſe who look for the perfection of civilization under Elizabeth, to hear that the 'trial by combat' might be legally de-

NOTES.

[4] It is a fact very little known, that 'the gallies' are mentioned in a ſtatute late in the reign of Elizabeth, as a puniſhment not uncommon. Lord Coke, too, in his Inſtitutes, ſpeaks of them in the ſame light. There were three in the navy, even when the larger ſhips were but nineteen: 'The Speedwell, the Try-ryght, and the Black Galley.' [BAR. ON STATUTES.

Another ſingular and very terrific ſpecies of puniſhment we read of in 'Harriſon's Deſcription of Britain:' 'Such as having wals and banks near the ſea, and doe ſuffer the ſame to decaie, after convenient admonition, whereby the water entereth and drowneth up the country; are, by a certayne cuſtome, apprehended, condemned, and ſtaked in the breache; where they remayne for ever as parcell of the new wal,' &c. &c. [HOLINGSHED.

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 290, &c.
† Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 23.
‡ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 9 and 14.
§ Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 10. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 26.
‖ Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 3.
¶ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 20.

manded

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manded during her reign, and that in 1571, on the 18th of June, the judges of the common pleas actually ſat in Tothill-fields, Weſtminſter, to decide on a fight between 'George Thorne, a big, broad, ſtrong fellow,' the champion for Thomas Paramore, and Henry Nailor, 'a proper ſlender man,' who came to fight for Simon Lowe and John Kyme *.

The perſon of the Engliſhman, of the 16th century, was no better protected againſt the malice of the informer, than were his goods againſt the intereſted rapacity of a corrupt judge.

Martial law.

The power of exerting that ſummary ſpecies of judicature ſtyled Martial Law was allowed to reſide in the ſovereign, and ſeems to have been intended againſt the remains of ſubdued rebel cities, or of revolters conquered in the field. The executions in the Weſt, in the reign of Edward, by Kingſton, and in the North by Bowes, had the reſentment of recent outrages committed by a military force to excuſe them, if any thing can excuſe inhumanity.

Exerted in peace.

But it was not only in rebellious countries, or in time of war, that this odious law was exerciſed. During the minority of Edward VI. the bailiff of Rumford, in Eſſex, a worthy and reſpected man, was executed on a gibbet before the door of Stowe, the hiſtorian, in London; he had been accuſed of treaſonable words (which words he utterly denied) by Sir Stephen, the zealous but fanatical curate of Cree-church; had been tried by martial law, and ſentenced to be immediately hanged. His malicious accuſer was obliged to leave the place, and ſhrowd himſelf in obſcurity from the reproaches of the people †.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that the daughter of Henry VIII. would be ſparing in the uſe of an ordinance ſo well ſuited to her deſpotic turn. A letter ‡ ſtill exiſts in her own hand, reproaching Lord Suſſex for not exerting this law after the Northern rebellion had been quelled. But ſhe, too, thought that its advantages ought not to be limited to times of war and rebellion; and when Peter Burchet wounded the navigator Hawkins, Elizabeth would fain have exerted martial law againſt him, but was diſſuaded by her counſellors §. She was not always ſo cautious; we have (in Strype's Collections) a proclamation of her's, ordering martial law to be uſed againſt ſuch

* Antiquarian Rep. vol. i. p. 116.
† Preface to Stowe's London.
‡ MS. quoted in Hume's Tudors, p. 718.
§ Camden, p. 449.

as

as import bulls, or even forbidden books or pamphlets, from abroad *, 'any law or ſtatute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.' And another time ſhe was ſo much irritated at the ſlow proceedings of the ſtar-chamber (none of the mildeſt of courts), in the puniſhment of the vagabonds with which the metropolis abounded [5], that ſhe gave to Sir Thomas Wilford the commiſſion of provoſt-martial, ordering him to ſeize ſuch perſons as the juſtices of the peace ſhould point out to him as worthy to be executed by martial law, and to execute them on the gallows or gibbet, openly, near the place of the offence †. Cent. XVI.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that, when a Tudor reigned, the liberty of the ſubject ſhould be better ſecured than his property, or his life. Numberleſs ſnares were indeed laid for his freedom, and the practice of 'preſſing' [6], as Liberty of perſon not ſecured.

NOTES.

[5] It is a ſtriking obſervation, and made by one of our beſt hiſtorians, that the deſpotiſm of Elizabeth was not accompanied with that exactneſs of police, and, in conſequence, ſecurity of private property from *vulgar* plunderers, which ſometimes conſoles the ſubjects of arbitrary princes for the evils of their adminiſtration. He knows not how to account for this, unleſs from the extreme ſcantineſs of her reſources, which did not enable her to pay or reward a ſufficient force to ſupport the civil power, [HUME.

[6] The firſt record of impreſſing ſeamen is found in the 29th of Edward III. but the term uſed is 'to make choice and take up in the counties of Kent, &c. thirty-ſix mariners,' &c. The ſtory of Read, a rich citizen, preſſed, and made to ſerve in Scotland as a private ſoldier, becauſe he would not lend Henry VIII. 100l. has been told before.

In a proclamation, dated March 29, 1557, appears, for the firſt time, the term 'Preſs' applied to ſea-faring men. It recites, that 'divers ſhip-maſters, mariners, and ſea-faringe men, lately *preſted* and reteyned to ſerve her Majeſty,' &c. &c.

Shakſpeare intimates that ſhip-wrights were alſo liable to the preſs: 'Why ſuch impreſs of ſea-wrights?' And though this ſcene is laid in Denmark, yet it ſhould be recollected that the Bard of Avon generally transfers the manners of England to every country which he makes his ſcene of action. Fiſhermen are expreſſly excepted from the preſs by a ſtatute ‡.

But it was not only for the defence of the country, nor for the puniſhment of individuals, that preſſing was uſed. Parents were liable to have their children torn from their arms to become choriſters in the royal chapels. Read the complaint of 'Thomas Tuſſer, Gentleman,' who, writing of his own childhood, ſings,

'Then for my voyce
I muſt (no choyce)

Away,

* Strype, vol. iii. p. 570. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 279.

‡ 5 Eliz. cap. 5, §. 43.

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as then managed (comprehending the forcing employments on perſons who wanted them not), was one of the eaſieſt methods of putting obnoxious perſons out of the way. 'In caſe,' ſays Oſborne, 'ſhe (Elizabeth) found any likely to interrupt her occaſions, ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him on ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe knew was leaſt grateful *.'

It were indeed a curious taſk, to review the favorite reign of Elizabeth, and to remark the deſpotic power which ſhe *might* have exerciſed over her ſubjects. The obſerver would find more motives of gratitude for her forbearance of evil, than for all the ſplendid glories of her active reign.

Arbitrary courts.

The court of ſtar-chamber, whoſe members held their places at the will of the ſovereign, might fine, impriſon, and puniſh [7] corporally, by

NOTES.

Away, of force,
Like poſting horſe,
For ſundry men
Had placards, then,
Such childe to take
The better breſte,
The leſſer reſte
To ſerve the queen;
For time ſo ſpente
I may repente,
And ſorrowe make.'

In 1550, Strype tells us, there was a grant of a commiſſion to Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the privie chamber, in anie churches and chappells within England 'to take to the king's uſe ſuch and ſo many ſinging children and choriſters as he and his deputy thought good.' And again, in the following year, the maſter of the king's chapel has licence 'to take up, from time to time, as many children to ſerve in the king's chapel as he ſhall think fit.'

An ordinance for preſſing minſtrells (miniſtrallos) may be found in the days of Henry VI. [STRYPE APUD WARTON.

[7] The juriſdiction of this court ſeems to have extended itſelf to domeſtic as well as criminal concerns. In Ben Jonſon's 'New Inn,' the Lord Beaufort, fancying that he has been drawn in to marry a girl of low birth, exclaims,

'There is a royal court o' th' ſtar-chamber
Will ſcatter all theſe miſts, diſperſe theſe vapours,
And clear the truth.'

* Oſbourne, p. 392.

whip-

whipping, branding, ſlitting noſtrils and ears. The ſovereign, if preſent, was ſole judge. Cent. XVI.

The high-commiſſion court has been deſcribed. Its powerful vengeance was aimed at errors in doctrine or worſhip, or, more fairly, againſt any deviation from what the ſovereign thought right in religious matters. 'No man,' wrote the orthodox Elizabeth to Archbiſhop Whitgift, 'ſhould be ſuffered to decline either to the right or left hand from the drawn line limited by authority *.' High commiſſion court.

The ſhort but ſharp operations of martial law have been already amply deſcribed; and the great Lord Bacon thought that Eſſex and his friends had great indulgence ſhewn to them in not being inſtantly put to death by that judicature †.

It does not ſeem needful that the ſovereign ſhould be poſſeſſed of any farther means [8] of doing ill; yet had Elizabeth (and her predeceſſors had the ſame) a power to give her ſecretaries and privy-counſellors the exerciſe of unlimited deſpotiſm. Each of theſe might, by his ſole warrant, impriſon any one whom he thought a ſuſpicious perſon for as long a time as he thought proper ‡, and, at his own diſcretion (are we reading of England or of Morocco!), might ſtretch him on the rack [9]!

In

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[8] The awe in which the unlimited ſway of Elizabeth kept her courtiers, is unutterable. Sir Robert Cary writes to his father, the queen's couſin and favorite general, who had ſtaid a day or two too long in London, 'She grew into a grate rage, begynynge with God's-wondes, that ſhe wolde ſett you by the feete,' &c. &c. Another time he ſays to his father, 'Should I go without her lycenſe, it were in her power to hang me on my retourne; and, for any thing I ſee, it were ill truſting her.' The dread of her anger was indeed great enough to extort the moſt humiliating conceſſions, and on occaſions apparently trivial. In 1594, two young officers, Sir Nicholas Clifford and Sir Anthony Shirley, who had behaved themſelves with ſingular bravery in France, and for that cauſe had had the knighthood of St. Michael conferred on them by Henry IV. diſpleaſed Elizabeth ſo exceedingly, by appearing at court with the enſigns of the order, that ſhe threatened them ſeverely, and obliged them to write to France, and renounce the knighthood. [CAMDEN.

[9] That the uſe of the rack was too familiar to the mind of Elizabeth, the following ſtory told by Lord Bacon will prove: 'And another time when the queen could not be perſuaded

* Murden's Papers, p. 183. † Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 510.

‡ Murden's Papers, p. 632. Haynes's Ditto, p. 196.

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Courts of Ward and Purveyance.

In running through the oppreſſive powers of Elizabeth's reign no mention has been made of 'the Court of Wards,' which gave to the ſovereign the poſſeſſion of eſtates during the minority of the heir, and authority to diſpoſe of heir or heireſs in marriage; nor of 'Purveyance,' by virtue of which ſhe might victual not only her court, but her fleets * and armies, at the coſt of ſuffering individuals, not regularly taxed, but partially marked out [10] for oppreſſion. 'When the queen's majeſty doth remove,' ſays a contemporary writer, 'from one place to another, there are uſually 400 carewares, which amount to the ſumme of 2,400 horſes, appointed out of the countries adjoining, whereby her carriage is conveyed ſafely to the appointed place †.'

Warrants to ſtop the courſe of juſtice.

Elizabeth was praiſed in parliament for not imitating the practice, common among her predeceſſors, of ſtopping the courſe of juſtice by ſpecial warrants ‡. Each time that ſhe refrained from this groſs abuſe of her power ſhe was certainly laudable. But there remain ſtill, in the public re-

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ſuaded that it (a treatiſe) was his writing whoſe name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchievous author, and ſaid, with great indignation, "that ſhe would have him racked to produce his author." I replied, "Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his perſon, but rack his ſtyle; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the ſtory where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the ſtyles, to judge whether he were the author or no".' [Cabala.

Thus, had it not been for the humanity and wit of Lord Bacon, a man of letters had been tortured by the rack for a political pamphlet.

[10] The conduct of the Purveyor, in every age, added inſolence to oppreſſion. In earlier times the inhabitants fled the country when he approached, armed with the uſual powers of providing for the royal train. In the reign of Edward VI. Aſcham's letters afford a proof that a refined inhumanity was ſometimes added to his uſual rapacity. The preſident of Peterhouſe, Cambridge, had a favorite pad which he uſed for the recovery of his health; the purveyor ſeized this nag, nor would any other ſatisfy him, although many more were grazing in the field. This officer muſt certainly have ſtretched the limits of his commiſſion, ſince we are told he was only the king's purveyor of *fiſh*. [Rogeri Aschami Epist.

A ſpeech made by Lord Bacon, explaining all the oppreſſions of purveyance, which is recorded in his works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306, ought to be read by every Engliſhman of the 18th century, that he may reliſh the bleſſings of the conſtitution by which he is protected.

* Camden, p. 388. † Harriſon's Deſcr. of Britain, p. 220.

‡ D'Ewes, p. 141.

cords, warrants ſigned by her, exempting certain perſons from all ſuits and profecutions: 'Theſe warrants,' ſhe ſays, 'ſhe grants from her royal prerogative, which ſhe will not allow to be diſputed *.' Cent. XVI.

The crown of England had indeed, in the 16th century, every power [11] which the moſt uncontroled deſpotiſm could wiſh for, except that of regular and legal taxation. 'This limitation,' ſays an ingenious [12] hiſtorian, 'unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people; ſince it engaged to the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade;' ſchemes ſo very pernicious, that, had they proceeded, they muſt have rendered the induſtry of England uſeleſs, and her ſoil barren for want of cultivation.

Nor did the ſovereign ſtop here. When the patent and the monopoly gave not a ſufficient ſupply, the loan was at hand; a loan which none could ſafely refuſe, and which, even if repaid after a time, which was ſeldom the caſe, was yet injurious to the lender; as he had no intereſt for his money.

The duty of parliament in the 16th century.

What then, it may be fairly aſked, was the duty of the parliament during the dynaſty of the Tudor family? The members were not to meddle with ſtate affairs or the ſucceſſion, nor with the church. This laſt ſubject they were expreſsly directed to avoid, in every ſpeech which, during Elizabeth's reign, opened the ſeſſion. They might, however, direct the tanning of leather or the milling of cloth; they might attend to the preſervation of the game, to the repair of bridges and highways, and to the puniſhment of vagabonds and beggars. It is true, that the court could do all that was neceſſary

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[11] The particular fetters which pinioned the preſs are not added to the catalogue of Elizabeth's penal powers in this place. They were frequently connected with the exertions of the eccleſiaſtical; and the ſtationer's ſtores were oftener ranſacked by the high-commiſſion court than by the ſtar-chamber. Both were deſpotic.

[12] Mr. Hume; to whoſe admirable obſervations on the reign of Elizabeth, the author owns with gratitude, that he owes more than one paragraph. That elegant writer has conſolidated into an eſſence, thoſe powers with which the then exiſtent conſtitution had armed the crown; apparently with the laudable intention that the reader ſhould feel double pleaſure, in the bleſſings and privileges which a more liberal form of government, in the 18th century, confers, in oppoſition to the deſpotiſm of a reign which will yet remain, in brilliancy, unrivalled in the Engliſh annals.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 652, 708, 777.

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by proclamations, which were allowed to have the force of acts of parliament, and which were much more ſtrictly executed; but they were not ſo durable, and were ſooner forgotten *.

Monopolies innumerable.

In the year 1601, the liſt [13] of commodities which were granted out by patent from the queen to her greedy courtiers, was read over to the houſe of commons, and excited, even among thoſe broken-ſpirited legiſlators, a temporary reſentment. 'Is not bread among them?' ſaid an indignant member, 'If it be not now, it will be in the catalogue before next parliament.' In this place it would be unpardonable not to repeat the arguments which were uſed in defence of the queen's conduct; which, as they were found in the mouths, by turns, of the country-gentlemen as well as of the courtiers, and admitted on all ſides, muſt be allowed to compoſe the political creed of the times.

Summary of the queen's power.

'The queen, it was affirmed, poſſeſſed an enlarging and a reſtraining power; by her prerogative ſhe might ſet free what was limited by ſtatute or otherwiſe, or ſhe might reſtrain what was free †. The royal prerogative was neither to be canvaſſed, nor diſputed, nor examined ‡. It could admit of no limitation §. Abſolute princes, as the ſovereigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinities ‖. By her diſpenſing power, the queen might annul any ſtatute; and ſhe could even make void a clauſe inſerted by that very diſpenſing power ¶.

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[13] Theſe were, ſalt, currants, iron, powder, cards, calf ſkins, felts, poldavies (canvas), ox-ſhin bones, train oil, lifts of cloth, pot-aſh, anniſeeds, vinegar, ſea-coal, ſteel, aqua vitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidences, oil, calamint ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards; tranſportation of iron, horn, beer, leather; importation of Spaniſh wool and of Iriſh yarn. Theſe are but a part of the commodities conſigned over to monopoliſts, and we may judge how much the public ſuffered by this cruel practice by the price of ſalt, which was in ſome places raiſed from ſixteen pence a buſhel to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings. An incident during the ſame ſeſſion deſerves notice. Sir Andrew Noel, being ſheriff of Rutland, returned *himſelf*, together with Sir John Harrington, as knights for ſaid county. On this being queſtioned in parliament, Sir Edward Hobby ſaid, that it might well be ſo, ſince the bailiffs of Southwark had, in 'the 21ſt of the queen's reign, returned themſelves and were received.' However, a new election was ordered.

* Hume's Tudors, p. 526.
† D'Ewes's Journals, p. 644, 675.
‡ Ibid. p. 644, 649.
§ Ibid. p. 646, 651.
‖ Ibid. p. 649.
¶ Ibid. p. 640, 646.

'A con-

'A converſation,' writes the indignant reporter, 'more worthy of a Turkiſh Divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons.' Cent. XVI.

On this occaſion the queen moſt ſtrangely relaxed from her uſual ſeverity; and, inſtead of ſending the foes of monopolizers to priſon, ſhe promiſed immediate redreſs; and the aſtoniſhed houſe thought no phraſeology too high to expreſs the merits of ſuch condeſcenſion, and applied to their frail, and almoſt expiring, ſovereign, thoſe epithets which are uſually appropriated to the Creator. Her meſſage was 'goſpel or glad tidings;' ſhe had, 'like the Deity, been herſelf the agent,' they praiſed her 'preventing grace,' and affirmed that, like the Divinity, ſhe was 'all truth,' and, like him too, 'performed all ſhe promiſed.' Prophane gratitude.

Thus ſtood, or rather, thus ſervilely crept, the laſt parliament of Elizabeth's deſpotic reign. Let us cloſe the account with an inſtance of diſqualifying oratory.

It was uſual (the cuſtom ſtill laſts) for the member propoſed as ſpeaker of the lower houſe, to urge his own incapacity. Yelverton was ſingularly eloquent on this ſubject in 1597. 'Your ſpeaker,' ſaid he, 'ought to be a man big and comely, ſtately and well-ſpoken; his voice great, his carriage majeſtical; his nature haughty, and his purſe plentiful and heavy. But, contrarily, the ſtature of my body is ſmall, myſelf not ſo well ſpoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like and of the common faſhion; my nature ſoft and baſhful, my purſe thin, light, and never yet plentiful.' The houſe lent no ear to this modeſt apology; and Yelverton filled the chair with ſufficient dignity *. Qualifications of a ſpeaker.

It may now be aſked, what was the power, and what the uſe, of parliaments, when ſuch deſpotic powers were lodged in the crown? The parliament entirely regulated the taxation of the ſubject; a power which was only valuable from becoming, under an irreſolute monarch, the means of extorting, gradually, all thoſe privileges which form the baſis of that admirable conſtitution of which Great Britain boaſts in the 18th century. Trivial power of parliament.

The parliament had no *real* legiſlative power. So long as there exiſted an authority which could diſpenſe with the penalties of its acts, ſuch acts were futile.

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 549.

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The forms of parliament were little altered from thoſe of the preceding reigns; the ſons of peers appear to have been firſt elected to ſit in the lower houſe about 1550. In the ſame year the firſt journal of the houſe's proceedings appears to have been taken down.

Seceſſion in 1555.

In the year 1555 a ſingular circumſtance occurred in conſequence of a diſpute between the two houſes of parliament. Several members of the lower houſe ſeceded, and would not attend their duty. The queen proceeded againſt them. Six ſubmitted and paid their fines; the reſt traverſed, and the death of Mary ſtopped the whole proceſs.

Elizabeth jealous of her ſupremacy.

The extreme delicacy of Elizabeth concerning her ſupremacy of the church, was a ſource of perpetual vexation to her commons, as it excited her to reſiſt with great ſternneſs every attempt which they, who almoſt all Puritans, inceſſantly formed againſt her much favored cap and robes. Theſe, as has been already ſhewn, ſhe guarded with care from their attacks; nor was ſhe leſs attentive to her own lucrative prerogative of granting patents and monopolies.

Harſh treatment of a member.

In 1571 Robert Bell, a noted Puritan, who had ſpoken againſt an excluſive patent of ruinous conſequence, granted to a merchant of Briſtol, drew upon the houſe a command from the queen 'to ſpend little time in motions, and to avoid long ſpeeches.' Bell himſelf was ſent for by the council, and ſo ſeverely reprimanded, that, on his return to the houſe, 'his amazed countenance *' terrified the members from freedom of ſpeech for ſome ſpace of time

An early bribe.

It was in this ſeſſion that a bribe of four pounds was proved to have been given by a member of the lower houſe to the mayor of a borough, in order to ſecure his ſeat †.

Intrepidity of Wentworth.

In the ſeſſion of 1576 Peter Wentworth, the moſt ſturdy of the Puritan members, uttered a ſpeech fraught with ſuch principles of liberty, and ſuch ſtrong intimations of the extreme deſpotiſm of the court and ſervility of the ſenate, that the commons, ſtanding aghaſt at his intrepidity, committed him priſoner to the ſerjeant at arms, and ordered him to be examined by a committee; which, chuſing to meet in the ſtar-chamber, ſeemed diſpoſed to add the powers of that arbitrary court to their own. But the diſcerning

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 242.

† Ibid. p. 181.

Puritan

Puritan refuſed to plead before any court except a committee acting excluſively as members of parliament; and Elizabeth, not liking the perverſe ſteadineſs of the man, gave up the point; and, with great apparent mildneſs, reſtored him to his liberty and place in parliament *. It was on this occaſion that Sir Walter Mildmay, in a celebrated ſpeech to the houſe, extolled the benevolence of the queen, and told the commons that they muſt not ſpeak all they thought, ſince ſuch freedoms had frequently been puniſhed, both in paſt ages and in the preſent. That gentleman, with a Mr. Fleetwood, and Sir Humphry Gilbert (a man deſigned by nature for a hardy mariner, not a court flatterer), made on all occaſions ſuch ſervile adulatory ſpeeches, ſo fraught with the doctrines of paſſive obedience, and ſo menacing to that part of the commons which harbored any idea of freedom in ſpeaking, that they expoſed them to the moſt cutting raillery from their opponents, who dared to ſpeak of *them*, although themſelves terrified at any whiſper 'that the queen or the council would be diſpleaſed.'

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Mean ſenators.

It were endleſs to record the repeated humiliations to which the parliaments of Elizabeth were bound to ſubmit; one farther inſtance only ſhall be adduced. In 1593, Puckering, the lord keeper, in his anſwer to the ſpeaker's three uſual demands, explained liberty of ſpeech to be no more 'than a liberty of aye and no †.' This was the text. A proper comment ſoon appeared; for Peter Wentworth, and three other members, were ſent to priſon for moſt reſpectfully propoſing that the queen ſhould be intreated to ſettle the ſucceſſion of her crown. After a fortnight had paſſed, the houſe was moved to petition the queen for the releaſe of their members; but being told by the courtiers, that Elizabeth would like to take her own time, the cautious ſenate humbly acquieſced ‡.

Liberty of ſpeech much abridged.

The ranks of ſociety continued nearly as they had been during the former part of the century, except the unhappy denomination of ſlaves. That order, diſgraceful to the ages in which it had exiſted, was nearly [14] annihilated;

Slavery expiring.

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[14] But not *totally*; for, in the Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 715, may be found a ſolitary inſtance of a regular manumiſſion by Elizabeth in favor of her home-born villain in the manor of

* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 244. † Ibid. p. 460, 469. ‡ Ibid. p. 470.

Cent. XVI. hilated; even the word was baniſhed, and only to be found in an impracticable act of parliament as a bugbear to vagabonds.

Care of the poor. In their room aroſe to notice, a diviſion of the community emphatically ſtyled 'the poor.' For theſe Judge Blackſtone writes, that he finds no legal or compulſive proviſion ſet apart in early times. Their maintenance, then, fell chiefly on the eccleſiaſtics; and a fourth part of the tithes was originally ſet apart for that purpoſe. When gradually the tithes became the property of monaſteries, the ſupport of the poor became their duty. In the reign of Henry VIII. the firſt act * was paſſed which immediately affected this diviſion of the people. The magiſtrates were directed to ſearch for the poor, and to give begging licences to all weak, old, and impotent perſons; but ſuch as were 'whole and mighty in body,' and yet were found idling away their time, were to be ſeverely whipped and ſent to their pariſhes.

Poor's rates earlier than the reformation. And here it ſhould be obſerved, that this regulation took place ſome years before the diſſolution of religious houſes. This remark confutes at once the favorite ſyſtem of thoſe who date the commencement of the poor's rates from the deſtruction of monaſteries [15].

Inhuman law repealed. Early in the reign of Edward VI. an act paſſed † whoſe extreme inhumanity ſhortened its own duration. Firſt, vagabonds were averred to be more in number in England than in other regions; then ſervants out of place, wanderers, &c. were all huddled together under the name of vagabonds, and were decreed to become ſlaves for two years, and to be driven to work by dint of blows, and kept to it by chains. If ſuch oppreſſed being ſhould abſent himſelf fourteen days, he might be branded with a hot

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of Taunton Dean. An order may be alſo ſeen p. 751, whereby Lord Burleigh and Sir W. Mildmay are directed to agree with the queen's bondſmen in the Weſtern counties for their redemption.

[15] Neither am I moved, 'ſays Fynes Moryſon, a contemporary, treating of the ſubſiſtence of the poor, 'with the vulgar opinion, preferring old times to ours; becauſe it is apparent that the cloyſters of monkes (who ſpoyled all that they might be beneficial to a few), and gentlemen's houſes (who nouriſhed a rabble of ſervants), lying open to all idle people for meate and drinke, were cauſe of greater ill than good to the commonwealth.

[ITINERARY.

* Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. † Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 3.

iron,

iron, and became a ſlave for ever. Any child found in ſuch vagabond's company, incurred the ſame penalty. Cent. XVI.

The free and generous nature of the Engliſh revolted at this cruel law. It was found to be uſeleſs from its inhumanity, and a new one was framed in its ſtead *. By this and another ſubſequent act, collectors were appointed to gather alms for the relief of the poor; and if any one would not add what appeared to be his fair quota to the contribution, he was to be reprimanded by the biſhop; who might alſo, if he found him obſtinate, take order for the reformation of his conduct.

In the fourteenth of Elizabeth a ſtatute appears which directs 'aſſeſſments to be made in every pariſh for the relief of the poor.' This was for a limited time; and (ſays Mr. Barrington †) was probably ſuffered to expire from its great ſeverity againſt vagabonds; who, if above fourteen, were to be whipped, burned in the ear with a hot iron to the compaſs of an inch, and for the ſecond offence to ſuffer death.

Laudable regulations enacted.

The important act which paſſed in almoſt the laſt ‡ year of Elizabeth, at a period when ſhe, from the gloom which over-ſhadowed her once active mind, could have little merit in the compoſition of a law ſo voluminous and intricate, is extremely and judiciouſly particular, and appoints not only the method of raiſing a tax for the ſupport of the poor, and the perſons who are to collect it and to diſtribute it, but alſo thoſe who are to overſee and criticiſe on that diſtribution; a taſk allotted with the moſt diſcerning propriety to the neighboring juſtices of the peace. It regulates alſo the ſettlement of the poor, that is to ſay, it appoints to what pariſhes, families, circumſtanced as deſcribed by the act, have a right [16] to apply for relief. The whole act is allowed to poſſeſs great merit; nor have the attempts to explain and improve it, always ſucceeded.

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[16] We find, by a letter of the antiquary Aubrey, that this ſtatute was not for ſome time carried into general execution, particularly in Wiltſhire. Nor are the poor's laws executed to this day in ſome counties of North Wales, though this ſtatute expreſsly extends to the principality. [BAR. ON STAT.

* Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 2.

† Obſ. on Statutes, p. 477.

‡ Stat. 43 Eliz. cap. 2.

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Honor due to England for her care of the poor.

England is the only country which has provided for the laborer when his ſtrength has forſaken him, and when the merits of a life ſpent in induſtry, call loudly on the more opulent members for ſupport; nor can the ſhort account which has been given of this moſt meritorious inſtitution be better concluded than by the words of the humane and intelligent Barrington: 'If merits in an individual are ſometimes ſuppoſed to be rewarded in this world, I do not think it too preſumptuous to ſuppoſe that national virtues may likewiſe meet with their bleſſings; England has, to its peculiar honor, not only made its poor free, but hath provided a certain and ſolid eſtabliſhment to prevent their neceſſities and indigence when they ariſe from what the law terms "the act of God." And are not theſe beneficent attentions to the miſeries of our fellow creatures, the firſt of thoſe poor pleas which we are capable of offering in behalf of our imperfections to an all-wiſe and merciful Creator *.'

Revenue of Edward VI.

We have no very clear lights as to the revenues of Edward VI. Great ſums were ſpent by war, and ſtill more by the careleſſneſs of his miniſters. The parliament, as it uſually did to every new prince, gave him tonnage and poundage for his life; beſides the duties on wood and leather †, expreſsly for the guard of the ſeas. The French king had paid him 400,000 crowns for Boulogne; the companies of London had given him 20,000l. as a compoſition ‡; he had the produce of many chantries which were publicly ſold; and the biſhoprics were robbed of many manors for his uſe, or rather for to ſupply the exigencies of his rapacious courtiers [17]. Beſides this, a large ſum was raiſed for the treaſury by the worſt of all methods, that of debaſing the coin. Yet he died indebted more than three hundred thouſand pounds to his ſubjects and others [18].

His

NOTES.

[17] So thoroughly had the peculations of Edward's ill-choſen miniſters ruined the ſtores left by Henry VIII. that it was now judged right to deſtroy the two courts 'of the Augmentation' and 'of the Surveyors;' there being now hardly buſineſs enough left to employ the court of Exchequer. [Carte.

[18] We may judge in ſome degree of the king's revenue, as well as of the value of money during his reign, by the amount of the annual preſents which he gave to his friends and to men of literary merit. Accordingly we find that, in 1549, Edward granted a penſion

* Obſ. on Statutes, p. 481. † Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 13.

‡ Heylyn, apud Carte, vol. iii. p. 271.

His ſiſter Mary was by no means ſcrupulous in the methods of increaſing her revenue. She put in practice 'forced loans *;' ſhe made the merchants buy off embargoes on their goods †, and ſhe ſometimes ſeized all the leather and the wood of a whole county. Theſe extortions aided her not; her debts [18] were conſiderable at her death; and were left, as well as thoſe of her brother Edward, to be diſcharged by their more œconomical ſucceſſor Elizabeth. Cent. XVI. Of Mary.

It is not eaſy to ſtate the revenue of Elizabeth with any kind of exactitude, as ſhe had ſo many ways of increaſing the uſual perquiſites of the crown. Her ordinary income appears to have been under 500,000 l. per annum. The cuſtoms of London, one of the firmeſt of its branches, flouriſhed ſo luxuriantly [19], that ſhe raiſed the annual rent from 14,000 l. to 50,000 l. ‡ She was preſented, during her long reign, with only twenty ſubſidies, and thirty-nine fifteenths. The value of a ſubſidy was changeable, ſometimes 120,000 l. ſometimes § no more than 80,000 l. On the whole, Mr. Hume ſuppoſes the queen to have received not more than three millions from her people, in regular taxes, during forty-five years. But ſhe had innumerable ways of raiſing money, the produce of which can no way be eſtimated. She took from the Roman Catholics above 20,000 l. annually, by ſelling them licences and diſpenſations from attending the Pro- Of Elizabeth.

NOTES.

ſion of 166l. 13s. 4d. to Sebaſtian Cabot, the navigator, and 100l. per annum each to Bucer and Peter Fagius; alſo 379l. per annum (during pleaſure) to 'his faithful friend, Otho, Duke of Brunſwic.'

The ſalary of the lord high admiral was 133l. 6s. 8d. Malmſey wine coſt three halfpence the pint. [ANDERSON.

[18] The ſalary given by Mary to her phyſician (Dr. Huis) was 100l. per annum, beſides diet, wine, wax-lights, &c. Her apothecary had 40 marks, her librarian only 20. She likewiſe granted a little after, to Thomas Huſſe, a gentleman, for his '*competent exhibition and ſupport*' while he ſtudied the law, 13l. 6s. 8d. By this rule we may judge of the price of proviſions in 1553. [ANDERSON.

[19] 'In the 12th year of her reign,' ſays Cotton, in his Poſthuma, 'the yearly profits of the kingdom' (meaning thoſe of manors, lands, cuſtom, eſcheats, &c.), 'beſides the wards and the Duchy of Lancaſter, was 188,197 l. 4s.'

* Carte, vol. iii. p. 330.
† Ibid. p. 333.
‡ Camden, p. 558.
§ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 630.

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Her various ſources of wealth.

teſtant ſervice *; and ſhe received almoſt as much every new-year's day in donations. Once being diſguſted with the ſmall ſhare which ſhe might fairly demand of a rich Spaniſh prize taken by Raleigh, in 1592, the proprietors ſoothed her with a preſent of 80,000 l. in addition to the 20,000 l. to which alone ſhe had a juſt claim: 'The largeſt gift ever made,' ſays Sir Walter, 'by private perſons to their ſovereign.' Add to this the vaſt ſums accruing from the pillage of biſhoprics † (and from receiving their whole revenues, as ſhe did that of Ely during nineteen years ‡), from excluſive patents, monopolies, &c. and the amount of the whole muſt be inconceivably extenſive.

She needed, indeed, vaſt ſums, if, as ſome have written §, ſhe had four millions of pounds to pay at her acceſſion for the debts of her predeceſſors [18]; this however is incredible.

Foreign Loans.

In one point Elizabeth ſet a good example to all her ſucceſſors. When money was wanted it had been uſual for the Engliſh princes to borrow at Antwerp; and ſo low was their credit, that even, with the weight of the city of London on their ſide, they never paid leſs than ten or twelve per cent. But ſhe, more œconomical, gained ſo good a character for paying the intereſt of her loans, that ſhe went no farther than her own ſubjects for pecuniary aid; and, by the interference of the active and enterprizing Greſham, the queen found means to borrow what ſhe wanted, on more reaſonable terms, of the company of Engliſh merchant adventurers.

NOTES.

[18] Mr. Hume thinks this impoſſible; firſt, as the debts of the crown, in 1553, were only 300,000 l. and becauſe Elizabeth never could have paid that large ſum from her revenue. Probably a cypher is added, by miſtake, to the real amount of what ſhe diſcharged, ſince it is impoſſible that Mary could have increaſed the ſum in ſo monſtrous a proportion.

* Carte, p. 102.
† Strype, vol. iv. p. 213
‡ Ibid. p. 351.
§ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 473.

CHAP III. SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS, OF SCOTLAND, FROM A. D. 1542, TO A. D. 1603.

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Ariſtocracy prevalent in Scotland.

AT the commencement of this period, and for many ſucceeding years, ariſtocracy, in its moſt odious form, bore the ſway in Scotland. It had not there, as in moſt parts of Europe, been undermined by the progreſs of commerce and its concomitant opulence. The ſucceſſive kings of Scotland had exerted every means in their power to weaken the aſcendant of the nobility, but in vain, as repeated minorities gave to that order time and opportunity to recruit its vigor.

Neceſſary policy of the king.

When the king was of age, and in poſſeſſion of the reſources with which his ſtation naturally furniſhed him, he could, by his influence in parliament, in ſome degree counteract this dangerous power; and the deadly feuds which reigned among theſe fierce, untractable barons, afforded to a politic prince a ſtill eaſier way of leſſening their conſequence. But repeated minorities, and, at length, a ſceptre ſwayed by a female, not reſolute and politic, like the Engliſh Elizabeth, but delicate, timid, and ſuſceptible, would have deprived the monarchy of every prerogative, had not James VI. been endowed with a certain kind of nerveleſs but enduring policy (he called it 'King-craft'), which, by fair and mild means, preſerved the influence of the crown againſt not only contending factions of the nobility, but againſt the moſt bold and aſſuming hierarchy which ever emulated the powers of the court of Rome.

It is not during the turbulent governments of Arran, or of Mary of Guiſe, the widow of James V. that we are to ſeek for any changes in Scottiſh conſtitution; nor yet in the ſhort and ill-ſtarred reign of Mary Stuart; nor in the precarious regencies which enſued; when the eccleſiaſtical and military force united, and governed the realm, under the concealed but firm direction of the wiſe Elizabeth; it is to the adminiſtration of James, the ſon of Mary, that recourſe muſt be had for obſervations on a government which needed years of tranquillity before it could demand attention as a political ſyſtem.

In

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In a former book we have ſeen the parliaments, or conventions, and the aſſemblies of the church, alternately proceeding on the ſame plan; forwarding reformation, oppoſing the intereſt of France, and ſupporting the authority of the infant James againſt that party which eſpouſed the unfortunate cauſe of his mother Mary.

Parliament how formed.

On the arrival of that period when James VI. was capable of holding the reins of government, he found it neceſſary to pay particular attention to the formation of parliament, which had, in general, been merely an aſſemblage of biſhops, abbots, and greater barons, with a few commiſſioners from counties, who met in one houſe, and tranſacted the buſineſs of the nation; nor did the leſſer barons think their influence in parliament an object worth the coſt which an attendance on the houſe muſt have occaſioned, at a time when a numerous train of vaſſals and dependants would have accompanied the ſenator to the capital, and have been ſupported at his charge during the ſeſſion. On very great occaſions theſe inferior members came forward in vaſt numbers (for the feuds, originally great, being now ſplit into ſmall diviſions, the freeholders were numerous, and each had a vote), from the moſt remote diſtricts, and filled the houſe with that honeſt but undeſirable clamor which ill-regulated zeal always produces.

James I. of Scotland [22] had tried long before to perſuade this well-meaning but confuſed mob of patriots, to be contented with electing repreſentatives, and by them to form a lower houſe as in England; but they could not be reconciled to this meaſure, although three ſucceſſive monarchs approved the ſyſtem, and endeavored to ſupport it.

A lower houſe eſtabliſhed.

To enforce ſo ſalutary a regulation was the earneſt wiſh of James VI. and in 1587, as ſoon as he became of age, he cauſed this plan of his anceſtors to be introduced again to the conſideration of parliament. The noblemen

NOTES.

[22] In every advantageous change of legiſlative ſyſtem England appears to have been the object of imitation to its Northern ſiſter. From many cauſes it happened that government was ſooner brought to perfection in the South. James I. of Scots drew all his excellent ideas of improvements from the obſervations which he had made during his mild though unjuſt impriſonment at Windſor. Burgeſſes and knights of ſhires were denominations borrowed from England. [Robertson.

extremely diſapproved * of a ſyſtem calculated to reduce their conſequence by forming a conſtitutional balance to their authority; but, as the king had it in his power to carry any point by convoking the leſſer barons and outvoting them, they gave way; and the burghs, as well as the counties, ſent repreſentatives to parliament from that time to the union [23]. Cent. XVI.

There was another branch of the legiſlature, of great importance to the regal authority, in which the policy of James ſuggeſted an alteration.

The Lords of the Articles (like the triers of petitions once known in England) had been long uſed to receive ſupplications, and to prepare for the houſe of parliament ſuch bills as they thought worthy of regard; nor could any laws even be debated on without their ſanction firſt obtained. Theſe were uſually compoſed of eight ſpiritual and eight temporal lords; of eight repreſentatives and eight great officers of the crown. Of this body, which in fact engroſſed the eſſence of parliamentary power, the firſt and the laſt diviſions were ſure to vote for the court; and as it was improbable that the other ſixteen could be all united under the ſtandard of oppoſition, the king may be ſaid to have poſſeſſed a complete command of the legiſlative body; and, by means of the Lords of Articles, to have been able to put a decided negative on every propoſed law, even before it was brought forward or known to the people. Lords of Articles, how compoſed.

But although it appears that all the members of this very important ſeleƈtion were generally choſen and appointed immediately by the royal [24] authority, before the meeting of parliament, yet James VI. anxious leſt an appointment on which the whole regal importance depended, ſhould Reſtrained in their authority.

NOTES.

[23] It was not long after this that George Buchanan publiſhed a dialogue, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' which was compoſed expreſsly to prove all government to be derived from the people. He had written this for the uſe of his royal pupil James VI. on whom it had little effeƈt. The parliament was offended, and paſſed an act 'anent ſlanderers of the king,' &c. declaring the book 'to conteyne ſundry offenſive matters worthy to be deleete.' And whoever had them was ordered to bring them to the ſecretaries office, under the paine of two hundredth pundes of everie perſon failzeing therein.'

[NICHOLSON'S HIST. LIB.

[24] As in 1566, when, as appears by authentic records, Mary, either by herſelf or with the advice of her privy counſil, eleƈted the Lords of the Articles five days before the meeting of parliament. [KEITH APUD ROBERTSON.

* Spotiſwood, p. 366.

eſcape

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escape from his direction, contrived an act* which, under pretence of the vast overflow of petitions for new laws, created a new power; this was decreed to reside in four persons only out of each estate, who should meet twenty days before the sitting of parliament, to receive all supplications, &c. and, rejecting what they thought frivolous, should recite in a book what they thought worthy the attention of the Lords of the Articles. As these commissioners were naturally left to be chosen by the king, they formed a restriction on those lords, should they at any period prove refractory to the royal behest. And in this position affairs appear to have rested, when the accession of James to the English throne, invested him with power to carry on the Scottish government as he pleased, without having recourse to the arts of policy.

State of courts of justice.

No particular change in the courts of judicature appears to have taken place during the period here treated of. During the latter part of the century, the civil and the ecclesiastical branches of authority were frequently engaged in disputes, particularly concerning the Popish peers; who, having the wishes of the irresolute king in their favor, set the laws at defiance.

Scottish laws severe.

The Scottish criminal code was voluminous and severe, especially towards the beginning of the reformation; when affectation of extreme purity of manners, joined to the rigid spirit of the stern Knox, swelled follies into vices, and hunted down a juvenile frolic with a rancor which could only have been justified by the supposition of an enormous crime.

Adultery and fornication.

The first essay of the reformers' legal acrimony seems to have pointed very justly at the violators of the nuptial tie; for, in 1560, they caused Sanderson, deacon of the fleshers (president of the butchers), to be carted for adultery through the streets of Edinburgh. A riot was the consequence, and the culprit was liberated by force †; but the magistrates were brought to a severe account for their negligence.

The less guilty fornicator was treated with equal harshness. His punishment was a month's imprisonment on bread and water, and then a severe whipping [25] ‡.

NOTES.

[25] By a statute passed in 1567, 'those who committ the filthie vice of fornication are, after being half starved, to be taken to the deipest and fowlest pule of water of the town, there to be dowked thrise, and thereafter banished from the parish.' [Public Acts.

* Stat. 218, Parl. 8 Jac. VI. † Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 20. ‡ Ibid. p. 24.

Soon

Soon after this, adultery was made a capital crime *; it was divided into three diſtinct degrees, 1. That of having children 'procreat' between the parties. 2. That of keeping 'company and bed togedder, notoriouſly knowen;' and, 3. The being 'ſuſpect of adulterie, giving ſclander to the kirk, and being excommunicate' in conſequence. Yet it appears needleſs to have made theſe diſtinctions, ſince 'all theſe three, and every one of them, ſhall incur and ſuffer the pain of death †.' Some time after this, a very rational law decreed any marriage between the divorced wife and her gallant (ſuppoſing them to have eluded the capital puniſhment) to be null and void, and incapacitated the children of ſuch couple from inheriting the goods of either party ‡. Cent. XVI.

It may be preſumed that ſwearing was not a vice peculiar to the ſouthern diſtrict of the iſland; ſince we find, in 1591, an act againſt thoſe who ſwear 'abhominable aithes, execrationes, and blaſphemationes of the name of God, ſwearand in vain be his precious blud, bodie, paſſion, and wounds, devil ſtick, cummer, gore, roiſt or rieſe them, and ſik uther ougſum aithes,' &c. And in 1581 the ſame act appears again renewed, with an increaſe of penalties, and a ſtrong intimation that the fair ſex had its ſhare in the charge, 'and women to be weyed and conſiddered conforme to their bluide and eſtaite of their parties that they are cupled with §.' Swearing.

Deſtroyers of parks and incloſures, for the third fault are puniſhed with death ‖.

Carrying arms without licence, having been accounted felony, eſcaped any puniſhment, as death ſeemed too heavy a penalty. It was therefore changed to a ſevere fine ¶.

Beggars were treated harſhly; 'ſik as make themſels fules, and are bairdes [26],' are to be kept in irons while they have any thing left to Begging.

NOTES.

[26] This extremely humiliating mention of bards refers merely to the moſt wretched ballad-ſingers. Minſtrels, when ſpoken of in the Scottiſh laws or records, are always treated with a conſiderable degree of reſpect.

* Stat. 74. Parl. 9 Marie. † Stat. 105. Parl. 7 Jac. VI. ‡ Stat. 20. Parl. 16 Jac. VI.
§ Stat. 103. Parl. 7 Jac. VI. ‖ Stat. 84. Parl. 6 Jac. VI. ¶ Stat. 87. Parl. 6 Jac. VI.

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live upon; after that they are to have their ears cut off and be baniſhed; and if they return into the country they are to be hanged *.

Seditious ſpeaking, &c.

The reſpect due to the regal perſon had always been great, nor could any thing be more cloſely guarded in Scotland than the honor and ſafety of the king. This is proved by the following act, which is ſupported by many others: 'Publicly to declaime or *privately* to ſpeake or write any purpoſe of reprocht or ſlander of the king's perſone, eſtaite, or government; or to deprave his lawes or actes of parliament; or miſconſtrue his proceedings whereby any miſlike can be mooved betwixt his hieneſſe and his nobilitie, loving ſubjects,' &c. &c. is declared a crime worthy death; and 'the ſaid paine of deathe ſall be execute on them with all rigor †.'

But an act 'againſt leaſing-making, or raiſing ſlanders againſt the king,' &c ‡, far exceeded that above mentioned in ſeverity; ſince it denounced the penalty of treaſon to all ſuch as might hear 'ſuch leaſings, calumnies, &c. and not apprehend the perſon,' or at leaſt give evidence of his offence to the proper magiſtrate.

Except the inſtances above recorded, the criminal laws of Scotland differed little from thoſe of its Southern neighbours.

Borderers untamed.

The criminal law was in general ill executed, eſpecially on the borders; for there the inhabitants, ſtrangers to the arts of peace, and looking on induſtry as a ſpecies of daſtardly fatigue, ſubſiſted entirely by ſpoil and pillage [26]; and, being powerfully connected and confederated, ſet the common miniſters of juſtice at defiance.

Contemptible

NOTES.

[26] The inhabitants of the Northern and Weſtern mountains, called Highlanders, although as expert in thievery as their lowland countrymen, were not equally trained to arms; but they were more ingenious, polite, and inclined to the compoſition of poetry. Duncan Laider, or the Strong, head of the M'Gregors, a 'notable lymmer,' executed towards the cloſe of the 16th century, by order of Sir Colin Campbel of Inverary, ſeems to have expreſſed his remorſe in very tolerable verſes, allowing for the age he lived in. Like Spenſer he perſonifies the vices. The poem is called his 'Will,' and ſtill exiſts in the Breadalbane library at Taymouth.

'Quhen

* Stat. 74. Parl. 6 Jac. VI. † Stat. 10. Parl. 10 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 209. Parl. 14 Jac. VI.

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Contemptible as theſe hereditary plunderers may appear, there were few of the Scottiſh monarchs who did not find themſelves obliged to make expeditions in perſon againſt them; and the aid of their lawleſs bands was always ſought by the barons when in arms againſt their king, or againſt one another, and almoſt always enſured victory. A conſtant warfare was indeed carried on between the martial inhabitants of the ſeparate diſtricts, which, by keeping their military faculties in continual exerciſe, fitted them for ſudden enterprizes; nor were their bows unbent until 1595; when James VI. of Scots, dreading leſt his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne might be endangered by this habitual enmity, ſeverely prohibited the Scots, by proclamation, from continuing their incurſions; and, the ſame care being exerted on the Engliſh border, the 'debateable land,' as it was uſed to be called, was no longer manured by the blood of its inhabitants or the aſhes of their manſions. It was then for the firſt time that the ſiſter kingdoms received from their inſular poſition all its due advantages. But it was ſome time before the predatory ſpirit of the borderers could be totally ſubdued; and the removal of one whole clan, or ſept, was found a neceſſary ſtep to the complete reſtoration of tranquillity [27].

Quieted in 1595.

The

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'Quhen paſſit was the tyme of tender age,
And Youth with Inſolence maid acquentànce,
And Wickitneſs enforc'd evìll couràge,
Quhile Might with Crueltie maid alliànce;
Then Falſhed tuke on him the governànce,
And me be taucht ane houſhald for to gyde,
Call't evil comp'nie, baith to gang and ryde.

My maiſter-houſhald, heicht Oppreſſioun;
Reif, my ſtewàrd, that cairit af na wrang;
Murthure, Slauchtir, of ane profeſſioun,
My cùbicùlares bene thes yeares lang;
Recept, that aft tuik mony by ane fang,
Was porter to the yeltes to appin wyde,
And Covatice was chamb'lane at all tyde.' [PENNANT.

[27] The name was Græme or Grahme. They claimed a high deſcent, and appeared to have remained almoſt unmixed from the date of the Roman incurſions into the North. The Græmes, diſtinct from each nation, always choſe that party which promiſed the moſt

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Revenue.

The revenues of the Scottiſh crown would have received a large addition in 1561, when one third of the rich eſtates poſſeſſed by the Roman Catholic clergy was ſettled on the queen, on condition of her engaging for the ſubſiſtence of the unprovided Proteſtant preachers. But that third was reduced to ſo low an ebb, by the enormous peculations of the great barons and powerful leaders, who had diſpoſſeſſed the biſhops and abbots, that it ſcarcely could afford a wretched, hungry pittance to the reformed clergy; nor did Mary, who then governed the realm, venture to look cloſely into the account [28].

During the minority of James no ſavings appear to have been made; for, almoſt immediately after his taking the government into his own hands, we find his treaſury empty, and himſelf neceſſitous, craving, and ſubmitting to the will of his politic neighbour Elizabeth, in conſideration of ſums apparently trifling. The ſame extreme want of money attended on this incautious prince during the whole life of the Engliſh queen; and it is probably to the precarious ſtate of his revenues, which, preventing him from ſetting his benefactreſs at defiance, preſerved the connection between the kingdoms, that that union is owing, which has doubled the power, ſecurity, and happineſs of both.

NOTES.

profitable captures. Towards the cloſe of the 16th century they ſided with the Engliſh. James, on his Engliſh acceſſion, prudently took meaſures to break their ſtrength, by changing their abode, and diſcouraging that peculiarity as to name and alliance, which had contributed to ſupport the ſavageneſs of their manners. [BORDER HISTORY, &c.

[28] More than one of the Roman Catholic ſovereigns of Europe thought themſelves bound to aid the failing revenues of Mary; and the Pope at one time ſhipped 8,000 crowns of gold for the port of Leith. This ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of Northumberland, and the earl ſeized the money. Sir James Melvill was deputed by Mary to aſk reſtitution; but he was denied; and had only the ſatisfaction of hearing the claims of the earl read to him by an advocate, in an old Norman dialect, ſo very uncouth that neither the earl nor Melvill could comprehend a ſingle ſentence. [MEMOIRS.

HIS-

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. IV.—PART II.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF LEARNING, OF LEARNED MEN, AND OF THE CHIEF SEMINARIES OF LEARNING THAT WERE FOUNDED IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

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The univerſities oppreſſed.

THE extreme avidity of Edward's miniſters, which tempted them to impoveriſh every eccleſiaſtical foundation for their own benefit, had well nigh deſtroyed all the good effects which might be expected to accrue to England both as to literature and education. Exhibitions and penſions were taken from the ſtudents of the univerſities [1], and at Oxford the public ſchools were neglected, and even applied to the loweſt purpoſes.

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[1] Aſcham, in a letter dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar-ſchools throughout England, and predicts the ſpeedy extinction of the univerſities from this growing calamity. Of theſe ſchools near twenty had been created during the reign of Henry VIII. and under the

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Education harſhly adminiſtered.

How far the ſyſtem of education then adopted in the moſt accompliſhed and nobleſt houſes might be expected to ſupply the place of public diſcipline, we may be enabled to judge by an extract from Roger Aſcham's 'Schoolmaſter,' which will give a ſtriking inſtance of parental harſhneſs in the caſe of the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Gray. He viſited her at her father's ſeat in Leiceſterſhire, and found her ſtudying the Phædon of Plato. 'After ſalutation,' he writes, 'and dewty done, and after ſome other tauke, I aſked her, "Why ſhe wolde leeſe ſuch paſtime in the parke *?" Smiling, ſhe anſwered me, "I wiſſe all their ſport in the parke is but a ſhadoe to the pleaſure that I find in Plato. Alas, good folkes! they never felt what trewe pleaſure meant!" "And how came you, madam," quoth I, "by this knowlege of pleaſure? And what did chieflie allure you to it? Seeinge not many women, and but very fewe men, have attained thereunto." "I will tell you," quoth ſhe, "and tell you a truth which perchaunce ye will marvell at: one of the greateſt benefites that God gave me is, that he ſent me ſo ſharpe and ſevere parentes, and ſo jentle a ſchoolmaſter. For, when I am in preſence eyther of father or mother; whether I ſpeake, keepe ſilence, ſitt, ſtand, or go; eate, drinke, be merie or ſad; be ſowying, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing elſe, I muſt do it, as it were, in ſuche meaſure, weighte, and number, even ſo perfetlie

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the patronage of Wolſey, whoſe favorite ſchool at Ipſwich rivalled thoſe of Wincheſter and Eton.

But one of the greateſt loſſes ſuſtained by the lovers of literature, and occaſioned by the meanly-greedy agents of the reformation, was the ruin of the library given by the good and learned Humphry of Gloceſter to the univerſity of Oxford, in or near the year 1440. This princely collection contained 600 volumes; of which 120 alone were valued at 1000*l*. Theſe books were called in the univerſity regiſter, 'Novi Tractatus,' 'New Treatiſes,' and are ſaid to be 'admirandi apparâtus.' They were the moſt ſplendid and coſtly copies which could be procured, finely printed on vellum, and elegantly embelliſhed with miniatures and illuminations. Theſe books which, being highly ornamented, looked like miſſals, and conveyed ideas of Popiſh ſuperſtition, were deſtroyed or removed by the pious viſitors in the reign of Edward VI. whoſe zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. [WARTON.

The gallant Eſſex, who favored literature, did his beſt to replace this loſs, by ſending to the univerſity the whole library of Cardinal Oſſorio, which fell into his hands at the taking of Faro in 1596.

* Where the reſt of the family were purſuing a ſtag.

as God made the world, or elſe I am ſo ſharplie taunted, ſo cruellie threat- Cent. XVI.
ened, yea, preſentlie, ſometimes, with pinches, nippes, bobbes (and other waies which I will not name for the honor I bear them), ſo without meaſure miſordered, that I thinke myſelfe in hell till time come that I muſt go to Mr. Elmer*, who teacheth me ſo pleaſantlie, ſo jentlie, and with ſuch faire allurements to learninge, that I thinke alle the times nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weepynge,' &c. &c. &c. It is, perhaps, to this affecting ſcene that we owe the great attention which Aſcham ſhews, in the above-cited work, to the dictates of humanity [2]; and the pains he takes to render his plan of education deſirable to the maſter, and pleaſant to the pupil; and this is the more ſingular as the treatiſe is viſibly written with the ſtern pen of a Puritan [3].

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[2] The pleaſant and didactic Thomas Tuſſer thus adds his complaint to the general maſs of ſchoolboy lamentation, in an odd kind of metre:

'From Poules I went, to Eaton ſent,
To learn ſtraightwaies the Latin phraſe,
Where fifty-three ſtripes given to me
At once I had;
The fault but ſmall, or none at all,
It came to paſs, that beat I was;
See, Udal, ſee! the mercie of thee
To me poor lad.'

[3] A treatiſe on education, compiled by Edward Hake, and publiſhed A. D. 1574, ſhould not paſs totally unnoticed. It is 'gathered' into Engliſh metre, as the author expreſſes it, profeſſing himſelf the diſciple of John Hopkins; nor, from the ſpecimen beneath, will he appear to have diſgraced his maſter.

He ſpeaks of the Latin tongue:

'Whereto, as has been ſayde before,
The fables do invite,
With morall ſawes, in covert tales
Whereto agreeth rite,
Fine comedies with pleaſure ſeen;
Which, as it were, by plaie,
Do teach unto philoſophie
A perfitt, ready waie.

So

* Afterwards Biſhop of London, under Elizabeth.

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Latin much ſtudied.

The Engliſh language was much neglected in the middle of the ſixteenth century, but a double ſhare of attention was beſtowed on claſſical knowledge; nor was any rank deemed ſo exalted as to exclude the neceſſity of a thorough acquaintance with the learned tongues. Four ſucceſſive ſovereigns might juſtly be ſtyled proficients in literature. Henry VIII. wrote a grammar, and compoſed ſeveral pieces in Latin *. Edward VI. beſides a clear knowledge of his own tongue, has left ſeveral ſpecimens of his Latinity †. Of Queen Mary, Eraſmus ſays, 'Scripſit, bene Latinas [4] epiſtolas ‡.'

Learning encouraged.

The claſſical erudition of Elizabeth is beyond a doubt; her extemporary anſwers to the poetic inſolence of the ambaſſadors from Philip II. and the Poliſh monarch, have been already recorded [5]. Yet the Latin written in the reign of that princeſs, is inferior to that of Henry VIII.'s reign, when the novelty of claſſical literature excited a general emulation to

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So as, natheleſſe we carefull be
T' avoyde all baudie § rhymes,
And wanton jeſtes of poets vayne,
Which teache them fylthè crymes;
Good ſtories from the Bible chargde,
And from ſome civil ſtyle,
As Quintus Curtius, and ſuch like,
To rede them other while.'

[4] Greek was not yet familiar to an Engliſh ear. At the outſet of Trinity College, Oxon, 'My lord cardinall (Pole's) grace,' ſays the founder in a letter, 'has had the overſeeinge of my ſtatutes; he advyſes mee to have the Greke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpoſe I well lyke; but I fear the tymes will not bear it now.' [WARTON.

[5] To theſe teſtimonies of her neat ſtyle of expreſſion, we may add her anſwer to one who requeſted her opinion as to the comparative merits of Buchanan and Walter Haddon. 'Buchananum omnibus ante pono; Haddonum nemini poſtpono.' [ROYAL AUTHORS.

Haddon was a celebrated civilian; who, having been in exile for his religion, re-appeared at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, and was by her made 'maſter of requeſts.' His writings, which were partly on the civil law, and partly polemical againſt Oſſorius, are held in great eſteem. [BERKENHOUT.

* Walpole's Royal Authors, vol. i. p. 8, 9. Holland's Heroologia, p. 5.
† Royal Authors, vol. i. p. 18. ‡ Eraſmus, lib. xix. ep. 31. § Licentious.

imitate

imitate the Roman authors; and ſo very much was the taſte of the ſixteenth century vitiated towards the cloſe, that Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius, modern claſſics, and inferior in merit as in antiquity, were recommended by the learned Grindal to be ſtudied, in a ſchool which he had founded. Cent. XVI. By Mary and Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was a greater proficient in learning [6] than her ſiſter Mary; ſhe was expert in the Greek tongue, and tranſlated into Engliſh the orations of Iſocrates. Her example had a great effect; the advantages of learning gradually became as much the property of the laity as of the clergy; and very ſoon after the reign of that intereſting princeſs, men attained to that ſtate of general improvement, and thoſe ſituations with reſpect to literature, in which they have ever ſince perſevered.

The great erudition of Lady Jane Gray has been already mentioned. It was a ſingular effort of that amiable princeſs's wit, almoſt in her laſt moments, which prompted her to write with a pin in her priſon: Lady Jane Gray's proficience.

'Non aliena putes, homini quæ obtingere poſſunt
Sors aliena mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.'

And

'Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus;
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.'

No ranks or employments in the ſtate were held, in the age of Elizabeth, inacceſſible to the learned. Sir Thomas Smith was raiſed from a profeſſorſhip at Cambridge to be, firſt, ambaſſador to France, and afterwards, ſecretary of ſtate. The diſpatches of thoſe times, and, among others, thoſe of Burleigh, are frequently interrupted by quotations from the Greek Learning a paſſport to every rank.

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[6] 'She was accuſtomed,' ſays Aſcham, with ſome degree of triumph, ſpeaking of her avocations during a long reſidence at Windſor caſtle, 'to read more *Greek* in a day than ſome prebendaries of that church did *Latin* in a week.'

There is in the Bodleian Library, among Hatton's MSS. a long tranſlation from the 'Hercules Œtœus' of Seneca by Queen Elizabeth; which does more credit to her literature than to her powers of verſification, if we may judge from Mr. Warton's ſpecimen of its beginning:

'What harming hurle of Fortune's arme?' &c. [HIST. OF POETRY.

Cent. XVI. and Latin claſſics. Even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on their ſcience; many of theſe underſtood the antient as well as the modern languages, and valued themſelves more on their erudition than on their birth or rank *. A farther account of thoſe of each ſex whoſe abilities adorned this period of Britiſh hiſtory, will appear a few pages onwards.

Phyſic and ſurgery.

The arts of phyſic and ſurgery improved by ſlow degrees, and apparently more by ſtrong natural ſenſe of ſome among the profeſſors than through any very regular train of ſtudy, or courſe of uſeful experiments. Lectures on ſurgery were, however, eſtabliſhed at the lately-founded College of Phyſicians, by the munificence of Lord Lumley and Dr. Richard Caldwell.

Among the treatiſes written on medical ſubjects during the ſixteenth century, one of the moſt intereſting and amuſing was the 'Dietarie of Health,' written by the moſt eccentric of phyſicians, Andrew Borde; it abounds with good and rational advice, not only as to diet, but as to building a houſe, regulating a family, chuſing a good air to dwell in, &c. &c. It is a book which, with a little moderniſing, might be peruſed with pleaſure and advantage in an improved age. 'I have gone round Chryſtendome and overthwart Chryſtendome,' &c. &c. ſays this odd ſcribe, 'and yet there is not ſo much pleaſure for harte and hinde, bucke and doe, &c. &c. as in Englande. And although the fleſh be dyſprayſed in phyſycke, yet I praye God to ſende me parte of the fleſhe to ete; phyſycke notwithſtandinge.'

Andrew Borde's 'Dietarie.'

Chriſtofer Langton's 'Introduction.'

There was alſo a Chriſtofer Langton who, about the ſame time, wrote an 'Introduction into Phyſycke [7],' containing ſome idea of anatomy,

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'[7] Writers of medical books had little notion in the 16th century of the reſpect due to the art of which they treated; one that was publiſhed in 1599 was called, 'The Key to Unknown knowledge,' or a ſhop with 'five windowes,' its motto was,

'Which if you do open—to cheapen and copen,
You will not be willing—for many a ſhilling,
To part with the profit—which you ſhall have of it.'

The contents are, 'five neceſſarie treatiſes, namely, 1. The judgement of Vrines. 2. Judicial rules of phyſicke. 3. Queſtions of oyles. 4. Opinions of curing harquebuſh ſhot. 5. A diſcourſe of human nature. Tranſlated from Hippocrates by M. John de Bourges, phyſician.' [Ames's Hist. of Printing.

* Hume's Tudors, vol. ii. p. 738.

and

and a good many unexceptionable maxims as to diet, ſleep, &c. Until at length the author bewilders himſelf in a ſuperſtitious treatiſe on dreams, &c. Cent. XIV.

This writer had little eſteem for the phyſicians of his time; for he perſonifies Phyſic addreſſing them in very harſh terms, and complaining, 'For whereas before I was authour of helthe to every man ſekynge for me; now I am not onely a commune murtherer and a commune theſe, but alſo a mayntayner of parricydes, moche more vyle than the ſtynkynge whore of Babylone. For you that be my mynyſters and phyſycyons, to you I ſpeke *.'

One diſeaſe, and that a very dreadful one, the ſweating ſickneſs (a peſt peculiar to the Engliſh nation, and inveterately purſuing the natives whitherſoever they might fly), ſeems to have been ſyſtematically attacked by the learned Dr. Caius with ample ſucceſs †; inſomuch that, to uſe Lord Bacon's words, 'it might be looked upon rather as a ſurpriſe to nature, than obſtinate to remedies.'

The partiality in favor of Jewiſh [8] phyſicians was unaccountable, and probably ill-founded; yet Elizabeth choſe to truſt her health in the hands of the Hebrew, Rodrigo Lopez, rather than have recourſe to many Engliſh ſtudents in medicine, of conſiderable abilities, who attended her court. She had nearly ſuffered for her ill-placed confidence; as Lopez was fairly convicted of an attempt to poiſon his partial protectreſs. Jewiſh phyſicians eſteemed.

A few ſketches of the lives and ſtudies of thoſe who practiſed phyſic and ſurgery, in the ſixteenth century, will throw a farther light on the progreſs of the art of healing.

In 1549 died an ingenious but eccentric phyſician and poet, Andrew Borde, or as he loved to Latinize his name, 'Andreas Perforatus.' Bred at Oxford, he became early in life a Carthuſian, but ſoon abandoned his order to ramble Dr. Andrew Borde.

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[8] The ſame fantaſtic preference had made Francis I. when indiſpoſed with a tedious complaint, apply to Charles V. for an Iſraelite, who was the Imperial phyſician. Accordingly the perſon whom he ſought for viſited Paris; but the king, finding that he had been converted to Chriſtianity, loſt all confidence in his advice, and applied to his good ally, Soliman II. who ſending him a true hardened Jew, the monarch took his counſel, drank aſſes milk, and recovered. [ANN. FRANCOISES.

* Preface to Langton's Book.

† Aikin's Biog. Mem. p. 125.

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through Europe and Africa, after having attained ſome degree of proficiency in the ſcience of medicine. He then returned to the Carthuſians, and practiſed the auſterities of that order, reſiding chiefly at Wincheſter, where he appears to have acted as phyſician to Henry VIII. He had parts and learning, but was probably prevented, by the fantaſtic turn of his genius, from uſing either to advantage, for he died in the Fleet priſon, with ſome ſuſpicion of having taken poiſon. He ſeems to have valued himſelf on a pedantic and quaint ſtyle. His 'Breviarie of Health,' addreſſed to the college of phyſicians, begins thus: 'Egregious doctours, and mayſters of the eximious and archane ſcience of phyſicke! Of your urbanitte exaſperate not yourſelves,' &c. The tales of the 'Wiſe Men of Goatham' are his, and have ſurvived his more ſerious performances, few of which are now to be found. He will be met again under the head of Poetry.

Sir Thomas Elyot.

The bitter biography of Biſhop Bale ſets the character of Dr. Borde in an odious light; but no man's cenſures ought to be received with ſo much caution as thoſe of that narrow-minded, though ingenious, prelate.

Towards the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign flouriſhed Sir Thomas Elyot, a knight eminently learned, and a patron to men of literature. He wrote, among other treatiſes, one called the 'Caſtell of Health.' In this work he lays down a ſevere regimen, nor does he confine his rules merely to *eating* and *drinking* [9]. Colds, he writes of, as having lately been introduced to England. Their becoming common the good knight imputes to 'banquettings after ſupper, and drinking much (ſpecially wine) a little after ſleep *.' He diſapproves too of covering the head too much, a practice in his days ſo prevalent, that he tells us, 'Now-a-days, if a boy of ſeven years of age, or a young man of twenty years, have not two caps on his head, he and his friends will think that he may not continue in health; and yet, if the inner cap be not of velvet or ſattin, a ſerving-man feareth to loſe his credence.'

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[9] Nothing can be more ludicrous than the directions of this buſy knight, when he treats of a delicate ſubject, concerning which mankind are little accuſtomed to ſeek regulation. Prior's Paulo Purganti ſeems to claim deſcent from this original.

[MEDICAL BIOGRAPHY.

* Dr. Aikin's Medical Biog. p. 62, 63.

Sir Thomas was the author of a Latin and Engliſh Dictionary: 'A ſtock on which Biſhop Cooper grafted his work, and, if not the *firſt*, the *beſt*, of that kind in that age,' ſays Fuller *. That quaint biographer proceeds to mention a work in Latin, compoſed by this voluminous author, ſtyled, 'The Defence of Good Women.' 'Theſe,' proceeds the ſarcaſtic ſcribe, 'ſome will ſay are hardly found, and eaſily defended.' Cent. XVI. His treatiſes, medical and miſcellaneous.

In one of his medical works the obſervant knight remarks, that 'the pallid faces and rivelled ſkins of even the young, in the cider-drinking counties, prove the unwholeſomeneſs of their favorite beverage.'

Thomas Vicary, who lived nearly at the ſame time, and was ſerjeant-ſurgeon to Henry VIII. and his three ſucceſſors, is recorded by Dr. Aikin as the firſt author of any anatomical work in the Engliſh tongue. There ſeems to have been nothing elſe in his life or actions that merited record. A rude engraving of a ſkeleton prefaces his book †. Early anatomiſt.

In 1573 died Dr. John Kaye (known by the name of Caius), an eminent phyſician, and a ſage and voluminous author. He was born at Norwich in 1610, and bred at Gonvile-hall, Cambridge, which, by his munificence, was promoted to the rank of a college in 1557-8. He ſtudied deeply, travelled much, and wrote (by his own account) thirty-two books, beſides collating, correcting, and publiſhing, at leaſt as many more. One of his works is on the ſweating ſickneſs, a diſeaſe which ſeems to have been wholly unaccountable, on rational principles, to modern as well as more antient writers. In another he attempts to prove, that Cambridge was founded by Cantaber 394 years before the Chriſtian æra. He had been, indeed, provoked to this by an Oxonian nameſake, who had aſſerted, in a treatiſe, that his own college (All Souls) had owed its riſe to ſome Grecian philoſophers, comrades of Brutus, and that Alfred had only reſtored it. Dr. Kaye, by his manœuvre, not only routed the Oxford writer, but gained a ſuperiority of 1267 years for Cambridge. He was phyſician ſucceſſively to Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. Towards the cloſe of his life he was teazed about religious matters, and (from ſome Popiſh veſtments, &c. which were found in his chambers, and publicly burnt) it is probable he was a concealed, although a very moderate, Roman Catholic. Dr. Caius.

* Cambridgeſhire, p. 168.

† Dr. Aikin's Medical Biog. p. 65.

Among

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Writes on Britiſh dogs, &c.

Among other ſubjects, he wrote a curious treatiſe on the dogs of Britain. In his writings he is apt to digreſs inſufferably; in the direction for the diet proper to be uſed by ſufferers from the ſweating ſickneſs, he employs many pages in an enumeration of all the luxuries brought to the tables of the great, of the proceſs uſed in malting*, and in brewing beer and ale; he likewiſe adds a copious panegyric on temperance, from the antients. Over the body of this really great man there is written only 'Fui Caius.'

Dr. Bulleyn.

In 1576 died Dr. William Bulleyn, a medical writer of eminence, born early in the reign of Henry VIII. in the iſle of Ely. He was bred at Cambridge chiefly, and practiſed in the North until 1560, when he removed to London. He was there perſecuted by a William Hilton, for the murther of his brother, the Lord Hilton, who had been his patient and his patron, and to whom he had dedicated a book, but who had died under the doctor's hands of a malignant fever. Hilton, failing in this attempt, endeavored to have Dr. Bulleyn aſſaſſinated, and actually threw him into priſon for a debt, and detained him there a long ſpace. A ſtrange † cloud, indeed, envelopes this whole tranſaction.

Dr. Bulleyn was a firm Proteſtant. In one of his books he ſpeaks of the waters of 'Buckſtone' as having done 'great cures both to the ſore and the lame.' He bitterly laments the increaſe of witchcraft, 'more hurtful in this realm than quartan, pox, or peſtilence;' and grieves that witches ſhould walk at large, while ſo many 'bleſſed men are burned.' This marks the æra, and ſhews that the good doctor would only have changed one ſpecies of perſecution for another; and while he ſpared the Proteſtant, would have burned the witch. One of his publications, 'A Dialogue, both pleſaunte and pytyfulle,' is ſingularly amuſing, and bears ſome reſemblance to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

His 'Bulwarke of Defence.'

The title of his works, collected together, runs thus: 'Bulleyn's Bulwarke of Defence againſt all Sickneſs, Sorenes, and Woundes, that doe daily aſſaulte Mankinde, which Bulwarke is kept with Hillarius the Gardiner, Health the Phyſician, with their Chyrurgian, to helpe the wounded Soldiers.' In this book is a dialogue between 'Soreneſs and Surgery.' Dr. Bulleyn was an anceſtor to the late Dr. Stukely.

* Med. Biogr. p. 126.

† Wales, p. 12, apud Fuller's Worthies.

In

In 1586 was living (and we know not when he died) John Gale, a ſenſible, rational ſurgeon, who attended on the army of Henry VIII. when in France. In his 'Office of a Chirurgeon,' he gives a woeful picture of military practice *. Being at Muttrel (as he ſtyles Montreuil), the ſoldiers who had very ſlight wounds died ſo faſt, that the Duke of Norfolk thought it right to ſend Gale, with other choſen men, to inſpect the army-ſurgeons. 'We found,' ſays Gale, 'many who took upon them the names of ſurgeons, and the wages alſo. We demanded of them, with whom they were brought up? They, with ſhameleſs faces, would anſwer, one cunning man or another which was dead. We then demanded, what chirurgery ſtuff they had to cure men with? And they would ſhew us a pot or a box, which they had in a budget, wherein there was ſuch trumpery as they did uſe to greaſe horſes heels with; and others, that were coblers and tinkers, they uſed ſhoemakers wax, with the ruſt of old pans, and made therewithal "a noble ſalve," as they did term it. In the end, this worthy rabblement was committed to the Marſhalſea, and threatened by the duke's grace to be hanged for their worthy deeds, except they would declare the truth, what they were, &c. And in the end they did confeſs as I declared to you before; *i. e.* 'ſome ſow-gelders, ſome horſe-gelders, with tinkers and coblers.'

Cent. XVI. John Gale

combats empirics.

Dr. William Turner was an ingenious phyſician †, divine, and natural philoſopher. Being a zealous Proteſtant, he was favored by Edward VI. exiled by the dread of Mary, and re-inſtated by her ſucceſſor. He wrote on many ſubjects. Of his religious works, if we may judge by his 'New Book of Spiritual Phyſick, for the Diſeaſes of the Nobility and Gentry of England,' they were rather curious than valuable.

Dr. Turner

Dr. Turner publiſhed the firſt Engliſh herbal; and avers, that botany was in his time at ſo low an ebb, that he could find no one phyſician in Cambridge (about the year 1527) who could name the plants he produced, in Greek, Latin, or Engliſh.

writes on botany.

* Med. Biogr. p. 99.

† Ibid, p. 80.

The

Cent. XVI.

Scotland.

The progreſs of medical knowledge in Scotland, although not ſo exactly marked out, appears to have proceeded proportionably with that of England, although with ſlower ſteps.

College of Phyſicians founded.

A College of Phyſicians was created in 1581 by the king's letters patent *, with excluſive powers to regulate the practice of phyſic within Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, and to fine ſuch as ſhould take on them to act as phyſicians without warrant from the college.

That, however, there was a conſiderable deficiency in the chirurgical branch of medicine, appears from the following circumſtance, which ſtands on the council-books of Edinburgh, and is dated A. D. 1595. Awin, a French ſurgeon, was in that year prohibited by the common council from practiſing ſurgery, except 'cutting for the ſtone, curing ruptures, couching cataracts, curing the peſtilence,' &c †.

Corporation of ſurgeons.

The complaint againſt this uſeful interloper, had been made by the corporation of ſurgeons; this company (conjunctly with the barbers, as in moſt European nations) had been formed in 1506 ‡, and been greatly aſſiſted as to privileges by Queen Mary in 1567. James VI. afterwards confirmed theſe advantages.

* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 376. † Counc. Regiſtr. vol. x. fol. 37.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. fol. 50. Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 524.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV. SECT. II.

HISTORY OF THE MOST LEARNED PERSONS WHO FLOURISHED IN BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI. Increaſe of learned men.

THOSE liberal and candid principles which, in conſequence of the reformation, illuminated the Northern hemiſphere, by encouraging the equal diſtribution of literary merit between the clergy and laity, wonderfully increaſed the catalogue of perſons eminently diſtinguiſhed in every branch of ſcience. And if, before this period, the hiſtorian has been ſometimes at a loſs to find a number of literati, ſufficient to fill the ſection, his only care now muſt be to chuſe, among the many which preſent themſelves, ſuch whoſe memoirs may join entertainment to inſtruction.

Edward Hall. Edward Hall, who died A. D. 1547, was a Londoner, bred at Eaton, and at King's college, Cambridge; afterwards, becoming eminent in the profeſſion of the law, was made one of the judges in the ſheriff's court. A Chronicle of the Wars between the White and the Red Roſe, which he wrote, is much eſteemed. Fuller calls it elegant; and Anthony à Wood ſays, 'he had a great command of tongue and pen.' Hall was deſcended from Sir Frank van Halle, a cruel pillager of France, under the banner of Edward III.

Polydore Virgil. In 1550, Polydore Virgil, born at Urbino, returned to his native country. He had been ſent by Pope Alexander VI. to collect the papal revenues of England, and, having been made Archdeacon of Wells, he had taken up his reſidence in the iſland *. His employment becoming a ſinecure at the reformation, he was permitted to return to his native ſoil, and was indulged with a continuance of the income accruing from his benefice. He had been twelve years engaged in writing a Hiſtory of England in Latin. The purity of his language is generally allowed, but his work is charged with great partiality, and even falſehood, by Sir Henry Savil, and by

* Wood's Faſti. vol. i. p. 5, &c.

Cent. XVI.

Of dubious character.

Humphrey Lloyd, who calls him, ‘ *homo ignotus*,’ ‘ *invidiâ & odio tumens*,’ ‘ *infamis homunculus*,’ ‘ *os impudens*,’ &c. &c. Polydore is accuſed of borrowing books from public libraries, and not reſtoring them; of pillaging conventual MSS. &c.; of ſending ſhip-loads of curious plunder to Italy; and of deſtroying many records becauſe they contradicted his Engliſh hiſtory.

Among his works we find treatiſes ‘ *De Rerum Inventoribus*;’ ‘ *De Prodigiis & Sortibus*;’ ‘ *De Veritate & Mendacio*,’ &c. &c.

John Leland

In 1552 died John Leland, once canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, a learned antiquary, and no inelegant Latin poet. He was bred under William Lilye, and ſtudied ſucceſſively at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris. To him is owing the ſecurity of numberleſs MSS. which the libraries of religious houſes contained, and which Leland (who was antiquary and librarian to Henry VIII.) had an opportunity * of ſaving from deſtruction, by accepting the office of viſiting ſuch libraries, &c. at the diſſolution [10]. The Collectanea and Itinerary of Leland (the MSS. of which are in the Bodleian collection) are invaluable performances. This great man was inſane ſome time before his deceaſe, which happened opportunely, as Leland had been too active in monaſtic reſearches to have eſcaped the reſentment of the bigot Mary, eſpecially as he was a Proteſtant. His verſes on the munificence of his royal patron are neither deſtitute of harmony nor ſenſibility. We have extant two prophetical lines by Leland †, relative to Beeſton-caſtle in Cheſhire, which do little credit to the poet's ſagacity [11]. He was a perſonal enemy to Polydore Virgil, who had

Prophetic.

NOTES.

[10] His labors, he ſays, were directed ‘ to bring owte a deadlye darkneſs into livelye lighte,’ whatever might anſwer the purpoſe of his commiſſion. He affirms that he has ‘ conſervid many good autors, the which otherwiſe had been lyke to have periſchid.’

[New Year's Gyfte.

[11] ‘ Tempus erit quando rurſus caput exeret altum,
Vatibus antiquis, ſi fas mihi credere vati.’

Imitated.

If I, no ſtranger to prophetic lore,
May truſt to holy prophets fam'd of yore,
Theſe aweful towers ſhall rear their heads again,
And, in embattled ſtate, frown o'er the ſubject plain. J. P. A.

* Life of Leland, Hearne, &c. p. 12. † Ibid. p. 30.

attacked the exiſtence of Prince Arthur and his round table; but generouſly acknowledged the great excellence of his ſtyle, though he totally denied any credit to his hiſtory. Cent. XVI.

In 1557, concern for a recantation, which harſh treatment had forced him to make, is ſuppoſed to have killed Sir John Cheke, a learned knight, who, at twenty-ſix years of age, after being bred at St. John's college, had been elected Greek profeſſor at Cambridge, his native place. It was he who, with Sir Thomas Smith, forwarded greatly the knowledge and credit of the Greek tongue at that univerſity, and took particular pains to regulate its pronunciation, which, as well as the language, was then very imperfectly underſtood in England*. When Lady Jane Gray was crowned, he acted as her ſecretary during the nine days of her reign. For this he was thrown into priſon, and deprived of almoſt the whole of his eſtate. In 1554 he gained his liberty and leave to travel, but was way-laid on his return; and, by order of the bigot, Philip of Spain, through whoſe Flemiſh dominions he paſſed, ſeized [12] near Bruſſels, and hurried on board a veſſel, which conveyed him to a cruel impriſonment in the Tower of London. Sir John Cheke.

His works are numerous, and chiefly compoſed in elegant Latin. Dr. Walter Haddon wrote an epitaph on his learned friend, the two laſt lines of which were theſe:

'Gemma Britanna fuit; tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora theſaurum, tempora nulla ferent.'

Imitated.

'Hail, Britain's boaſt! ſo bright a gem as thee
We have not ſeen, nor e'er again ſhall ſee.' J. P. A.

Sir Thomas Pope died in 1559. He is placed among men of learning rather as an amateur than a proficient. Fuller allows him no patrimonial advantage, but calls him, 'faber ſuæ fortunæ †.' Employed by Thomas Sir Thomas Pope.

NOTES.

[12] The credulity of the age had tempted Sir John Cheke, who had a firm belief in aſtrology, to pay great attention to the ſelection of a lucky hour for his journey to Bruſſels. He was bitterly deceived. [BERKENHOUT.

* Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 119, &c. † Worthies, London, p. 223.

Cent. XVI. Cromwell in overſeeing the diſſolution of religious houſes, he acted with ſingular candor and moderation, and amaſſed a ſplendid fortune without ſtaining his private character. Great part of his gains he beſtowed on an exemplary and judicious foundation in Oxford, of which more will ſoon be ſaid. He was not only ſteady but wonderfully fortunate, if it be true that in the four laſt reigns of the Tudor dynaſty he never changed his faith, and yet retained the favor of his ſovereigns. To him the abbey at St. Alban's owes its exemption from ruin and demolition. Mary employed him to watch over the actions of her ſiſter Elizabeth; a delicate taſk, which he yet performed ſo as neither to excite ſuſpicion in Mary, nor reſentment in Elizabeth [13].

Biſhop Bale. The moſt voluminous of writers, John Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, returned to England from exile for religion in 1560, and died ſoon afterwards. After being bred a Roman Catholic at Jeſus College, Oxon, he became at once the moſt zealous of Proteſtants; and was in frequent danger* of aſſaſſination in conſequence of his religious fervor. Eighty-five volumes owe their being to this prelate's proliferous pen. Some for the Pope and ſome againſt him; ſome in verſe and ſome in proſe; and

NOTES.

[13] It was a deſcendant (probably a ſon) of Sir Thomas Pope, whoſe infant daughter was preſented to James I. when on a progreſs, with theſe pleaſant verſes in her little hand:

'See this little miſtreſs here,
Who never ſat in Peter's chair,
Nor e'er a triple crown did wear,
And yet ſhe is a Pope.

No benefice ſhe ever ſold,
Or did diſpenſe with ſins for gold;
She hardly is a ſe'nnight old,
And yet ſhe is a Pope.

No king her feet did ever kiſs,
Nor had from her worſe look than this;
Nor did ſhe ever hope
To ſaint one with a rope,
And yet ſhe is a Pope.

A female Pope, you'll ſay; a ſecond Joan!
No, ſure—She is Pope Innocent or none.' [FULLER'S WORTHIES.

* Bale's 'Vocacyon,' p. 28.

many

many of them in Latin. Bale's 'Catalogus Scriptorum' teſtified his extenſive reading and knowledge; but his unbounded acrimony, which led him into the moſt groſs ſcurrility, exceedingly injured the character of his writings. Cent. XVI.

Although he is not introduced here as a dramatic poet, yet, as his plays are almoſt numberleſs, it were hard not to give one ſpecimen of his verſe. Abraham is pouring out a grateful rhapſody to his Creator in a piece entitled 'God's promiſes.' Allowance muſt be made for the quaintneſs and ungraciouſneſs of the language:

'Merciful maker, my crabbed voyce dyrecte,
That it may breake in ſome ſwete prayſe to thee;
Suffer mee not thy dùe lawdes tò neglecte,
But let me ſhow forthe thy commendacyons free.
Stoppe not my windpipes, give them lybertè
To ſounde thy name, which is moſt graciouſe,
And in it to rejoyſe with hart melodiouſe *.'

The varied erudition of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who died in 1565, gives him a place among the authors of Elizabeth's age, although he is moſt known as a warrior. He was much favored by the protector Somerſet, and had been knighted for his diſtinguiſhed valor in the field at Muſſelburgh, whither he had accompanied his patron. He was born in London about 1515. Having been ſent by Henry VIII. in the train of the ambaſſador to Charles V. of Germany, he accompanied that prince on his unlucky expedition againſt Algiers; there he was ſhipwrecked, and with difficulty avoided drowning †, by keeping hold of a cable with his teeth, many of which he loſt by the exertion. He was an excellent ſcholar, and wrote a book of good credit, 'On the right ordering the [14] Engliſh Sir Thomas Chaloner.

NOTES.

[14] 'De Republica Anglorum inſtauranda,' a poem. Chaloner wrote many other treatiſes, tranſlated the 'Moriæ Encomium' of Eraſmus, and, like Cæſar, indited his own commentaries. [BERKENHOUT.

The ſon of Sir Thomas was a great naturaliſt; and by cloſe obſervation on the alum-works at Puzzoli, found means to introduce that profitable manufacture to England, much to his country's advantage.

* Bale's 'God's Promiſes,' act 3, ſc. ult. † 'Voyage to Algier,' apud Hakluyt, vol. i.

Republic;'

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Republic;' he tranſlated alſo a work from the Latin of Cognotus, for the uſe of his ſervants. Being engaged, in 1561, to manage an ill-omened negotiation with Philip of Spain, he obtained his recal by addreſſing the ſuſceptible heart of Elizabeth with an elegy written in the ſtyle of Ovid. As he was equally great in arms, ſcience, and arts, he was much lamented, and his funeral was honored by an intereſting and affectionate attendance *.

Sir Thomas Smith.

The deeply-learned Sir Thomas Smith died in 1578. He had been born in 1512, and bred at Cambridge, where he read Greek lectures, and taught a new method of accenting the language. The protector, Somerſet, made great uſe of his abilities. He was, in 1548, made ſecretary of ſtate and knighted. In 1551 he went as ambaſſador to France. Mary deprived him of his places, but allowed him 100l. per annum; and Elizabeth reſtored him again to power and confidence. He had great knowledge in phyſic, chemiſtry, and mathematics [15]; he was an excellent hiſtorian and a good linguiſt. He wrote a treatiſe on the 'Commonwealth of England.' To him collegiate bodies are indebted for a ſtatute which orders the third part of the rent on college leaſes ſhould be reſerved in corn at the low price which it then brought. It was not only the Greek language to the propriety of which Sir Thomas attended; he formed a new alphabet for the Engliſh tongue. It had twenty-nine letters; of theſe four were Greek, nineteen Roman, and ſix Engliſh. He formed a ſyſtem of orthography eaſy to be comprehended, as it only preſcribed the writing down words according to their pronunciation. His parts were ſhining, and his attainments great; yet could he be led by the folly of his age to purſue with eagerneſs the fallacious joys of alchymy, and to be an active perſecutor of fancied witches †.

Ralph Holingſhed.

Nearly at the ſame juncture the hiſtorian loſes his faithful and entertaining guide, Ralph Holingſhed, of whom, and of his fellow-laborer,

NOTES.

[15] Sir Thomas was probably alſo acquainted with natural philoſophy in general. On his tomb, in the church of Theydon Mount, Eſſex, are inſcribed theſe four lines:

'What earth, or ſeas, or ſkies contain,
What creatures in them be,
My minde did ſeeke to know,
My ſoul, the heavens continuallie.'

* Berkenhout's Lives, p. 501. † Berkenhout, p. 495.

William

William Harriſon, we know nothing, except that they were both clergy- Cent. XVI.
men. There are generally above forty pages wanting in their Chronicle, from page 1491 to 1536; theſe are called the Caſtrations. They relate chiefly to grants made to the Lord Cobham, who falling into a fatal diſgrace, the printer thought this narrative would be unſeaſonable. It was unkind and unjuſt in thoſe who knew the lives, education, and converſation, of two perſons to whom ſucceeding ages owe ſo much inſtruction and amuſement, not to have noted them, when ſo many inſignificants eſcape oblivion.

Reginald, the ſon of Sir Thomas Scot, of Scots-hall, Kent, died in 1599. He had been bred at Hart-hall, Oxon, and thence retiring to the country, ſtudied ſo efficaciouſly as to convince himſelf of the folly of crediting magic, poſſeſſions, &c. the favorite nonſenſe of his age. His 'Diſcovery of Witchcraft,' written as an antidote to the abſurdity of the times, had a great effect on the magiſtrates and clergy. But the preface to the Dæmonology of King James brought them back to their prejudices, and witch burning went on again [16]. Reginald Scot.

In

NOTES.

[16] Had our anceſtors minds been acceſſible to the attacks of real humor, the poor, perſecuted beldames of the 17th century might have carried their white hairs down to the grave in peace. Hear Scot's deſcription of the mythology of a nurſe: 'In our childhood our mother's maids have ſo terrified us with an ugly devil, having hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, and a taile in his breech; eyes like a baſon, fanges like a dog, clawes like a bear, a ſkinne like a negro, and a voice roaring like a lion; whereby we ſtart and are afraid when we hear one cry, bough! And they have ſo frayed us with bullbeggars, ſpirits, witches, urchins, elves, hags, fairies, ſatyrs, Pans, Fauns, Syrens; Kit with the can'ſtick, tritons, centaures, giants, dwarfes, imps, callcats, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, incubus, Robin Goodfellow, the ſpoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hellwayne, the fire-drake, the puckle, Tom Thumbbe, Hob Goblin, Tom Tumbler, Boneleſs, and ſuch other bugges, that we are afraid of our own ſhadowes. Inſomuch that ſome never fear the devil but of a darke night, and then a polled ſheepe is a perillous beaſt, and many times is taken for our father's ſoul, eſpecially in a church-yard,' &c. &c. The ſtories which our facetious author relates of ridiculous charms which, by the help of credulity, operated wonders, are extremely laughable. In one of them a poor woman is commemorated who cured all diſeaſes by muttering a certain form of words over the party afflicted; for which ſervice ſhe always received one penny and a loaf of bread. At length,

terrified

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Roger Aſcham.

In 1568 died the eccentric but ingenious Roger Aſcham, who was born in Yorkſhire* in 1515, and bred at St. John's College, Cambridge. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his excellence in the Greek and Latin tongues, that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. ſucceſſively allowed him a penſion to enable him to travel. In 1548 he directed the ſtudies of the great Elizabeth; not liking this employment, he returned abruptly to his college; yet he was in great favor with that lady when queen, although ſhe never enlarged his old penſion of 20l. per annum. Aſcham wrote an entertaining Memoir on the Long-bow, and an excellent Treatiſe on Education. His attachment to dice and cock-fighting kept him miſerably poor. This poverty is noticed by Buchanan, in an epigram which has been, perhaps unjuſtly, charged with diſplaying more wit than friendſhip [17]. Aſcham had the ſingular good fortune that, although known to be a Proteſtant, he eſcaped the anger of Queen Mary, and even enjoyed her favor; Elizabeth, too, when ſhe heard of his death, exclaimed, that ſhe would rather

NOTES.

terrified by menaces of flames both in this world and the next, ſhe owned that her whole conjuration conſiſted in theſe potent lines, which ſhe always repeated in a low voice near the head of her patient:

'Thy loaf in my hand,
And thy penny in my purſe,
Thou art never the better—
And I—am never the worſe.'

Another tale or two, equally ſarcaſtical and diverting, are unluckily too ludicrous for admiſſion. [Scot's Discovery of supposed Witchcraft.

[17] Let the reader judge for himſelf:

'Aſchamum extinctum patriæ, Grajæque Camænæ
Et Latiæ, vera cum pietate, dolent;
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis
Re modicâ, in mores dicere fama nequit.'

Paraphraſed.

The Attic and the Latian Muſe deplore
The fate of Aſcham, once their joy and pride;
His lays ſhall charm the liſt'ning croud no more,
Eſteem'd by kings, lov'd by his friends, he died.
Fortune denied her treaſures—Juſter Fame
Honor'd his worth, and ſpread abroad his name. J. P. A.

* Grant de Obitu Rog. Aſcham, p. 4, &c.

have

have loſt ten thouſand pounds! A ſtrong teſtimony of that œconomical princeſs's good-will. His talents were ſo blended with activity, that he wrote for Mary, in the ſpace of three days, letters to forty-ſeven princes, the meaneſt of whom was a cardinal. 'In a word,' ſays his biographer, 'his Toxophilus was a good book for young men, his Schoole-maſter for old men, his Epiſtles for all men.' Cent. XVI.

Aſcham was an elegant poet: but his verſes are not to be found in the beſt edition of his works.

Humphrey Lloyd, Eſq. of Denbigh, a celebrated antiquary, deceaſed in 1570. He ſtudied phyſic at Brazen-noſe college, Oxon, but did not practiſe. He loved the arts (muſic in particular), formed a map of England, and publiſhed ſeveral curious treatiſes. James I. purchaſed many books which Lloyd had collected, and they are now in the Britiſh Muſeum. Humphrey Lloyd.

Camden ſtyles him 'a learned Briton;' who, for knowledge in antiquities was reported to carry with him, after a ſort, all the credit and honor*. Perhaps the warmth of temper natural to a Cambro-Briton carried him too far, when he ſo ſeverely epigrammatized an entertaining [18] Scot; the elegance of whoſe diction might at leaſt extenuate the errors of his credulity.

'Hectoris hiſtorici tot quot mendacia quæris?
Si vis numerem, lector amice, tibi;
Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,
Et liquidi ſtellas dinumerare poli.'

NOTES.

[18] Among thoſe narratives which have injured the credit of Boëthius, one of the leaſt extraordinary is that of an enormous gooſe-footed otter, reſident on the banks of Lough Garloel, and deſcribed by Sir Duncan Campbel. Oaks could not withſtand the ſtrokes of his tail, yet the affrighted fiſhermen eſcaped his fury by taking refuge in trees. His ſea-monks at the Iſle of Baſs, and the wild Norwegians who could root up the talleſt fir like a turnip, are ſtill ſtranger than his otter. All theſe ſtories Boëthius received from credible perſons; but the ſtory of the clack-gooſe or barnacle being completely formed as a bird in the ſhell of a ſea animal, he declares upon his own knowledge.

[BOETHIUS' SCOTTISH HISTORY.

* Camden's Eliza, 1568.

Cent. XVI.

Imitated.

'To count Boëthius' lies you vainly aſk,
'Twere a leſs arduous, leſs laborious taſk,
To number ocean's billows as they roll,
Or tell the ſtars that gild the liquid pole.' P.

Yet Eraſmus, who knew him well, ſays 'Boëthius knew not what it was to lie.'

Alchymy.

The fantaſtical pſeudo-ſcience of alchymy has in all ages had its numerous votaries—in none more than in that of Elizabeth. The play of the 'Alchymiſt,' which cloſely followed her reign, would have appeared totally deſtitute of humor and of common ſenſe to a nation which had not ſome turn for the purſuit of this gaudy meteor, and ſome knowledge of its terms of art. A ſingular fanatic of this tribe we find in the perſon of

Thomas Charnock.

Thomas Charnock, born * in the iſle of Thanet, A.D. 1524, of a creditable family. Eager in his chace of the great ſecret, he peruſed every track of Roſicruſian knowledge from county to county. In 1554 he received important lights and intimations from an adept [19] at Saliſbury. A conflagration, the next year, deſtroyed his works; and again, in 1557, when he was advanced within one month of projection, he was, by the malice of a neighbour, preſſed to ſerve as a ſoldier, which once more made his labor vain. His works were all myſterious and alchymiſtical, as appears by their titles, one being ſtyled 'The Poeſie of the Rolle,' and another 'Knock the Child on the Head.' He wrote too 'On the Philoſopher's Dragon, which eateth up her own Tail.' Some of his MSS. and many myſterious fragments of painting, by his own hand, were in being at Comadye, Somerſetſhire, in the time of Antony à Wood.

NOTES.

[19] And thus, with more gratitude than harmony of verſification, does he expreſs his acknowledgments:

'I could find never man but one
Which could teach me the ſecrets of our ſtone,
And that was a prieſt in the cloſe of Saliſbury,
God reſt his ſoul in heaven full merie!' [ENYGMA ALCHYMÆ.

* Fuller's Worthies, Kent, p. 82.

More

More a philoſopher than a poet, it is thus that he beſpeaks, in its title-page, his favorite work, 'The Breviary:' Cent. XVI.

'For ſatisfy'ng the minds of ſtudents in this art,
Thou'rt worthy of as many books as will lie in a cart.'

He appears to have practiſed ſurgery * for his maintenance. After 1574 he is heard of no more. His education had probably been mean, as he ſtyles himſelf 'the unlettered ſcholar.'

Blanch Parry, born in 1508, and miſtreſs of a large eſtate, was the patroneſs of eccentric philoſophers. She venerated the ſtudies of Dr. John Dee, and aſſiſted in protecting him when perſecuted as a conjurer. She was not free from an attachment to aſtrology and alchymy, but indulged herſelf more freely in the purſuit of antiquarian knowledge, and that of heraldry, in both which ſciences ſhe was a great proficient. She is ranked with the learned women of her age, and had the honor of Queen Elizabeth's particular favor. Her death, in 1589, deprived the poor of a beneficent friend, but ſhe conſoled them by ample legacies †. Blanch Parry.

The purſuit of aſtrology, equally deluſive with that of the philoſopher's ſtone, produced, in the ſixteenth century, one extraordinary character. Aſtrology.

Dr. John Dee, born in London A. D. 1527, and bred at St. John's college, Cambridge, was deeply ſkilled in the mathematics. Aſtronomy and aſtrology were in his days frequently reciprocally miſtaken for each other. Dr. John Dee.

The uncommon depth of the doctor's ſcience, and his cloſe attention to the aſtronomical part of his ſtudies, made him be reputed a conjurer, and drew upon many, in ſome meaſure, unmerited diſgraces [20]. In 1583, his library, conſiſting of 4000 books, and 700 MSS. at his houſe at

NOTES.

[20] The circumſtance which occaſioned his ill-name at Cambridge was perfectly harmleſs; he had contrived a piece of machinery to illuſtrate a ſcene in the Εἰρήνη of Ariſtophanes, by repreſenting the Scarabæus flying up to Jove with a man, and a baſket of victuals on his back. [DEE's CAMP. REHEARSAL.

The doctor cannot be ſo well cleared as to the abſurdity of conſulting the ſtars to find a propitious day for Elizabeth's coronation. Yet we muſt not wonder at his giving way to the folly when Leiceſter and Pembroke applauded him, and when the queen herſelf (as there is reaſon to believe) approved of his reſearch. [IBID.

* Theatrum Chymicum, p. 176. † Ballard's Ladies of Gr. Britain. Art. Parry.

Cent. XVI. Mortlake, in Surrey, was, upon this frivolous pretext, ſeized on, and taken from him. This inſult, and the ſcandal under which he lay, tempted him to leave the kingdom, and to travel to Bohemia *, in company with Edward Kelly, a ſtrange would-be magician. He returned in 1592, and, in 1594, finding his former bad reputation purſue him, requeſted of Elizabeth either a trial, or licence to quit the realm. In conſequence, being indulged with a hearing, he made his innocence, and the lawfulneſs of his ſtudies, appear ſo plainly to the queen, that he was made Warden of Mancheſter in 1596; where he was involved in many diſputes, &c. with the fellows. He died, very old, ſoon after the acceſſion of James I. Some of his works are curious, but perfectly unintelligible, particularly a large folio volume, containing particulars of the doctor's converſations with angels and ſpirits.

Sir Edward Kelly. The fate of Edward Kelly, alias Talbot, was connected with that of Dr. Dee; he was an eccentric adventurer, born at Worceſter in 1555, and bred at Gloceſter-hall, Oxford; who, having loſt his ears in Lancaſhire (not probably for the ridiculous cauſes intimated by Weaver †), fled to Germany in the train of that ſuppoſed mage; in which his credulous age allotted him the fantaſtical poſt of 'ſkryer,' deſcryer, or ſeer of viſions [21]. He was probably an ingenious impoſtor; for the German emperor, Rodolph II. thought him worthy the honor of knighthood, on his promiſing to aid him in his alchymical reſearches. Kelly (now Sir Edward) quitted Dr. Dee, and, by the aid of a vaſe of elixir (which he profeſſed himſelf to have found in the ruins of Glaſtonbury-abbey), appeared to effect the tranſmutation of a brazen warming-pan into pure ſilver. It ſeems, how-

NOTES.

[21] The conjurations of Dr. Dee having induced his familiar ſpirit to viſit a kind of taliſman, Kelly was appointed to watch and deſcribe his geſtures. The ſtone uſed by theſe impoſtors is now in the Strawberry-hill collection; it appears to be a poliſhed piece of canal coal. To this Butler refers when he writes,

'Kelly did all his feats upon
The devil's looking-glaſs, a ſtone.' [HUDIBRAS.

Kelly gave out, that his correſponding angels had recommended to him a plurality of wives. [GRAINGER.

* Theatrum Chym. p. 480. † Fun. Monuments, p. 45.

ever, by the Oxford antiquary's account, that this deception coſt him his liberty and his life *. The German emperor put him in confinement at Prague; while Elizabeth, to whom a piece of the metal had been ſent, anxious to recover ſo uſeful a ſubject, tempted him to return to England ſo forcibly, that, at the peril of his life, he tried to ſcale his priſon-walls, but fell, broke his leg, and died A. D. 1595. The extravagance of Kelly is ſaid to have known no bounds during the high-tide of his favor at the Imperial court. At the marriage of a ſervant he is ſaid to have expended 4000l. in preſents. He wrote ſome account of his diſcoveries, wrapt in unintelligible language [22]. Cent. XVI.

State of Scottiſh learning.

Scotland, in the ſixteenth century, was too much moleſted by civil broils to keep an equal pace in the paths of literature with her more pacific ſiſter. Like all other nations, ſhe had ſeen before the reformation, the little learning which the realm afforded, monopolized [23] by the clergy; whoſe members found it their intereſt to add the reputation of ſcience, to that weight which their wealth and landed poſſeſſions conferred upon them. Yet the ſtudies on which they valued themſelves, were little elſe than barbarous and uninſtructive polemics; and equally deſtitute of philoſophy and true taſte.

NOTES.

[22] His work begins thus:

'All you that fair philoſophers would be,
And night and day in Geber's kitchen broyle,
Waſting the chips of antient Hermes' tree,
Weening to turn them to a pretious oyle;
The more you work, the more you loſe and ſpoyle.
To you I ſay, "How learn'd ſo'er you be,
Go! burn your books, and come and learn of me".'

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.

[23] Notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of univerſities in Scotland, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had been found neceſſary, from the great averſeneſs which the military ſpirit of the times manifeſted as to literature, to enact a ſtatute †, in 1494, compelling every baron or freeholder of ſubſtance to put his eldeſt ſon and heir to ſchool, and there to keep him until he ſhould acquire a thorough knowledge, firſt of Latin, and afterwards of the law of the land, 'that they may have knowledge to do juſtice,' ſaith the act, 'and that the puir people ſulde have no neede to ſeek our ſovereign lordis principal auditor for ilk (every) ſmall injurie.'

* Ath. Oxon. vol. i, col. 279. † Stat. 54, Parl. 5, Jac. 4.

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Not immediately aided by the reformation.

The reformation itſelf did little ſervice at firſt to the cauſe of letters. The clangor of arms frighted away the Muſes; and the barbarous (although perhaps uſeful) policy of John Knox, in demoliſhing the pompous trappings of ſuperſtition and bigotry, at the ſame ſtroke, either deſtroyed or drove into exile almoſt every veſtige of antient learning [24] which Scotland contained. Some records and other curious MSS. were lately exiſting in the Scots college * at Paris [25], conveyed thither by Archbiſhop Beaton and others at the commencement of the religious commotions. Moſt of thoſe which were left behind fell a ſacrifice to the taſteleſs and madly zealous followers of the unfeeling Knox. Among theſe unfortunately 'was,' ſays Mr. Pennant, 'a curious collection of MSS. gathered together by the indefatigable monks of Jona, one of the Hebrides. Boëthius affirms, that Fergus, a northern chief, having joined Alaric, at the ſack of Rome, in A. D. 410, brought away, as his ſhare of the plunder, a cheſt of books, and gave them to that monaſtery. Æneas Sylvius Piacodomini (afterwards Pope Pius II.) meant to have ſearched that library for the loſt works of Livy, but was prevented by the death of James I. of Scotland. In 1525, a ſmall parcel had been brought to Aberdeen, and carefully examined; but what MSS. were decyphered ſeemed rather to belong to Salluſt than to Livy. Unhappily, the miſ-judging zeal of a paſſionately-reforming ſynod ſwept away theſe, and many other valuable manuſcripts and records, to a promiſcuous deſtruction.'

Deſtruction of records, &c.

Prodigies of literature.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, ſeveral perſons eminent in literature, and two, univerſally allowed to have been prodigies of ſcience and accompliſhment, flouriſhed during the reign of James VI. and triumphed over every impediment which civil diſcord, domeſtic penury, and the contemptuous neglect of a taſteleſs court, could place in the way to embarraſs their progreſs towards the temple of Fame. Yet, to encourage the growth of

NOTES.

[24] The learning of Knox's followers by no means kept pace with their zeal. It was, ſoon after the reformation, found neceſſary to reſtrain the giving orders to illiterate men, 'unleſs they were found qualified by the General Aſſembly to diſcharge the miniſterial office by reaſon of their ſingular graces and gifts of God.' [Book of Universal Kirk.

[25] The Scottiſh college was founded at Paris, A. D. 1525, by a Biſhop of Murray.

* Nicholſon's Sc. Library, p. 60.

theſe

theſe ſhoots of literature, it was found neceſſary to tranſplant them to a leſs turbulent climate. However, the admirable Crichton, with Boyd, Buchanan, and Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, all living at the ſame period, form a quartetto perhaps unequalled by the annals of any other nation than Scotland. Cent. XVI.

The elegant Mary Stuart ſet a bright example to her ſubjects. Not contented with light and graceful accompliſhments, with which the court of Catherine de Medicis could ſupply her, ſhe ſtudied the dead languages; and, at a very early age *, aſtoniſhed the king and court, by pronouncing an oration, compoſed by herſelf, in claſſical Latin. Her ſkill in poetry was great, and her elegiac compoſitions truly affecting.

The admirable Crichton.

James Crichton, better known as 'The Admirable Crichton,' was the ſon of Robert Crichton of Clunie, who had commanded a diviſion of Queen Mary's troops at the deciſive fight of Langſide. He was born in 1551, and bred at Perth ſchool, and at St. Andrew's † college, under John Rutherford [26]. Before the age of twenty he had run through all the circle of the ſciences, could ſpeak and write to perfection in many different languages, and was an excellent proficient in every graceful accompliſhment.

He now began his travels, and reaching Paris, dazzled the eyes of thoſe who taught in that celebrated univerſity by the ſplendor of his talents. 'They found him,' ſays an eye-witneſs, 'though ſo young, expert in every ſcience. In vocal and inſtrumental muſic none could exceed him; in painting and drawing he met with no equal; he was ſuch a maſter of the ſword that none could fight him; for he would throw himſelf on his antagoniſt by a jump of twenty-four feet, and diſarm him.' In ſhort, it was agreed by the moſt learned men that, 'ſhould a ſtudent ſpend a hundred years without eating, drinking, or ſleeping, he could never attain to the pitch of Crichton's knowledge.' He diſputed with unwearied ſucceſs on

NOTES.

[26] Aldus calls Crichton firſt couſin to James VI. and ſays, that he was educated with him under Buchanan, Rutherford, &c.

* Preface to Rapin's Compariſons.

† Dempſter's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 1876. Urquhart's Vindication, &c.

medi-

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medicine, civil and canon law, and theology. In every ſcience he appeared to know more than human nature would bear; and, after he had completely defeated in a religious debate four choſen doctors of divinity, the univerſity ſmoothed every difficulty by attributing his vaſt ſucceſs to preternatural aid, and determining the accompliſhed Scot to be Antichriſt.

His inconſiſtence.

Not the leaſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance in Crichton's ſingular life, ſeems to have been the extreme diſſipation in which his time was daily ſpent. Inſtead of cultivating his mind by a cloſe application to ſtudy, he devoted his hours to 'hunting, hawking, tilting, vaulting, balls, concerts, cards, dice, and tennis.' So that when he had publicly poſted up a challenge, offering to diſpute 'de omnî ſcibili,' on any or every ſcience, in any of twelve different languages, he was inſulted by a paſquinade; which, written cloſe beneath his challenge, proclaimed, that 'whoever wiſhed to diſcourſe with this monſter of erudition might be ſure of finding him at the "Bordello."

His triumphs.

The diſpute, however, proceeded, and laſted from nine in the morn till ſix at night; when Crichton, completely victorious, received a diamond ring and a purſe of gold, accompanied by a very florid eulogium from the preſident of the univerſity. This honor befel him in 1571. The limits of this work will not permit the hiſtorian to accompany this prodigy to Rome and to Venice. At each of theſe cities he aſtoniſhed the wiſe and terrified the vulgar, who thought that only an evil ſpirit could inſpire ſuch apparently preternatural exertions. Boccalini, the hiſtorian of Parnaſſus, records the challenges of Crichton; and Aldus Manutius, the celebrated printer of Venice, bears witneſs to facts which, without ſuch a reſpectable teſtimonial, might perhaps have been doubted.

Appointed tutor to the Duke of Mantua's ſon.

At Mantua, in 1581, this bright but ſhort-lived meteor was extinguiſhed. A prize-fighter protected by the duke had ſlain three antagoniſts, and his noble patron wiſhed to be rid of ſo dangerous an inmate. Crichton offered to fight him before the Mantuan court, ſlew him, and, by dividing the rich prize which he gained by his ſucceſs among the widows of the ſlain champions, raiſed the applauſes of the people even to adoration. He became the darling of the Italian ladies, and was choſen by the duke to be tutor to his only ſon Vincentio Gonzaga, a youth unhappily of a ferocious, profligate diſpoſition.

To maintain the fame he had gained, the inimitable Scot compoſed a drama in the Italian language, humorouſly expoſing the follies and frailties of every profeſſion in life. It had fifteen characters, and the wonderful Crichton acted every part himſelf; and ſucceeded ſo completely as to enchant the whole court, and almoſt cauſe the death of the ſpectators by laughing [27]. Cent. XVI.

A tragic ſcene too ſoon ſucceeded to this comedy. Crichton was beloved by a lady of youth, rank, and exquiſite beauty, on whom Vincentio had in vain harbored deſigns. The happy lover was aſſailed at his miſtreſs's door by a party of maſqued bravos. He repulſed their united efforts with eaſe; when the leader loſing his ſword, begged for life; and, unmaſquing, ſhewed the face of his pupil, the young duke. Awed at the ſight, Crichton fell on his knees, and holding his ſword by the point, preſented it to the worthleſs youth; who, guided by the moſt diabolical malice and envy, ſtabbed him with his own weapon to the heart. And death.

The admirable Crichton, although he wrote many treatiſes and other works, has left us nothing except two poems, both extant in the 'Deliciæ Poetarum Scoticorum.'

NOTES.

[27] Crichton had the fortune to find a biographer as extraordinary as himſelf, Sir Thomas Urquhart; who, after having traced his own genealogy from Adam with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, turned his thoughts to our hero, and recounted his adventures in a ſtyle which has no parallel. Liſten to the effects of Crichton's drama: 'The logo-faſcinated ſpirits of the beholding hearers and auricularie ſpectators, were ſo on a ſudden ſeized upon, in the riſible faculties of the ſoul, and all their vital motions ſo univerſally affected in this extremity of agitation, that, to avoid the inevitable charmes of his intoxicating ejaculations, and the accumulative influences of ſo powerful a tranſportation, one of my lady dutcheſs chief maids of honor, by the vehemence of the ſhocks of theſe incomprehenſible raptures, burſte forth into a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her bodie,' &c. &c. Another poor young lady, 'not being able to ſupport the well-beloved burthen of ſo exceſſive delight and intranſing joyes of ſuch mercurial exhilarations, through the ineffable extaſie of an over-maſtered apprehenſion, fell back in a ſwoon, without the appearance of any other life in her than what, by the moſt refined wits of theological ſpeculators, is conceived to be exerced by the pureſt parts of the ſeparated entelechies of bleſſed ſaints, in their ſublimeſt converſations with the celeſtial hierarchies,' &c. &c.

[URQUHART'S VINDICATION OF SCOTLAND.

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Mark Alexander Boyd.

Another prodigy of knowledge and accompliſhments was Mark Alexander Boyd, born * in Galloway, A. D. 1562, and reported to have entered the world provided completely with teeth. In verſatility and excellence of genius this youth nearly equalled the 'admirable' Crichton. He ſtudied at Glaſgow, but quarrelling with his maſters, he cudgelled them both, burnt his books, and took to the profeſſion of a ſoldier in the ſervice of France. He returned, however, to his ſtudies, and became ſo expert in the knowledge of tongues as to dictate to three ſcribes, in three different languages, at the ſame time. He wrote elegies like thoſe of Ovid [28]; made Pſalms and Hymns like a David, and turned Cæſar's Commentaries into Greek in the ſtyle of Herodotus. His perſon was engaging, and he was as great at the ſword as the pen. Sir R. Sibbald calls him the beſt Scottiſh poet of his age. He led the greater part of his unſettled life in France, but died at his father's ſeat, Pinkhill, in 1601 †.

George Buchanan.

A more ſedate and conſiſtent, if not ſo bright, a fame as the two preceding, had the celebrated Latin poet, George Buchanan, born A. D. 1506, at Kilkerne, a ſmall village in Scotland. Being one of a numerous and diſtreſſed family, he liſted with the French auxiliaries in Scotland, but could not ſupport the fatigues of a military life. In 1524 he was invited to St. Andrew's by Profeſſor Maiz, whom he accompanied to France. He paſſed ſome years in deep ſtudy, chiefly at Paris, and in extreme penury, not daring to return to Scotland for fear of perſecution, as he was an eager advocate for reformation. In 1565, his great talents becoming known, he was appointed preceptor [29] to James VI. of Scotland. His Pſalms in Latin verſe, and his Hiſtory of Scotland, are read as claſſics. His ſevere

NOTES.

[28] 'In M. A. Bodio, Scoto,' writes an eminent critic, 'redivivam ſpectamus Naſonem; ea eſt in ejuſdem epiſtolis heroïdum, lux, candor, dexteritas.'

[OLAUS BORRICHIUS DE POETIS.

[29] It is ſcarce worth while to turn to Mackenzie for a ludicrous ſtory of Buchanan and the Lady Marr. The tutor made his royal ſcholar reſpect him, and ſpared not manual chaſtiſement when merited. [LIFE OF BUCHANAN APUD MACKENZIE.

* Prodromus Hiſt. Natur. Scotiæ, lib. iii. pars 2, p. 2, 3, 4.

† Grainger, vol. i. p. 267.

remarks on the errors of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, raiſed him many foes, and are by no means laudable, as they bear the marks of ſelf-intereſt, partiality, and malice againſt a woman in diſtreſs. Cent. XVI.

Buchanan ſaid of himſelf, that he was born 'nec cœlo, nec ſolo, nec ſæculo erudito;' 'neither in a climate, a ſoil, or an age of learning;' yet, by great abilities and application, he gained the precedence of all his contemporaries in purity of ſtyle and knowledge of the Latin tongue.

Although Buchanan was a reformer, a hiſtorian, and a pſalmodiſt [30], yet that he did not diſdain to ſport in the gayer walks of Parnaſſus, the following epigram is a proof, among numberleſs light pieces of poetry:

'Illa, mihi ſemper, preſenti dura, Neæra,
Me, quoties abſum, ſemper abeſſe dolet;
Non deſiderio noſtri, non mœret amore,
Sed ſe non noſtro poſſe dolore frui.'

Neæra, preſent to my vows unkind,
When abſent, ſtill my abſence ſeems to mourn;
Not mov'd by love, but that my tortur'd mind
With anguiſh unenjoy'd by her, is torn. P.

The Hendaſillabæ of the ſame ingenious Scot are much more playful; ſome of them, although apparently improper to follow the Pſalms of David, might have been a proper ſupplement to the Song of his royal ſucceſſor *.

The latter days of Buchanan were employed in completing his well-known Scottiſh Hiſtory. He died in 1572 [31], in more affluence than men of wit and learning commonly attain, having conſiderable poſts in

NOTES.

[30] The moſt elegant of Buchanan's tranſlations is ſuppoſed to be that of the 104th Pſalm. Eight other Scottiſh bards have vied with the venerable reformer. One Dr. Egliſem pronounced himſelf victor in the conteſt. [GRAINGER.

[31] After having ſhewn to his old tutor an unpardonable neglect, James VI. condeſcended to ſend a nobleman to enquire after his health. 'Tell his Majeſty,' quaintly replied (as they ſay) the irritated ſage, 'tell him that I am going to a place where king's fleſh is veniſon.'

* Buchanani Opera, Elz. edit. p. 312, 313, 314.

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Scotland, and a penſion from Elizabeth. 'His happy genius, writes one of his moſt judicious countrymen *, 'equally formed to excel in proſe or verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant than that of almoſt any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country.'

John Major.

The earlieſt Scottiſh hiſtorian within the period now under obſervation was John Major, born in 1469 at Haddington, in Eaſt Lothian. He appears to have ſtudied ſome time both at Oxford and Cambridge †. After viſiting Paris and other foreign univerſities, he returned to Scotland, and taught theology at St. Andrew's. Diſguſted at the diſputes among his countrymen, he re-viſited Paris, where he read lectures with great applauſe. Du Pin and Launoy have written high commendations of the abilities of Major in polemic divinity, and his pupils in that (then faſhionable) ſcience, are ſaid to have become men of eminence. He once more ſought his own country in 1530, and died at St. Andrew's in 1547, aged 78.

Bp. Leſley.

John Leſley, a faithful adherent to the moſt unfortunate of queens, was the ſon of an eminent lawyer. He was born A. D. 1526, and bred a divine at the univerſity of Aberdeen ‡. His warm attachment to the Roman Catholic faith occaſioned his being frequently employed in negotiations between Mary Stuart and thoſe of her peers who followed her religion. As he had conſiderable abilities, and great learning, he roſe by quick ſteps to eccleſiaſtical dignity, and became in 1565-6 Biſhop of Roſs. His tranſactions as the ſecretary and confidant of Mary have been recited, as well as that ill-omened confeſſion which, drawn from the timid prelate through fear of the rack and the axe, coſt his hapleſs queen her life. Permitted to quit England, he retired to Bruſſels, where he died, after fruitleſsly endeavoring to excite the princes of Europe to eſpouſe the cauſe of Mary. His book, 'De Origine, Moribus, et Geſtis Scotorum,' is ranked among the beſt hiſtories, both in ſtyle and materials. The Latin of Biſhop Leſley was pure, and he wrote, ſays Biſhop Nicholſon, 'like one neither ſwayed by his own paſſions, nor by the groundleſs reports of others §.'

* Robertſon, vol. ii. p. 256, 257.
† Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 54.
‡ Mackenzie, vol. ii. p. 502
§ Scot. Hiſt. chap 1.

David

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David Chambers.

David Chambers was a learned Scottiſh hiſtoriographer, born in Roſſ-ſhire about 1530, and bred at the univerſity of Aberdeen. After ſpending ſome time in travelling through France and Italy he returned to his country, and was by Queen Mary preferred in the church, and employed in digeſting the Laws of Scotland. He was afterwards appointed one of the Lords of Seſſion; but the misfortunes of his royal patroneſs having involved him, and her other adherents, in their vortex, he retired firſt to Spain, and then to France, in each of which countries he was kindly received. He died at Paris, 1592, much regretted, it is ſaid, by thoſe who knew him *. The Hiſtory of Scotland, which he wrote in French, he preſented to Charles IX. King of France. In all his works his attachment to Mary Stuart, and his veneration and preference of his native country, are ever the leading features.

Dr. James Cheyne.

Dr. James Cheyne was the ſon of the Laird of Arnagies, in Aberdeenſhire, at which place he was born about 1545. He was bred at the univerſity of Aberdeen, and took orders in the Romiſh church; but the reformation under John Knox and his aſſociates advancing with ſwift ſteps in Scotland, Cheyne retired to France, and taught philoſophy in Paris. Thence he removed to Douay in Flanders, where, taking the degree of doctor, he was appointed profeſſor of philoſophy in the Scots college, of which he afterwards became rector; alſo canon and grand penitentiary of the cathedral at Tournay, at which place he died in 1602. He was eſteemed one of the firſt mathematicians and philoſophers of his age †.

Ladies eminent in literature.

Several other men of ſcience [32] flouriſhed at this period both in England and Scotland, whoſe names cannot here be brought forward, as the author is conſcious that the ſpace allotted to this department is already far too large, and there yet remains the irreſiſtible claim of many learned females for admittance.

NOTES.

[32] In England, Wotton, Broke, Ridley, Tonſtal, &c. (Sir Philip Sidney will claſs with the poets). In Scotland, the two Barclays, Adamſon, Arbuthnot, and Bliſſat.

* Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 380. † Ibid. p. 459.

He

Cent. XVI.

Margaret Clement.

He will begin with Margaret *, a lady whoſe maiden ſurname is not certain, allied to, and bred up in, the family of Sir Thomas More. She correſponded with the great Eraſmus, who commends her epiſtles for their good ſenſe and chaſte Latin. She honored Sir Thomas More almoſt to idolatry. She would commit faults purely to be chid by him; ſuch moderation and humanity did he uſe in his anger. The ſhirt in which he ſuffered, ſtained with his blood, and his hair-ſhirt, ſhe preſerved as relics. In 1531 ſhe married her learned tutor, Dr. John Clement, with whom ſhe left England on account of her religion, and ſettled at Mechlin, in Brabant; where ſhe died A. D. 1570.

Margaret More.

Another Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas More, and afterwards the wife of William Roper, Eſq. of Eltham, was the moſt learned woman of her time. She ſhared with the former Margaret the praiſes of Eraſmus, and was ſo deeply read in the fathers, that ſhe reſtored (as is acknowledged by two commentators, J. Coſterus and Pamelion) a depraved paſſage in St. Cyprian, reading,

'Nervos ſinceritatis,'

for

'Niſi vos ſinceritatis †.'

She tranſlated Euſebius's Hiſtory from the Greek, but never printed the work, there being already a good tranſlation by J. Chriſtopherſon.

The tender affection which this accompliſhed lady bore to her father ſurvived his cataſtrophe; ſhe purchaſed his head from thoſe who guarded it on the tower of London-bridge ‡, and was interred with that melancholy relique in her arms [33].

Daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke.

The houſe of Sir Anthony Cooke of Eſſex was fruitful § in exemplary females. Mildred, the elder, was married, in 1546, to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, a miniſter highly eſteemed in the court of

NOTES.

[33] The ſkull may ſtill be ſeen in a vault at St. Dunſtan's church at Canterbury, where Margaret Roper was buried. [GOSTLING'S WALK.

* Ballard's Ladies, &c. Art. Margaret.

† Fuller's Worthies, London, p. 209.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, London, p. 210.

§ Ibid. Eſſex, p. 328.

Queen

Queen Elizabeth. Her learning, piety, and charity, were exemplary; she died in 1589, after having lived 42 years a happy wife; and her husband's 'Meditation on her Decease' does honor both to her and himself. Cent. XVI.

The sense and erudition of Sir Anthony's second daughter, Anne, caused her to be appointed governess to Edward VI. At the age of twenty-two she published twenty-five sermons, translated by herself from the Italian tongue. She afterwards became the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Catharine, another child of this fortunate parent, was celebrated for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; she married Sir Henry Killigrew of Cornwall. There needs no farther testimony of her skill and taste in Latin poetry than the elegant and tender epistle which she addressed to her sister Mildred [34], to desire her interest with her husband, Cecil, Lord Burghley, that Sir Henry might be excused from a critical and perilous French embassy, and be permitted to quit the court, and visit Cornwall:

Epistle in Latin verse.

'Si mihi quem cupio, cures Mildreda remitti,
Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror.
Sin male cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittas,
Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla soror.
It si Cornubiam, tibi pax sit et omnia læta;
Sin mare, Cecili, nuntio bella, vale!'

Beneath is Dr. Fuller's translation, which, though it rivals not the elegance of the original, is by no means deficient in expression:

'If, Mildred, by thy care *he* be
Sent back, whom I request;
A sister *good* thou art to me,
Yea *better*, yea the *best*.

NOTES.

[34] The accomplishments and virtues of this lady have been celebrated by the elegant Buchanan in four successive poems. The name 'Mildreda' is indeed much better formed for a poet's use than that of her father, to whom he addresses an epigram by the style of 'Antonius Cucus.'

But,

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But, if with ſtays thou keepſt him ſtill,
Or ſendſt where ſeas do part,
Then unto me a ſiſter *ill*,
Yea *worſe*, yea *none*, thou art.
If go to Cornwall he ſhall pleaſe,
I peace to thee foretell;
But, Cecil, if he's ſent to ſeas,
I war denounce. Farewell.'

CHAP.

CHAP. IV. SECT. III.

HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL SEMINARIES OF LEARNING THAT WERE FOUNDED IN GREAT-BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.

Diſadvantages of literature under Mary.

THE flux and reflux of ſuperſtition's billows ſeem to have had little effect on the firm-minded and beneficent well-wiſhers to literature in Great Britain. Wealth and leiſure were found to erect ſix colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, beſides ſeveral ſchools in other parts of England. Nor was Scotland, although involved in almoſt unremitting turbulence, without her additions to the general ſtock of literature.

New colleges in Oxford.

It is true, that the bigot Mary, although ſhe enriched both the univerſities with conſiderable benefactions, meant the encouragement of ſuperſtition, rather than of learning. Yet, in the very centre of her bloody deeds, and at a period when the elegant ſtudies were beginning again to yield to polemics, there aroſe a college at Oxford, avowedly deſtined by its founder, Sir Thomas Pope, A. D. 1554, for the improvement of claſſical literature. In the ſtatutes a lecturer is particularly appointed, and enjoined to 'exert his utmoſt diligence in tincturing his auditors with a juſt reliſh for the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.' And ſuch rules are given, and ſuch exerciſes peculiarly pointed out, that it ſeems impoſſible for the ſtudent to eſcape a thorough knowledge of Latin literature [35].

NOTES.

[35] Yet, in 1563, there were only two divines at Oxford who were capable of preaching before the univerſity. And, in 1570, Horne, Biſhop of Winton, enjoined to his minor canons, taſks almoſt beneath the abilities of an ordinary ſchool-boy.

The very low ſtate of public education, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, may be collected from a proviſion in Archbiſhop Parker's foundation of three ſcholarſhips at Cambridge, dated 1567. They are to be ſupplied by the moſt conſiderable ſchools in Kent and Norfolk, and are to be 'the *beſt* and *apteſt* ſchollers, well inſtructed in the grammar, and *(if it may be)* ſuch as *can make a verſe*.'

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Trinity college.

This was Trinity college; a preſident, twelve fellows, and twelve ſcholars, were appointed by the founder; the whole number of members are about ſeventy, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter is the viſitor [36].

St. John's college.

St. John's college (placed on the ſite of Bernard's college, erected in 1437 by the munificent Chicheley) was founded, in 1557, by Sir Thomas White, alderman and merchant-taylor of London. It had a preſident, fifty fellows, three clerks, three chaplains, and ſix choriſters. Since that year the number of its benefactors has been conſiderable; and we find among them Sir William Paddy, who founded and endowed the preſent choir; Archbiſhop Laud, who erected moſt part of the ſecond court; Archbiſhop Juxon, who gave 7000l. to augment the fellowſhips; Dr. and Mrs. Holmes, who allotted 15,000l. to augment the officers ſalaries, &c.; and Dr. Rawlinſon, who gave to the college a large landed eſtate in reverſion.

Since the foundation, an organiſt, five ſinging-men, and two ſextons, have been added, and one chaplain and three clerks appear to have been diſcarded.

About ſeventy ſtudents reſide at St. John's college, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter is the viſitor.

Jeſus college.

Jeſus college owes its foundation to Queen Elizabeth, who provided for a principal, eight fellows, and eight ſcholars. Since her time it has received ſo many benefactions from Charles I. Sir Leeline Jenkins, Dr. Manſel, and others, that its numbers are augmented to nineteen fellows, eighteen ſcholars, and, in all, to ninety perſons.

Cambridge.

Gonvil and Caius college.

Cambridge could boaſt of as many new foundations as Oxford, if Gonvil and Caius college is allowed as one. It was 200 years after its original foundation that Dr. John Caius, by building a new court to that edifice, and by endowing it, in 1557, with demeſnes, manors, and advowſons, to a great amount, was thought to merit the honor of having his name joined to that of the original founder in the appellation of the ſtructure, which before was only known as Gonvil-hall. The ſociety has a maſter, twenty-

NOTES.

[36] The civil war between Charles I. and his parliament having occaſioned great devaſtation in Oxford, a preſident, Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, expended near 2000l. in rebuilding the chapel. Trinity college has met with no other benefactor.

ſix

ſix fellows, ſeventy-one ſcholars, and four exhibitioners. The viſitors are, the provoſt of King's college, the maſter of Benedict college, and the ſenior doctor of phyſic. Cent. XVI.

Emanuel college had for its founder, in 1584, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, and of the Exchequer, under Elizabeth. It roſe on the ſite of the Dominican convent of black preaching friars. It began humbly with a maſter, and only three fellows and four ſcholars; but, at the cloſe of the 18th century, having fortunately met with numerous benefactors, it counts fifteen fellowſhips, fifty ſcholarſhips, ten ſizer's places, and thirty-ſeven exhibitions. Emanuel college.

Sidney-Suſſex college, founded, A. D. 1594, by the Dowager of Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Suſſex, has had a like good fortune with its ſiſter Emanuel college; and, having been aided by a variety of benefactions, has, from a ſmall commencement, increaſed ſo far as to have ſixty-one fellowſhips, beſides many exhibitions, to beſtow [37]. Sidney-Suſſex college.

Edward VI. incorporated Bethlem and Bridewell hoſpitals in the metropolis, including a ſchool for poor boys, under certain regulations, under the patronage of the city of London. Bridewell ſchool.

In 1590 Elizabeth formed an eſtabliſhment at Weſtminſter for forty boys in every ſpecies of claſſical learning. The progreſs of Weſtminſter ſchool has been ſteady and fortunate; its maſters have been, and are ſtill, as much diſtinguiſhed for their learning, as the ſtudents for ſpirit and urbanity. Weſtminſter ſchool.

NOTES.

[37] In 1577, a very large property, nearly equal to a new foundation, was offered to Peterhouſe, Cambridge, by Mary Ramſey, the widow of a Lord Mayor of London. Unluckily, the lady made the change of its name into 'Peter and Mary's College' an indiſpenſible condition, and to this Dr. Soams, the maſter, refuſed to conſent. 'Peter,' ſaid the humoriſt, 'has been too long a batchelor to think of a female comrade in his old age.' 'A dear jeſt,' ſays Dr. Fuller, 'to loſe ſo good a benefactreſs!' For Lady Ramſey, diſguſted at the refuſal, turned the ſtream of her benevolence into a different channel.

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.

Cent. XVI.

Scotland.

The extreme turbulence of the times in the North might have excuſed Scotland, had ſhe made no new efforts in favor of literature during the period now under conſideration. But ſhe had no need to plead this excuſe; and, greatly to her honor, three capacious eſtabliſhments aroſe to aid the ſtudent and reward the proficient.

Univerſity of Edinburgh.

The univerſity of Edinburgh was founded, in 1580, by James VI. on the ſupplication of the magiſtrates ruling that metropolis; who, with the moſt opulent citizens, were the benefactors and endowers, aided by donations of religious houſes and lands. Theſe are accordingly the ſole patrons and viſitors, although James ſeems to have wiſhed to be the ſole patron, and to have it called 'King James's college *.'

The foundation ſupports a principal or warden, a profeſſor of divinity, four regents of philoſophy, a regent of humanity or claſſical learning, a profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, and a profeſſor of the mathematics. The library was founded by Clement Little, a commiſſary of Edinburgh, about fifty years after the erection of the college †.

Mariſchal college, Aberdeen.

The Mariſchal college at Aberdeen was founded ‡, in 1594, by George, Earl Mariſchal [38], who endowed it with a conſiderable landed eſtate. The town of Aberdeen was chiefly at the charge of the building; and Charles I. ſettled on it one-third of the biſhopric's rents, while ſuch ſee ſhould remain vacant. There were many minor benefactors.

It maintained at firſt a principal, and three profeſſors of philoſophy; ſince which have been added a fourth profeſſor of philoſophy, a profeſſor of divinity, and one of mathematics, and twenty-four poor ſcholars. There

NOTES.

[38] On one front the founder engraved this ſtrange inſcription:

'They have ſeid'—
"Quhat ſay thay?
"Let yame ſay."

Probably alluding to ſome ſcoffers at that time. [PENNANT.

* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 387, 388.

† Spotiſwood, p. 29.

‡ Spotiſwood, p. 28.

are

are (at the close of the 18th century) about 150 students attending on the college, which is described by Mr. Pennant*, in 1774, as a large old building, with many good pictures, and a curious, if not a large, library. Cent. XVI.

The university of Glasgow, although founded in 1453, was at the reformation reduced to the lowest state of desolation. It was however refounded and restored, in 1577, by the attention of those who then regulated the minority of James VI. It had the tithes of a parish settled upon it; and, in 1617, had still more benefactions added to its store. A principal, three regents in philosophy, four bursars, a provisor, a janitor, a servant, and a cook, were the establishment appointed by its royal protector. University of Glasgow.

* Pennant's Sc. Tour, 8vo. p. 114.

HIS-

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HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. V.—PART II.

HISTORY OF THE ARTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO THAT OF JAMES I. A. D. 1603.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE NECESSARY AND USEFUL ARTS.

Cent. XVI. Improvements tardy.

THE ceſſation from civil war, which England had now enjoyed during full fifty years, had not hitherto produced the advantageous effect which might have been expected either in manufactures or in agriculture. The ſuppreſſion of religious houſes (although of great and general uſe to the community) at firſt was the cauſe of ſome diſtreſs to the lower ranks, as many idle perſons had been uſed to draw their ſupport from thoſe eſtabliſhments, who now became a burthen on their friends, and increaſed the clamour of poverty and diſcontent. There was little ability in the ſuperior to direct, and as little readineſs in the inferior

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to follow. Inſurrection appeared a ſhorter road to riches than hard and conſtant labour; and, from the cloſe of Henry's firm, although capricious government, to the commencement of Elizabeth's ſteady dominion, the peaſant neglected the improvement of the loom, and found no new tracts to purſue with his plough.

Incloſures cauſe commotions.

The ſpecies of farming which had gained ground in England ſince the reformation, and which, by turning arable land into paſture, had deprived [1] many labourers of bread, cauſed great commotion among the peaſants, who had likewiſe another and a juſter cauſe of complaint. The vile policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s reign had ſo far debaſed the coin, that when the huſbandman carried his wages to market, it would not purchaſe neceſſaries for his family. The tumults which ſuch oppreſſion occaſioned only added wounds and puniſhments to penury and diſcontent. Gradually, however, the eyes of the landholders were opened; books of huſbandry were printed and ſtudied; and a ſyſtem of farming was introduced which was equally beneficial to landlord and tenant.

Potatoes.

The vaſt addition which the general ſtock of aliment gained by the diſcovery of potatoes, in the 16th century, is too important to be ſlightly paſſed over. Captain Hawkins is ſaid to have brought this excellent root from Santa Fè in New Spain, A. D. 1565. Sir Walter Raleigh ſoon after planted it on his lands in Ireland; but, on eating the apple that it produced, which is nauſeous and unwholeſome, he had nearly conſigned the whole crop to deſtruction. Luckily the ſpade diſcovered the real potatoe, and the root became rapidly a favorite eatable. It continued, however, for a long time to be thought rather a ſpecies of dainty than of proviſion; nor, till the cloſe of the 18th century, was it ſuppoſed capable of guarding the country where it was foſtered from the attacks of famine.

Thomas Tuſſer's points of huſbandry.

For theſe improvements the men of the 16th century were partly indebted to Thomas Tuſſer, a pleaſant poet as well as a good farmer, whoſe Georgics may be read without diſguſt by thoſe who have ſtudied the works

NOTES.

[1] Alluding to this, Sir Thomas More writes, 'that a ſheep is become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or a wolf, and could devour whole villages, cities, and provinces.' [UTOPIA.

of

of Heſiod, or even of the Mantuan bard. His work was entitled, 'Five Hundred Pointes of good Huſbandrie,' and was firſt printed in 1557 [2]. As the book is, though not ſcarce, very little known, and extremely entertaining, the reader will permit a few extracts to be here introduced. The farmer and family's diet is fixed to be 'red-herrings and ſalt-fiſh in Lent *.' At other times 'freſh beef, pork,' &c. At Chriſtmas 'good drinke, a good fire in the hall, brawne, pudding, and ſouſe, and muſtard withall, capon or turkey, cheeſe, apples, and nuts, *with jolie carols* †.' The prudent houſewife is adviſed to make her own candles. Servants are directed to go to bed at ten in the ſummer and nine in the winter, and to riſe at five in the winter, and four in ſummer ‡. The holidays throughout the year are appointed for the working men. The gaieſt of theſe feſtivals ſeems to be the wake-day, or vigil of the pariſh ſaint, 'when everie wanton maie danſe at her wille §.' Cent. XVI.

The directions which Tuſſer gives for the culture of a hop-garden are remarkably judicious. They finiſh thus, with a neat point: [3] Hop planting.

'The hop, for his profit, I thus do exalt,
It ſtrengtheneth drinke, and it favoreth malt;
And, being well brewed, long kept it will laſt,
And drawing abide,—if ye draw not too faſt.'

It ſhould be remarked, that the hop was now a favorite object with the Engliſh farmer.

The following ſtanza is allowed by modern farmers to give good advice, although it is ſeldom attended to:

'In Jan'ry, good huſband that pouches the grotes,
Will break up his lay, or be ſowing of otes;
For otes ſown in Janu'ry laie by the wheate,
In May, by the haie, for the cattel to eate.'

NOTES.

[2] There were other treatiſes on agriculture publiſhed, but none either ſo clear or ſo intereſting as that of Tuſſer. Barnaby Googe wrote 'Foure Bookes of Huſbandrie.'

[3] The planting of hemp and flax had met with more encouragement from government than that of hops; yet it appears to have totally failed.

* Tuſſer, 4to ed. chap. 12.
† Ibid. chap. 30.
‡ Ibid. chap. 52.
§ Ibid. fol. 138.

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His directions for hay-making are excellent, and given with fire:

'Go! muſter thy ſervants, be captain thyſelfe,
Providing them weapons and other like pelfe;
Get bottels, and wallets, keepe fielde in the heate,
The feare is as much as the danger is great.
With toſſing and raking, and ſetting on cockes,
Graſſe, lately in ſwathes, is haie for an oxe;
That done, go to carte it, and have it away,
The battel is fought, ye have gotten the day!'

Life of Tuſſer.

This entertaining and inſtructive bard was born in 1527, at Rivenhall, in Eſſex. He was placed as a choriſter (having a fine voice) at the collegiate church of Wallingford, Berks, whence he was impreſſed for the royal chapel. He then ſang at St. Paul's, under Bedford, a celebrated muſician. Afterwards he became a ſcholar at Eton, where he once received fifty-three ſtrypes from the rod of a ſevere but acute maſter, Nicholas Udall. In 1543, he was admitted to King's college, Cambridge. He afterwards became by turns muſician, farmer, grazier, and poet; but always unſucceſsfully, although guilty neither of vice nor extravagance. Tuſſer's 'Five Hundred Pointes of good Huſbandrie' may be peruſed even now with pleaſure. His directions are entertaining, as they ſhew the cuſtoms of his age. From the antiquity of his diction he may properly be ſtyled the Engliſh Varro. He died in 1582, it is feared, in diſtreſſed circumſtances.

Theſe obſervations on agriculture may well be cloſed with the venerable Harriſon's deſcription of a farmer of his times: 'He will thinke his gaines very ſmall towardes the end of his terme if he have not ſix or ſeven years rent lieing by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe; beſide a fair garniſh of pewter on his cupboard, with as much more in odd veſſels going about the houſe; three or four feather beds; ſo many coverlets and carpets of tapeſtrie; a ſilver ſalt; a bowle for wine, if not a whole neaſt; and a dozen of ſpoones to furniſh owte the ſute*.'

Productive farm.

The land of England was certainly in general both cheap and productive. In this and all other caſes we may believe the good Hugh Latimer; and he in a ſermon tells us wonders concerning the produce of a ſmall farm.

* Harriſon's Deſcription of England, p. 188.

'My

Cent. XIV.

'My father,' ſays he, 'was a yeoman, and had no land of his own; only he had a farm * of three or four pounds by the year at the utmoſt; and hereupon he tilled ſo much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for an hundred ſheep; and my mother milked thirty kine,' &c. 'He kept his ſon at ſchool till he went to the univerſity, and maintained him there; he married his daughters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece; he kept hoſpitality with his neighbors, and ſome alms he gave to the poor; and all this he did out of the ſaid farm.' We may the leſs wonder at this narrative, when we find that, by an act † of parliament paſſed but a few years before the good biſhop preached, one hundred acres of arable land, and as many of paſture, at Maddingly in Cambridgeſhire, are declared to be 'letten to farm for the yearly value of ten pounds' (which is at the rate of one ſhilling an acre), to pay the fees and wages for the knights ſerving in parliament for the county of Cambridge.

Cheapneſs of land.

If the land was grateful to the tiller [4], he, on his part, according to the obſervant Paul Hentzner, was not wanting in acknowledgment, although ſomewhat ill directed. Our traveller met, as he tells us, ſome country people 'celebrating their harveſt-home, near Windſor. Their laſt load of corn they crown with flowers, having beſides an image richly dreſſed' (by which perhaps they would ſignify Ceres), 'this they keep moving about, while men and women, men-ſervants and maid-ſervants, riding through the ſtreets in the cart, ſhout as loud as they can, till they arrive at the barn.' He adds that the corn is not tied up in ſheaves as in Germany, but mown and carried as hay ‡.

Singular kind of harveſt-home.

NOTES.

[4] In Dr. William Bulleyn's book 'of ſimples,' we have the ſtrange inſtance of a crop which owed nothing to the tiller. 'Anno ſalutis 1555, at a place called Orford, in Suſſex, between the haven and the mayn ſea (whereas never plough came, nor natural earth was, but ſtones only), there did peaſe grow whoſe rootes were three fadome long; and the coddes did grow upon cluſters lyke the chats or keys of aſhe trees, bigger than fitches, and leſs than the field peaſon; very ſweet to eate upon, and ſerved many poore people dwelling there at hand, which els ſhould have periſhed for hunger, the ſcarcity of bread was ſo great.' [BULLEYN APUD DR. AIKIN.

* Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 2. † Stat. Hen. VIII. A. 35, cap. 24.

‡ Hentzner apud Dodſley's Fugitive Pieces, vol. ii. p. 299.

Cent. XVI.

Cattle were not plentiful in England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. In 1563 it was enacted, that no one ſhould eat fleſh on Wedneſdays or Fridays on forfeiture of three pounds, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs or of a ſpecial licence, neither of which was to extend to beef or veal*. Great pains were taken in the act to prove that was a *political*, not a religious meaſure.

Culture of ſummer and winter wheat ſcarce.

'As for the difference that is between ſummer and winter wheat,' ſays Harriſon†, 'moſt huſbandmen knew it not; yet here and there I find of both ſorts, ſpecially in the North and about Kendal.' It ſhould ſeem by this, that both the common wheat, and the bearded or cone wheat, were known to our anceſtors. To cloſe this ſubject, it ought not to paſs unobſerved that, ſlow as was the progreſs of agriculture, it had yet before the cloſe of the age, almoſt ſecured England from thoſe famines which had ſo uſually deſolated the kingdom. Yet there was a great difference in the price of wheat in different years. In 1551 wheat was ſold at eight ſhillings the quarter; and in 1595, by reaſon of an imprudent exportation, the ſame meaſure roſe to the great price of two pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence; and in the next year, on account of a wet harveſt, to four pounds, which almoſt amounted to a dearth, and cauſed ſome commotions in the metropolis.

A dearth in 1596.

Parks noxious to agriculture.

The land was certainly by no means cultivated to its utmoſt advantage, and Harriſon complains of the vaſt number of parks in the kingdom; not leſs he ſays, than an hundred in Eſſex alone, 'where almoſt nothing is kept but a ſorte of wilde and ſavage beaſtes, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight.' And purſuing the ſame ſubject he ſays, that 'if the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on‡.'

Scotland.

The civil diſſentions, and even anarchy, which prevailed in Scotland until a late period in the ſixteenth century, operated as a harſh check on every improvement in agriculture. Even the total expulſion of eccleſiaſtical landholders increaſed this evil; as the monks were eaſy landlords, and frequently not uninſtructed in georgical knowledge.

Improvements in agriculture tardy.

Huſbandmen protected.

The tillers of the earth in Scotland had at leaſt their full ſhare of their country's misfortunes, when private vengeance for private wrongs, ſuper-

* Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 4. † Deſcription of Britaine, p. 169. ‡ Ibid. p. 168.

ſeded

ſeded the regular but timid proceedings of public juſtice. A ſtatute was then formed for their particular benefit, whereby * the 'ſlayers and houchers (houghers) of horſes and uther cattel,' with their employers and maintainers, are declared 'to incurre the paine of death, and confiſcation of alle their gudes movvabil.' Cent. XVI.

A ſecond act paſſed in 1587 for the farther protection of huſbandmen; declaring all ſuch as deſtroyed or maimed horſes, oxen, &c. cut or deſtroyed ploughs or plough-gear (in time of tilling), or trees and corn, ſhould ſuffer death †. Huſbandmen protected.

Several acts of parliament were made to protect the farmers from petulant tithe-gatherers; the proper times of notice were herein pointed out, and liberty given to the tiller of the land to proceed in his work if this notice was neglected. The laſt ‡ confirmed and explained the others. Tythe-gatherers reſtrained.

Although great attention was paid during the reign of Elizabeth to the ſize of horſes turned out on foreſts, commons, &c. yet it was found neceſſary to lower the ſtandard appointed by Henry VIII. for ſtallions, from fourteen hands to thirteen. This modification, however, was only to take place in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk §. England. Size of horſes lowered on fens, &c.

Harriſon extols the height and ſtrength of the Engliſh draught horſes; five or ſix of them, he ſays, will with eaſe draw three thouſand weight of the greateſt tale for a long journey. As to the numbers of horſes in the realm, ſome judgment may be formed from the quota which Elizabeth, when ſhe moved her place of reſidence, demanded from the country in the neighbourhood of her palace. This was 24,000; 'a far leſs traine,' ſays the reverend writer, 'than thoſe of the kings of other nations ‖.' Strength and height of draught horſes.

An Engliſh traveller, who viſited Scotland in 1598, obſerved a great abundance of all kind of cattle, and many horſes; not large [5], but high- Scotland. Horſes not large but active.

NOTES.

[5] It is worth remark that William Paton, who wrote an account of the Duke of Somerſet's expedition into Scotland in 1547, does not beſtow the name of *horſes* on the Scottiſh chargers, but calls them '*prickers*.' Nay, he will not allow that the Soots *rode*, but only *pricked* along. [TRANSACTIONS OF SCOT. ANTIQUAR. SOCIETY, VOL. I.

* Stat. 110, Parl. 7 Jac. VI. † Stat. 83, Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 84, Parl. 11 Jac. VI. § 8 Eliz. cap. 8.

‖ Deſcription of Britaine, p. 220.

ſpirited

Cent. XVI.

ſpirited and patient of labor *. Great care, indeed, was taken by the Engliſh, while the kingdoms were ſeparate, to prevent the Scots from improving their breed by Southern ſtallions; it was even made felony to export horſes thither from England †. This un-neighbourly prohibition was anſwered by a reciprocal reſtriction in 1567 as to the exportation of Scottiſh horſes ‡; but France, rather than England, ſeems to be pointed out by that ſtatute. One circumſtance, pointed out by a curious antiquary §, is a convincing proof, of the modern improvement in the breed. For many years paſt eight nails have been uſed to each horſe's ſhoe in the North; ſix uſed to be the number.

Their exportation prohibited.

Limited as to corn.

The proper ſeaſon for turning horſes to graſs was thought a conſideration worthy the attention of the Scottiſh government, avowedly to prevent the waſte of corn. All horſes were, therefore, ordered to be put to graſs from May 15 to October 15, on pain of forfeiting each horſe or its value to the king. Gentlemen of 1000 markes, yearly rent, and all upwards are excepted ‖. The firſt of June was ſubſtituted, in a ſubſequent act ¶, for the 15th of May.

England.

The gardens of England, in the age of Elizabeth, ſeem to have been both magnificent and pleaſing.

Gardening.

Noneſuche.

At Noneſuche (ſays Hentzner) there were 'groves ** ornamented with trellis work, cabinets of verdure and walks, ſo embrowned with trees, that it ſeemed a place pitched on by pleaſure to dwell in, along with health.'

He adds, 'in the pleaſure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that ſpout water, one round the other like a pyramid, upon which are perched ſmall birds that ſtream water out of their bills,' &c. &c.

In the gardens of Hampton Court he ſaw roſemary [6] nailed over the walls, ſo as to cover them entirely. 'This,' he ſays, 'is a method exceeding common in England.'

NOTES.

[6] The natural ſtock of Engliſh aromatics was much increaſed by the Netherlanders, who, flying in 1567 from the racks and wheels of Alva, brought to England their favorite flowers, particularly gilly-flowers (giroflées), carnations, and Provence-roſes. [Meterani Hist. Belg.

* Moryſon's Itin. Part 3, p. 154. † 1 Eliz. cap. 7. ‡ Stat. 22 Parl. 1 Jac. VI.
§ Paper apud Tranſactions of Sc. Ant. Soc. vol. i. p. 171. ‖ Stat. 122 Parl. 7 Jac. VI.
¶ Stat. 56 Parl. 11 Jac. VI. ** Hentzner apud 'Fugitive Pieces,' p. 297.

The ſame minute obſerver deſcribes Lord Burleigh's gardens at Theobald's *, as ſurrounded by a piece of water, on which he went in a boat rowing among the ſhrubs. He ſpeaks of a great variety of trees and plants, of labyrinths made with great labor, of a jet d'eau, and of a ſummer-houſe commanding ſtews full of fiſh.' Cent. XVI. Theobalds.

The deſcription which Sir Philip Sidney gives of a pleaſure ground belonging to a man of faſhion in Arcadia, was probably applicable to the moſt elegant gardens of his age; at leaſt it is the portrait of ſuch a one as he would have approved.

'The backſide of the houſe was neither field, garden, nor orchard, or rather it was both field, garden, and orchard; for, as ſoon as the deſcending of the ſtairs had delivered them down, they came into a place cunningly ſet with trees of the moſt taſte-pleaſing fruits; but, ſcarcely had they taken that into their conſideration, ere they were ſuddenly ſtept into a delicate green; of each ſide of the green a thicket; and beſide each thicket again new beds of flowers, which being under the trees, the trees were to them a pavillion, and they to the trees a Moſaical floor. In the midſt of all the place was a faire pond, whoſe ſhaking cryſtal was a perfect mirrour to all the other beauties; ſo that it bare ſhew of two gardens, the one in deed, the other in ſhadows; and in one of the thickets was a fine fountain,' &c. &c. †.

Statues too were abundant. When Sir Francis Bacon firſt walked in Lord Arundel's garden, he ſtarted, and exclaimed, 'The Reſurrection ‡!' Statues.

It was uſual, both in England and Wales, for the nobility and gentry to build ornamental ſummer-houſes, or rather drinking-rooms, in their gardens, at ſome little diſtance from their manſions, with cellars beneath them. 'Theſe,' ſays Pennant, 'were uſed as a retreat for the jolly owners and their friends to enjoy, remote from the fair, their toaſts and noiſy merriment §.'

What has been above ſaid relates chiefly to the ornamental parts of horticulture; but there is every reaſon to think that the produce of the garden,

* Hentzer, apud 'Fugitive Pieces,' p. 277. † Arcadia, vol. i. p. 14, 15.
‡ Apophthegms of Bacon. § Pennant's Scottiſh Tour, vol. i. p. 24, 4to ed.

as

Cent. XVI. as to fruits [7], herbs, and roots, equalled that of the 18th century, although probably not at ſuch early periods as thoſe at which the modern gardiner has taught his productions to ripen.

Apricots, Plums, &c. The citizens of London were always wealthy and luxurious. Old Kno'well is deſcribed by Ben Jonſon, in a play acted in 1598, as 'numbering over his green apricots o' the North-weſt wall*.' But there is to be found in Hakluyt's Patriotic Inſtructions to the Turkey Company's Agents, a circumſtantial account of the introduction of many plants to England†. The damaſk roſe he gives to Dr. Linacre; the muſk roſe, and many kinds of plums, are owed, he writes, to Lord Cromwell; the apricot to a French gardener of Henry VIII. Various flowers, among which he ſpecifies 'the Tulipa,' had lately came from the Eaſt by the way of Vienna; the tamariſk had been brought from Germany by Archbiſhop Grindal, and 'many people have received great health by that plant.' The currant buſh he ſpeaks of as lately brought from Zante; 'and although,' ſays he. 'it bring not its fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerve for pleaſure, and for ſome uſe.'

Vines. How the culture of the vine, which did formerly enable it to ſupply a conſiderable part of the wine which was drank in England, was loſt, is a myſtery. It appears, however, that good wine was made at ſome Engliſh vineyards in or about 1578 [8]; and thoſe of the Lords Cobham, and Williams of Thame, are expreſsly mentioned in Baraby Goge's 'Foure Bookes of Huſbandry.'

The great abundance of parks, and their bad conſequence as to the farming intereſt of the kingdom, has already been remarked.

NOTES.

[7] In a ſurvey of 'Bothool Baronrie in Northumberland, dated 1576, 'orchettes' are mentioned, 'wharin growes all kind of hearbes and flowers, and fine appiles, plumbes of all kynde, peers, damſellis, nuttes, wardens, cherries too, the black and reede; wallnutes and alſo licores verie fyne; worthe by the yeare xx l.'

[8] The conteſt concerning indigenous vines is much too voluminous for this hiſtory. Conſult the Archæologia, Vol. III. for Mr. Barrington's paper on Engliſh vineyards, and a very particular and curious letter ſigned L. G. in Gent. Mag. Vol. XLV. p. 516.

* Every Man in his Humor. act i. ſc. 2. † Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 1645.

So

Cent. XVI. Scotland.

So very little appears to have been written concerning gardening by any Scottiſh writer, that it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe that much improvement was made in that art during the 16th century. Among the numerous acts pointed at thoſe who do wanton miſchief to their neighbors grounds, plantations, and incloſures, orchards are indeed mentioned, and 'zairdes, parkes, and policies*,' as places to be protected. Fynes Moryſon, who viſited Scotland in 1598, obſerves, that the houſes of the nobility and gentry are generally ſurrounded with little groves of trees. Theſe were probably the 'policies' or improvements intended to be guarded by the act above-cited. Parks were certainly abundant.

Acts to protect plantations.

Groves near manſion-houſes.

The ſame traveller remarks, that the Scots conſumed great quantities of coleworts and cabbages †. This naturally implies that attention muſt have been paid to the management of the kitchen garden. Yet he ſays that Berwick was the market of the South-Eaſtern Scots for peaſe and beans.

Vegetables plentiful.

Some regard ſeems to have been paid by the Scottiſh government to the growth of national timber, as there appears an act, in 1555, to compel the incloſing and 'parking' the wood of Falkland, which is ſaid to have been neglected and ruined ‡.

A mixed ſyſtem of building was adopted towards the cloſe of the 16th century by thoſe who erected palaces. Perhaps the magnificent houſe of Elizabeth's celebrated ſecretary, Cecil, may be named as the fineſt example of this new order.

Architecture

Glaſs, which now became common and cheap enough to be generally uſed in windows [9], added much to the conveniencies of life.

'The antient manor-houſes of the gentlemen,' Harriſon (a reverend aſſociate-hiſtorian with the exact Holingſhed, at the cloſe of the 16th century) obſerves, 'were for the moſt part built of ſtrong timber; howbeit,' he adds, 'ſuch as be latelie builded are commonlie either of bricke or hard ſtone, or both. Their roomes large and comelie, and their houſes of

NOTES.

[9] The moſt eccentric contrivances had been uſed to let in the light. At Sudely-caſtle thin flakes of the beryl-ſtone are ſaid to have ſtood in the place of glaſs. Some of theſe were exiſting when Harriſon wrote his 'Deſcription of England.'

* Title to Stat. 84, Parl. 6, Jac. VI.

† Itinerary, p. 155.

‡ Stat 48, Parl. 6 Marie.

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Skilful builders.

office * farther distant from their lodgings,' &c. &c. 'So that if ever curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in manner comparable [10] in skill to Vitruvius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo.' He proceeds to mention one great alteration, in point of convenience to the middling people, which had taken place in his time, viz. 'The multitude of chimneies lately erected; whereas in their young daies there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses and manour places of their lordes alwaie excepted, and peradventure some great personages), but eche one made his fire against a rere dosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.' This honest picture of the inconveniencies attached to the middle orders of life, and lasting so late as to the days of Elizabeth, is little known, and will hardly meet with credit.

Improvement in domestic convenience.

Ecclesiastical architecture neglected, and why.

Ecclesiastical architecture most certainly improved not in the age of Elizabeth. The destruction of all religious foundations had prevented any increase of temples dedicated to divine worship, by laying open to the public a much greater number of abbeys, chapels, &c. than could be kept in order, at least as the disposition of the English then was directed; else such numbers of beautifully constructed edifices as appear in every county would not remain stripped of their coverings, and exposed to every insult of the weather.

Decline of military architecture.

Military architecture was now on a rapid decline. It had already descended from the lofty towers of Edward I. which, displayed at Caernarvon, Conway, and Caerphilly, awed the beholder; to the watch-boxes of

NOTES.

[10] Notwithstanding this high encomium on English architects, Mr. Walpole, whose accuracy in assisting the researches of Vertue is uncontrovertible, finds very few in the reign of Elizabeth that merit notice. John Shute, who having studied in Italy, at the cost of the Duke of Northumberland, in 1550, published, in 1563, a book in folio, containing 'The first and chief Groundes of Architecture,' &c. Robert Adams, surveyor of the Queen's works, and Rodulph or Ralph Simmons Adams, who has left only a Military Plan for the Defence of the Thames from Tilbury to London. Simmons has the two colleges of Emanuel and Sidney-Sussex, at Cambridge, still remaining to testify his abilities. There is, besides, one Master Stickles, mentioned by Stowe as an 'excellent architect,' who, in 1596, built for a trial, a pinnace which might be taken in pieces, and was therefore most probably a naval architect. [ANECDOTES OF PAINTING.

* i. e. Offices.

Calſhot, Hurſt, Sandown, Sandgate, &c. erected by Henry VIII. And even ſuch as theſe were doomed within a few years to ſhroud their inſignificance within deluſive banks of turf; ſo vaſt has been the revolution in the *defenſive* ſyſtem of war. Whereas, in the *offenſive* detail the cannon has only taken place of the catapulta, and the muſquet of the bow, with ſcarcely more power of action, and a much more uncertain aim. Cent. XVI.

Little was left for Elizabeth to do towards fortifying her ſhores, except to repair thoſe caſtles with which her father had lined the Southern coaſt of England. The great activity of her ſea-officers, and the readineſs with which her ſubjects flew to arms in her defence, rendered even her father's fortifications unneceſſary.

There were few buildings of a public nature produced in the age of Elizabeth. The Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Greſham, and named with great ceremony * by Queen Elizabeth, periſhed by the fire of London in 1666. Civil architecture.

Colleges which were erected within her period have been deſcribed, and there only remain to be ſlightly mentioned the exertions of private perſons in providing themſelves with convenient, and ſometimes magnificent, habitations.

Among theſe Burghley-houſe has already been mentioned; Hatfield-houſe owes its origin to the ſame great miniſter, Lord Burghley; and Oſterley-houſe to the patriotic Sir Thomas Greſham [11].

NOTES.

[11] It was at Oſterly that the opulence and gallantry of Sir Thomas rivalled the wonders of romance. Elizabeth had viſited that ſuperb manſion, and, on quitting the window to ſeek her bed, had remarked aloud, 'how much more gracefully the court-yard would appear, if divided in two by a wall.' The words were caught up by Sir Thomas, who inſtantly, on quitting the royal preſence, ſent haſtily to his maſons and bricklayers, aſſiſted them with innumerable laborers, worked all the night, and completed the wall according to the queen's wiſhes before ſhe had riſen from her bed. The courtiers were chagrined at the knight's alertneſs; and one of them conſoled himſelf with a conceit, viz. 'That it was no way ſtrange that one who could build a 'change could change a building.'

[ENGLAND'S GAZETTEER.

* Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1224.

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Scotland.

More edifices deſtroyed than erected.

The Scottiſh hiſtorians, ſtill inattentive to ought but religion and politics, leave poſterity to diſcover as they can the progreſs of arts in the North. Architecture of every kind (the erection of colleges, which has been already mentioned, excepted) appears to have been almoſt at a ſtand. The rapid deſtruction of abbeys was more profitable, as well as entertaining, than the ſlow employment of rearing them; and the nobility, and leaders of factions, took much more pleaſure in burning their neighbour's houſe * or caſtle than in raiſing dwellings for their own domeſtic convenience, or fortreſſes to protect their country.

Eccleſiaſtical architecture.

In order therefore to do juſtice to the taſte and munificence of our Northern ſiſter, we muſt have recourſe to the reſearch of an accurate antiquary into the general ſtate of the antient religious edifices throughout the country.

Elegance of the Scottiſh abbeys, &c.

'The eccleſiaſtical buildings of Scotland (ſays one who had narrowly attended to them), conſidered as works of art and magnificence, are in point of execution by no means inferior to thoſe of England. The ruins of the abbey of Kelſo exhibit a ſpecimen of the ſtyle commonly called Saxon, not to be equalled by any building of that kind in the South.

'The abbey of Melroſs, in point of beautiful tracery in the windows, high finiſhing in the foliage, &c. ſeems carried to the utmoſt degree of perfection, of which the art is capable.

'The general deſign and decorations of the church of Elgin are elegantly conceived, the parts are likewiſe finiſhed with great neatneſs and preciſion. The abbey of Jedburgh is a beautiful pile, well deſigned, and finely executed. The abbeys of Dunfermline and Paiſley will give pleaſure to every lover of that beautiful ſtyle of architecture, degraded with the appellation of Gothic. What the abbey of Arbroath wants in neatneſs and decoration, is compenſated for in the greatneſs of its dimenſions. Dundrennan and New Abbeys appear to have been very handſome edifices; as do many more which I have not here room to particularize †.'

A ſolitary inſtance occurs of a temple raiſed to divine worſhip during a moſt diſaſtrous period.

* Spotiſwood, p. 259, &c. &c.

† Groſe's Antiquities of Scotland, Introduction, p. xvii. xviii.

The

The collegiate church of Biggar was founded and richly endowed by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, in 1545, and is ſtill a handſome building. It has the air of much greater antiquity than is here aſſigned to it*. This ſeems to have been one of the laſt edifices of the kind which the horrors of civil and religious diſſentions gave good men leiſure to erect. Cent. XVI. Church at Biggar.

Indeed it appears that moſt of the large churches which eſcaped the devaſtations of reform, were, before the cloſe of the 16th age, divided by walls within, and formed into two or more places of divine worſhip. This meaſure, although apparently meant for the congregation's convenience, deſtroyed the whole internal elegance of each ſtructure [12]. Churches divided.

The manſes or parſonage-houſes belonging to the clergy of Edinburgh (which was originally but one pariſh) ſtood together in a cloſe like thoſe of Engliſh cities. But the politic James VI. who ſaw what convenience this ſituation afforded to the eccleſiaſtical demagogues for plotting againſt his authority, having laid the metropolis, in 1597, under an interdict, made it one of the conditions of pardon, that the manſes ſhould be delivered up to him, and that the preachers ſhould live diſperſed in various quarters of the city. Reſidence of the clergy.

There are a few inſtances among the nobility of Scotland of perſons who, in a time of extreme turbulence, raiſed buildings which ſtill do honor to their taſte and munificence.

A magnificent caſtle was built in or about 1575, by John Lord Herries, one of the moſt ſteady of Mary Stuart's friends, on the ruins of Hoddem caſtle in Annandale; a much older building, which had been demoliſhed by the Engliſh in their incurſion under the Lord Suſſex five years before, much about the ſame time was built. Hoddem caſtle.

NOTES.

[12] F. Moryſon, who viſited Edinburgh in 1598, remarks, that in the great church there was a conſiderable wooden ſeat built up for the king. There was another, very like the royal allotment, ſituated exactly oppoſite to that of the king. Into this Moryſon and his friend moſt inconſiderately went and ſat down, but were ſoon driven from it by the ſcreams and hiſſes of the congregation; who, though in the midſt of divine ſervice, could not bear to ſee them profane a ſtation, meant only for the expoſure of girls who had failed in point of rigorous chaſtity. [ITINERARY.

* Groſe's Antiq. of Scotland, vol. i, p. 35.

The

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Tower of Repentance.

The Tower of Repentance, which ſtands near Hoddem caſtle, was built nearly at the ſame time, as an atonement either for the murther of priſoners in cold blood, or for the demolition of many churches. Both theſe reaſons are given by tradition. The word 'repentance,' which may, perhaps, have been the family motto, is carved on the tower between a ſerpent and a dove *.

Caſtle of Kirkcudbright.

At Kirkcudbright the wild reformers demoliſhed a beautiful collegiate church, and on its ruins was erected by Thomas M'Lellan of Bombay, a caſtle whoſe remains ſtill ſhew that it was once an elegant as well as a large ſtructure †.

Additions to Stirling Caſtle.

The regent Marr added conſiderably to the already magnificent caſtle of Stirling. One building of good workmanſhip is known to be of his erection; and he is ſuppoſed to have teſtified his contempt for the cenſures thrown on him, for having employed the ſtones of a diſſolved abbey in the work, by the following two lines, which are ſtill legible on the gate:

'Speak furth, and ſpare nocht,
Conſider well—I care nocht ‡.

An Engliſh traveller, who viſited Edinburgh in 1698, commends highly the 'fair ſtreetes' of that metropolis; one of which he deſcribes as conſiſting of large houſes all built of free-ſtone, and extending to the length of a mile. He laments, however, that wooden galleries, projecting from the ſecond ſtories, leſſen the good effect of theſe reſpectable edifices §.

There are ſpecimens of the buildings in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries ſtill remaining in the capital, which do honor to the architects of thoſe times [13].

The Tolbooth at Edinburgh was built by the citizens at the expreſs command of Queen Mary Stuart in 1561. It was intended as a Parliament-houſe and a priſon. The building, which ſtill remains, has nothing in its appearance of grace or dignity.

NOTES.

[13] Particularly a houſe on the South ſide of the High-ſtreet, which has a handſome front of hewn ſtone, and niches in the wall for the images of ſaints.

[ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.

* Groſe's Scottiſh Antiquities, vol. i. p. 142. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 188.

‡ Ibid. p. 241. § Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150.

In

In 1561 the good fortune of the men of Keſwick pointed out the diſcovery of a moſt abundant mine near their town of pure copper. A vaſt ſtore of that valuable mineral, 'lapis calaminaris,' being found in the neighbourhood, braſs works were ſoon begun upon the ſpot *. Cent. XVI. England. Mining.

The charter of the 'mines royal' was granted in 1565 to Humphries and Shute, who at the head of twenty foreign laborers had excluſive patents to dig and ſearch for various metals, and to refine the ſame in England and Ireland; they had alſo the excluſive uſe of the lapis calaminaris. This charter was not completed until 1568, when the Duke of Norfolk and others were added to the governors, and the whole was ſtyled, The Society of the Mineral and Battery Works †. Charter of the mines royal.

The foreigners above-mentioned introduced to England the method of drawing out iron wires by mills; and not, as before, by human ſtrength alone. Mills for lengthening iron wire.

There appears a letter in Hakluyt's collection, dated not long after this period, by which it ſeems that the refining of ſilver, by means of quick-ſilver, was then a new diſcovery; and that lead had been uſed for that purpoſe long before the advantage of that voluble metal had been found out. Lead uſed to refine ſilver.

Scotland, at this æra, produces, on behalf of her poſſeſſing the moſt valuable metals beneath her barren mountains, an Engliſh witneſs ‡ named Thomas Atcheſon, or Atkinſon. He was aſſay-maſter of the Edinburgh mint under James VI. He pointed out many places where native gold may be had; and has been the foundation and ſupport of ſome other works on the ſame ſubject, particularly the 'Narratio de Metallis et de Mineralibus,' ſaid to be written by Colonel J. Borthwick, but really compiled from the book above-mentioned. It does not, however, appear that, poſitively as theſe aſſertions are made, they have ever tempted either kings or private adventurers to form any aſſociation which might bring ſuch precious ſtores to light. Scotland. Gold found there.

There is, however, a circumſtance mentioned by Biſhop Leſlie, in his 'Hiſtoria Scotiæ,' which merits obſervation. A hill, he ſays, in the North of Scotland, not very far from Aberdeen, and now called Dunadeer, was Dundore.

* Camden apud Anderſon, vol. ii, p. 116, 117. † Ibid. p. 123.
‡ Nicholſon's Scottiſh Library, p. 10.

then

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then named Dund'ore, or 'the golden mountain,' from its abounding in gold. The tradition ſtill remains among the people of that neighborhood, and they ſtill believe that there needs only a ſufficient acquaintance with the powers of magic to compaſs treaſures beyond thoſe of the Indies *.

England. Manufacture of wool.

The woollen manufacture proceeded ſteadily on without any other aid than now and then an act of parliament to regulate the length, breadth, weight, &c. of the pieces. Such a one paſſed † in 1552, and was ſuppoſed to have been ſo exactly compoſed as to prevent the need of future ordinances. But it was not ſo; and a very few years proved the neceſſity of ſtill farther reſtrictions; for with every clauſe a new ſpecies of fraud found means to gain admittance.

Still the clothing trade of England increaſed with the induſtry of the natives, and although it is fact that, in 1551, no leſs than ſixty ſhips ſailed from Southampton ‡ laden with unmanufactured wool for the uſe of the Flemiſh looms, yet, when proper reſtrictions were laid on ſuch ruinous exportation, princely fortunes were gained by the makers of cloth and woollen-drapers; and immenſe charities to the poor, as well as magnificent dwellings [14] for themſelves and their families, were proofs of their well-earned opulence. In 1582, when the trade with the Hanſeaties was put on a footing advantageous to England, it was proved before the Diet of Germany that 400,000 cloths were annually exported from England to the continent.

Logwood decried.

The art of dying woollen-cloth muſt have been ill underſtood in 1581, when we find a ſtatute § containing a Philippic againſt 'certain deceitful

NOTES.

[14] The numerous and well-appointed charities of John Winchcomb (more known as Jack of Newbury) ſtill ſpeak loudly to his praiſe. Newbury ſupplied another manufacturer of wool, Doleman by name, ſo rich and ſo little inclined to thrift, that he laid out the enormous ſum of ten thouſand pounds, on building a vaſt and ſtrong houſe near his native place. Fearful of the laſhes which he expected to receive from the envy of his neighbours, he inſcribed more than one appoſite ſentence, both in Greek and Latin, above his ſuperb ſtone porch; as ſpells againſt thoſe ill-willers, whoſe peculiar malice he dreaded. The houſe is named Shaw; and will again ſtand forward in hiſtory, when the fields round Newbury are doomed to be ſtained with the blood of brethren in arms againſt each other.

[Ashmole's Berks, Vol. II. &c. &c.

* Cardonnel's Antiq. of Scotland, p. 32.
† Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 6.
‡ Rym. Fœd. apud Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 89.
§ Stat. 23 Eliz. cap. 9.

ſtuff

ſtuff called "Logwood or Blockwood," whoſe colors are repreſented therein as "falſe and deceitful at home, and diſcreditable beyond ſea." This prohibition was twice renewed, nor were the real virtues of that uſeful ſubſtance acknowledged until A. D. 1661. Cent. XVI.

Manufacture of ſilk.

The manufacture of ſilk, which was daily gaining ground in the South of Europe, had made no progreſs in England. Henry II. of France is ſaid to have been the firſt who wore a pair of ſilk ſtockings, and to him they came from Spain. More will be ſaid of this under the head of dreſs, &c. [15]

Scotland.

Great attention was paid by the Scots to the manufacture of wool. During the reign of James V. a very good regulation had been made, appointing proper perſons in every burgh to ſeal each piece of cloth *. The next reigns abound with ſtatutes to prevent the exportation of Scottiſh wool to any foreign country. Againſt England many acts are particularly pointed, as the manufacturers there were probably eager to procure at any rate a commodity of a finer quality than their own †. The Engliſh cloth was alſo prevented by ſtatute ‡ from being imported into Scotland.

England. Art of war.

Although fond of war, ſtout and active in their perſons [16], daring and ſucceſsful in battle, and forward in enterpriſe, the Engliſh were, nevertheleſs, much behind their neighbours on the continent in military improve-

NOTES.

[15] It was probably the extreme ſcarcity and dearneſs of ſilk that occaſioned the following ſevere prohibition in the 1ſt and 2d of Philip and Mary, cap. 2. 'Whoever ſhall wear ſilk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, ſcabbard, hoſe, ſhoes, or ſpur-leathers, ſhall be impriſoned and forfeit ten pounds, except great perſons, mayors, aldermen, &c. And whoever does not diſcharge any ſervant offending in this guiſe, within fourteen days, ſhall forfeit 100l.'

[16] Hear what Roger Aſcham writes of the Engliſh: 'England need fear no *outward enemies, the luſtie lads* verilie bee in England; I have ſeen on a Sunday more likelie men walking in St. Paul's church than I ever yet ſaw in Auguſta (Augſburgh), where lieth an emperor with a garriſon, three kings, a queen, three princes, a number of dukes,' &c. &c.

* Stat. 112. Parl. 7 Jac. V. † Stat. 45, Parl. 6 Marie, &c. &c.
‡ Stat. 23 Eliz. c. 9.

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No great improvements.

ments and diſcipline. The muſquet [17] was almoſt unknown among the native troops during great part of the ſixteenth century. The protector Somerſet, who knew the importance of fire-arms, had above 3000 foreigners in his pay, of whom the greateſt part were muſqueteers [18]. The ill-adviſed Mary added as little to the military ſtrength of the realm, as ſhe did to its glory; unleſs, indeed, by an explanatory act as to the quantity of arms, &c. with which each perſon ſhould be provided, according to his rank. This ſtatute directed, 'that a man worth 1000l. per annum ſhould keep ſix horſes fit for demy-lances, and ten for light horſemen, with furniture and weapons befitting them. Alſo forty corſlets, &c. forty pikes, thirty long-bows, thirty ſheaves of arrows, as many ſteel caps, twenty halberts, harquebuts, and morions or helmets.' This was the higheſt claſs. The lower ones were in a like proportion. Every eſtabliſhment * was bound to contribute. We find, not long after, the deanery of Canterbury (which was rated at 200l. per annum) directed, on the rumor of a rebellion, to ſupply 'two corſlet, two almayn rivets, plate cotes and brigandines, one pike, two long-bowes, two ſheaffs and arrowes, two ſteel caps, two harquebut, and one morion or ſallet.'

Men eaſily raiſed.

There exiſted now no difficulty in raiſing men for the military ſervice. The pay and clothing allowed to recruits was ſuch as might well tempt them to enliſt, when the cheapneſs of living is conſidered. Every private man had three ſhillings paid to him weekly, without any deduction; be-

NOTES.

[17] It muſt have been the aukward make and cumberſome ſize of the muſquet which made it creep ſo ſlowly onwards. Sir Roger Williams, an old and valiant ſoldier †, wrote a much-commended treatiſe on the preference of fire-arms to bows and arrows. Yet we find long bows and ſheaves of arrows ſtill uſed in the equipment of Elizabeth's navy, even to the cloſe of her reign.

[18] Sir Peter Meutas, and Sir Peter Gamboa, diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the ſight of Muſſelburgh. Baptiſta Spinola fought ſucceſsfully againſt the rebels in the Weſt; and Malateſta, in the ſame year (1549), was actively employed in Norfolk.

* Tod's Deans of Canterbury, p. 46.

† Read Davila's 'Guerre Civile di Francia,' p. 758. How 'Rugiero Villem, valoroſo colonello,' defended a baſtion which he had taken from the gallant 'Amiral Villars,' and with a pike in his hand, aided only by an enſign and a ſerjeant, maintained it againſt a ſtrong detachment of the garriſon of Roan, until he received ſuccors.

ſides which, twenty-pence per week was laid out for him 'in good apparell of different kinds, ſome for the ſummer, and ſome for the wynter.' The captain of each hundred men had twenty-eight ſhillings paid him every Saturday, the lieutenant fourteen, and the enſign ſeven. The ſerjeant, the ſurgeon, the drum, and the fife, five ſhillings weekly. This was the pay of Eſſex's army when he was ſent to ſubdue Tyrone *. Cent. XVI.

On ſudden occaſions, where ſpeed was neceſſary, force was ſometimes uſed; as when the Spaniards had taken Calais, an immediate demand of 1000 men was made by the queen of the Lord Mayor of London, and they were produced almoſt in an inſtant by the ſimple manœuvre of ſhutting up the doors of St. Paul's during divine ſervice. Sometimes obliged to ſerve.

The moſt numerous force which Elizabeth ever muſtered by land was in the armies of 1588. They amounted to about 76,000 foot and 3000 horſe, beſide garriſons.

The long wars in the Netherlands, in which a corps of Engliſh ſoldiers were continually employed, not only formed many good officers, ſuch as Vere, Norreys, &c. but gradually inured the troops to a ſtrictneſs of diſcipline with which they had been totally unacquainted. But it was far otherwiſe with ſuch as iſſued raw from home on foreign ſervice. Indeed the enterprizes undertaken under Elizabeth's auſpices were apt to fail when the troops or ſeamen landed. They behaved always with deſperate bravery; but either ruſhed on, without waiting the word of command; or, if not employed, fell by exceſſes into epidemic complaints. Not always well diſciplined.

Robert Cary, Lord Hunſdon, when, as captain of a company, he accompanied a detachment to France, carried with him 'a waggon with five horſes to draw it, five great (dreſſed or managed) horſes, and one little ambling nagge.' He kept too a table which coſt him thirty pounds per week †. Military luxury.

The firſt foundery for cannon in England had been formed in 1535 by one Owen; in 1547, Pierre Baudet, a foreigner, erected another near the metropolis. Iron cannon.

Iron balls are firſt ſpoken of in Rymer's Fœdera ‡, A. D. 1550.

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* Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 17. † Life of E. of Monmouth, p. 24, 25.

‡ Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 18.

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Fencing.

The art of fencing gained no honor from its firſt introducer to the notice of England. His name was Yorke; he was a convicted traitor, and ſignalized, in the ſervice of Spain, his unnatural deteſtation of his country.

Military force of England.

The military ſtrength of England, if exerted to the utmoſt, was very great. Harriſon, in his deſcription of Britain, has ſtated the number of men capable of bearing arms at 1,172,674; Sir Walter Raleigh, in his 'Hiſtory of the World,' at 1,172,000; and Peck has preſerved a paper * which confirms the account, by ſpecifying that muſters were then made.

Number of the people.

Theſe computations were made between 1575 and 1585; from them ſome idea may be formed of the ſtate of Engliſh population at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century; and it may be fairly argued that, according to the uſual rules of political arithmetic, there were at that period, in the Engliſh territories, about 4,688,000 men, women, and children. A ſtrong ſupport to the exactneſs of the foregoing ſtatement may be found in the account certified to the privy council by the biſhops in 1603 †, of perſons who attended church ſervice, &c. in 1603. This amounts to 2,065,033. As theſe muſt be above the age of ſixteen, their number, joined to a fair average of the younger ones, will very nearly tally with the computation given above ‡.

Engliſh fleet neglected by Mary.

But it was in the marine branch of military ſcience that the reign of Elizabeth was diſtinguiſhed. At the cloſe of Mary's life, the navy of England, either by a fatal œconomy or a total neglect, was fallen ſo low, that ten thouſand pounds a year was looked on to be a ſufficient allowance to keep it in proper order.

Revives under Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, at her acceſſion, found herſelf ſurrounded with powerful and inveterate foes; and conſcious that a ſtanding land force, adequate to repel every invaſion, would ſoon exhauſt her exchequer, ſhe contrived to guard at the ſame time and to enrich her dominions, by giving every poſſible encouragement, conſiſtent with œconomy, to her merchants to build large ſhips, and to proſecute naval expeditions and diſcoveries. It was in conſequence of this policy, that ſhe found means to equip ſuch a fleet as ſufficed to baffle the vaſt Armada of the preſumptuous Philip.

The papers of Sir William Monſon, preſerved in the Harleian collection of voyages, abound with curious particulars reſpecting both the land and ſea forces of England. The queen's preparations to encounter the

* Deſid. Curioſa, vol. i. p. 74. † MS. Harl. Brit. Muſ. No. 280.

‡ Mr. Chalmer's Eſtimate, p. 34, 35.

vaſt

vaſt fleet and army of Spain are [19] mentioned with exactneſs and intereſt; and the proper methods of defending the places on the coaſt moſt liable to an attack are treated of with ſtriking ability. Monſon, who was equally great as a commander and a hiſtorian, ſpeaks of the naval abuſes in his time, of diſcipline on board the navy [20], of the attachment of ſailors to privateers (then ſtyled 'ſhips of repriſal'), and of the means of preſerving the health of the ſeamen, &c. &c. in a manner ſo conſonant to modern ideas, that one would think him a well-informed naval writer of the eighteenth century. Cent. XVI.

At the death of his lamented ſovereign, Sir William Monſon acquaints us that her navy conſiſted * of Her navy in 1688.

	Tons.	Men.	Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.
2 ſhips of	1000	500 of whom were	340	40	120
3	900	500 400			
3	800	400	268	32	100
2	700	350 400			
4	600	350 300			
4	500	250	88	12	30
2	400	200			
10	350 200	160 100	70	10	20
9 ſmaller veſſels					
39					

We

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[19] It is impoſſible to omit a quotation here, which may be, perhaps, judged extraneous to the point in hand. Mr. Chalmer's very curious and intereſting 'Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength,' &c. contains a calculation of the privateers fitted out by Liverpool alone to cruize againſt the enemy during the American conteſt; and their burthen amounts to 30,787 tons, which is only 1200 tons leſs than the whole naval force fitted out by Elizabeth to oppoſe the vaſt Armada of Spain!

[20] If puniſhment could enſure good order, the captain had abundance in his power. 'He might,' ſays Sir William Monſon, 'ſet the offender in the bilboes during pleaſure; keep

* Monſon's Papers in the Harleian Voyages, vol. iii. p. 188.

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We are left in the dark as to the number of guns which theſe veſſels carried, but ſixty ſeems to be the higheſt number of pieces on board any of them.

Pay of the navy.

The pay of the navy, during the period we treat of, was by the month as follows:

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
To the Captain,	14 0 0	to	6 12 0	according to his ſhip's ſize.
Lieutenant,	3 10 0	to	2 16 0	
Maſter,	4 13 0	to	3 0 0	
Boatſwain,	2 5 0	to	1 10 0	
Surgeon,	1 10 0			
* Common man,	0 15 0			

Scotland.

At the cloſe of James Vth's unfortunate reign we find the Scots, depreſſed by the wretched and impolitic conduct of their king, yet intrepid, and ready to ruſh into the field at the firſt alarm; and although not always fortunate in war, yet meriting ſucceſs by patiently enduring hardſhips, when led by thoſe on whom they could rely.

Manner of fighting.

In Patten's very minute journal of the protector's invaſion, in 1548, may be found a circumſtantial account of the arms and manner of fighting uſed by the Scots. Their ſwords, he deſcribes as broad and thin. Every man has a pike (limited by act of parliament to the length of 18 feet 6 inches), and 'a kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold but for cutting.' After painting with great exactneſs, and ſome prolixity, the manner of their drawing up and arming their front againſt an enemy, he thus finiſhes the picture: 'As eaſily ſhall a bare finger pierce through the ſkin of an angry hedge-hog, as aney encounter the front of their pikes [21].'

The

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keep him faſting; duck him at the yard arm; haul him under the ſhip's keel; faſten him to the capſtane and whip him there; or hang weights about his neck until his heart and back be ready to break; or gagg him; or ſcrape his tongue for blaſphemy. This,' adds the experienced ſeaman, 'will tame the moſt rude and ſavage people in the world.'

[MONSON'S PAPERS.

[21] The great advantage which the ſpear, ſpoken of above, poſſeſſed above the cutting ſword, was never more clearly proved than in 1562, when the Prior of St. Andrew's, with

* Monſon's Papers in the Harleian Voyage, vol. iii. p. 246.

Cent. XVI. Ordnance.

The moſt ſudden change for the worſe, in the military detail of Scotland, ſeems to have been found in the artillery department. At the field of Flodden, in 1513, the train of cannon which accompanied the Scottiſh army was the admiration of Europe. Yet, in little more than thirty years afterwards, the regent could muſter only two pieces of ordnance to attack a caſtle (St. Andrew's) of the firſt importance to the ſtate.

Military ſpirit decreaſes.

The change of religion which took place in the North was detrimental to the military ſpirit of the nation. No longer exerciſed in repelling or returning the ſudden aſſaults of their neighbours, the commonalty became indeed induſtrious and inoffenſive, but by no means ſo terrible in war; and, except a few borderers, whoſe martial turn was kept up by reciprocal pillage and ſlaughter, the ſoldier ſank into the unmilitary citizen. The perpetual aſcendency of Elizabeth's counſels, and the peaceful turn, as well as the failing treaſury, of James the Sixth, all operated againſt every riſing military inclination among a people more inured to war than moſt nations of Europe.

The Scots, incapable as affairs now ſtood of making any improvement in military ſkill at home, rendered themſelves famous abroad for intrepidity. The high eſteem in which Kirkaldie of Grange was held in France, and the gallant fall of Norman Leſlie at Renty, are evidences, among a thouſand others, of their reputation as ſoldiers.

During the reign of the pacific James VI. his moſt anxious endeavors ſeem to have been exerted to prevent his ſubjects from carrying arms. Almoſt every ſeſſion afforded a ſtatute to aid this purpoſe. 'Culverings, Dagges, Piſtolets *, and Hagbuts †,' ſeem to have been the moſt dreaded arms. But, in a later act, great apprehenſion is expreſſed of ſuch as wear 'Jackes, Secreats, and Corſelets,' privately within the king's palace ‡.

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with a handful of lowlandmen, armed with lances, totally defeated the numerous highlanders who, under the Earl of Huntley, attacked him with certainty of ſucceſs.

* Stat. 87, Parl. 6, Jac. VI. † Stat. 6, Parl. 16, Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 26, Parl. 16, Jac. VI.

The

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Printing.

The art of printing became every day more important, and now ſtrode forth into the fields of controverſy, from its gentler paths of hiſtory, romance, and acts of parliament. It was undoubtedly of great ſervice to the reformation, as it diffuſed knowledge with more velocity than any other way that could have been found out. A few, among the many titles of polemical books which appeared between the years 1546 and 1553 (when the ſtern rule of Mary commenced), will ſhew what kind of treatiſes were then moſt grateful to the common readers, and yielded moſt profit to the preſs.

Controverſy in favor of reformation.

* 'The Seconde Courſe of the Hunter at the Romiſhe Fox.'

'Have at all Papiſtes! by me Hans Hitpricke.'

'Wyckclyffe's Wycket, with the Teſtament of William Tracie, Eſq. Wherein thou ſhalt perceive with what charitie the Chancellour of Worceſter burned, when he toke up the dead carkas, and made aſhes of it after it was buried.'

'A Ballet, declaringe the Fal of the Hoore of Babylon, intituled, "Tye thie Mare, Tomboy".'

'An Anſwer to a Papyſtycall Exhortation, &c. "Every py'd Pedlar—Will be a Medlar".'

Of Popery.

With the complexion of the court, that of the preſs alſo changed; and, in 1554, we find the following titles:

† 'A Godly Pſalm of Mary, Queen, which brought us comfort all,
Thro' God, whom wee of duety praiſe, that give her foes a fall.'

'A Homily on the Grownde of theſe Lutheran Factions.'

'Boke againſt certain Heretikes,' &c.

The Proteſtants had ſtill ſome preſſes in their poſſeſſion, and thence they ſent forth a few ſarcaſtical pamphlets againſt their foes, ſuch as

‡ 'The hunting of the Fox and the Wolfe, becauſe they make havocke in Chriſte's Flocke.'

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* Ames on Printing, p. 506. † Ibid. p. 513.

‡ Ibid. p. 514.

At

At the end is a picture of Truth, a poor woman in the ſtocks. Subtlety as a Jeſuit holds a rod up to her, while a monk is ready to ſtrangle her. Cent. XVI.

'An Anſwer made by Bar. Traheron to a privie Papiſte, which crepte among the Engliſh exiles under the viſor of a favorer of the goſpel, but at length bewraied himſelf to be one of the Pope's aſſes thorough his ſlouch ears, and then became a laughing ſtocke to all the companie whom he had amaſed before with his maſke,' &c. &c.

The acceſſion of Elizabeth ſwept away all this ſpecies of controverſy [22], and brought forward the conteſt between the ſquare cap and tippet, and the black coif and band; a conteſt managed with as little temper, and as much ſcurrility, as that which concerned Tranſubſtantiation and the Seven Sacraments. New ſubjects for the preſs.

* Sometimes the preſs was recreated with printing muſic, as we find by a patent for that purpoſe in 1573. Every thing was at that period thrown into monopolies. The printing of the Engliſh Accidence was included in this impolitic pale. Monopoly of printing muſic, &c.

Moſt of the books that were printed, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, had relation to the diſputes between Epiſcopacy and Puritaniſm. Many of their titles, equally ludicrous and abuſive, have been given in another place. Epiſcopalian and Puritan controverſy.

Some publications there were of an eccentric kind, utterly unworthy of ſuch controverſial comrades.

NOTES.

[22] An abridgement, 'bref abſtract, or ſhort ſume,' of ſome books of the Bible, was printed early in Elizabeth's reign, with this modeſt apology in the title-page for caſual errors:

'Such faltes as you herein may finde,
I pray you be content;
And do the ſame with will and mynde
That was then our intent.

The prynters were outlandiſh men,
The faltes they be the more
Which are eſcapyd now and then—
Bnt hereof are no ſtore.'

* Ames on Printing, p. 536, 537.

Cent. XVI.

Miſcellaneous articles.

* 'The pleaſant Hiſtory of Two Angry Women of Abingdon, with the humourous Mirthe of Dick Coomes and Nicholas Proverbes,' as it was lately played by the Honourable the Earl of Nottingham his Servantes.'

'Dyet's Dry Dinner, conſiſting of eight ſeveral Courſes; 1. Fruites, 2. Herbes, 3. Fleſhe, 4. Fiſhe, 5. Whitemeats, 6. Spice, 7. Sauſe, 8. Tobacco. All ſerved in order of Time univerſall.'

† 'A true Report of the tryumphant and ryall Accompliſment of the Baptiſme of the moſt excellent right high and mighty Prince, Henry Frederick, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales [23]; as it was ſolemnized Auguſt 30, 1594.'

'1594, printed in Quarto, by Thomas Creed, at the Catharine Wheel, Thames Street.'

A wandering preſs.

During the virulent controverſy between the Epiſcopalians and the Puritans there was a wandering preſs, which ſhifted its quarters, when in hazard of diſcovery, with great alacrity. From its firſt ſtation, Moulſey, in Surrey, it migrated to Fawſley, to Norton, to Coventry, to Woolſton, and to Mancheſter. In its courſe it ſwept away the lives of ſome, and the fortunes of many, and particularly that of two knights, named Knightly and Wigſtone ‡, who had harbored its dangerous ingenuity.

John Day.

John Day, a printer of Elizabeth's age, merits notice. He was originally from Suffolk; and, under the protection of Archbiſhop Parker, became one of the firſt printers and bookſellers in London. As he was deeply engaged with the Epiſcopalians, a fanatical printer, named Aſplin, raving with Puritaniſm, contrived to be taken into the houſe of Day, and endeavored to aſſaſſinate both him and his wife, excuſing the attempt by the pretence of an inſpiration §. John Day died A. D. 1584, after having had twenty-ſix children, with the character of a liberal patron to men of literature, and a bountiful friend to the poor. The good old Fox, the martyrologiſt, is believed to have owed much to this generous artiſt's hoſpi-

NOTES.

[23] It appears ſtrange that a book ſhould have been ſo openly publiſhed with ſuch a title, under ſo jealous a ſovereign as Elizabeth.

* Ames on Printing, p. 568.
† Ibid. p. 426.
‡ Ibid. p. 423.
§ See Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

tality. The epitaph on Day refers to this circumſtance in the true fantaſtic manner of the times: Cent. XVI.

His epitaph.

'Here lyes the Day that darkneſs could not blinde,
When Popiſh fogges had overcaſte the ſunne;
This Day the cruel nighte did leve behinde,
To view and ſhowe what blodi actes were donne.

He ſet a Fox to wrighte how martyrs runne
By deathe to lyfe; Fox ventured paynes and helthe
To give them lyghte; Day ſpent in print his welthe;
But God, with gayne, return'd his wealthe agayne.' &c. &c.

There appears no exact period when the black letter quitted the Engliſh preſs. A book printed at the cloſe of 1558, giving an account of the ceremonies uſed at the reception of Elizabeth in London, at her acceſſion, is printed almoſt entirely in the Roman character; whereas Iſlip's or Speght's edition of Chaucer's works, publiſhed in ſo late a year as 1603, has only the title-page and the preface in Roman letters, and all the reſt in the old black characters.

One can hardly avoid lamenting the final deſtruction of illumination, which was completed in the 16th century. That beautiful art, however, owed its extirpation to the two greateſt benefits with which, in latter ages, mankind have been honored—printing, and the reformation. Illumination loſt.

The art of printing appears to have been introduced to Scotland before A. D. 1509. A Breviary printed in that year, and compoſed by William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, for the uſe of his cathedral, is ſtill preſerved in the advocate's library. This early antique is even adorned with a wooden engraving †. Scotland. Art of printing.

Nevertheleſs, the name of no Scottiſh printer is preſerved earlier than A. D. 1541. Earlieſt printer.

In that year, ſome new acts of parliament were publiſhed by Thomas Davidſon the king's printer. This book too is preſerved in the ſame collection, and is beautifully printed on vellum, with an engraved frontiſpiece and tailpiece. A tranſlation of Boethius appeared ſoon after by the ſame printer. Theſe, and ſeveral other books, were as fairly and well executed

* Ames on Printing, p. 233. † Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 432.

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as any other books printed at that time in any other part of Europe *. The catalogue, however, of pieces publiſhed in Scotland, during the 16th century, is not very numerous until towards the cloſe, when it became larger and more miſcellaneous.

The preſs reſtrained.

An act † to reſtrain writings from the preſs, unleſs licenſed, paſſed in 1551 [24].

Moſt of the productions of the day tended towards religion. Some politics, and ſome poetical works, indeed, intervene; among which we find

'The Lamentation of Lady Scotland, compylit be hirſelf, &c. Printed at St. Androis, be R. Lekprevik.'

'My Lord Methwenis Tragedie. Finis with the dytone, quoth Sempill.'

Nothing particular occurs farther to remark, unleſs that the Scottiſh preſs ſeems to have a much larger ſupply of Latin pieces than that of England.

NOTES.

[24] In this, as in many other places, there is occaſion to remark, that the expreſſion 'Engliſh' was applied to the dialect of the Scots. 'Aſs well in Latine as in the *Engliſh* toung,' is an expreſſion twice repeated in the act here quoted.

* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 433.

† Stat. 25 Parl. 5 Queen Marie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE FINE ARTS, SCULPTURE, PAINTING, POETRY, AND MUSIC, IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547 TO A. D. 1603.

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Slow progreſs of the fine arts in Britain.

SOMETHING more than a mere repoſe from civil broils was neceſſary to tempt the natives of Britain to the cultivation of the more elegant but leſs neceſſary arts of peace. Expeditions againſt the opulent ſubjects of the Spaniſh Philip, were more ſuited to the moſt active ſpirits, than ſedentary ſtudies; while thoſe of a more ſtudious turn exerted their abilities in the various branches of religious controverſy. A more intimate connection with the neighbouring diſtricts of Europe (a connection only to be acquired by reciprocal travelling and a familiar ſtate of commerce) alone could introduce that taſte for the arts which, natural to Italy, had made ſome progreſs in France and Germany, but waited for a milder ſeaſon to paſs the Britiſh Straights.

Sculpture. Sculpture ſeems to have been remarkably tardy in her progreſs; for, notwithſtanding the number of ornamented monuments [25] which the latter part of the ſixteenth century produced, yet we find only one ſculptor of any eminence recorded by Mr. Walpole during the reign of Elizabeth, and he was not an Engliſhman, although named Richard Stephens. He was a ſtatuary, a painter, and a medalliſt. The monument which he raiſed for * Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Suſſex, at Boreham in that county, has many figures in a good ſtyle. Some of this artiſt's medals of private perſons are mentioned by the noble author of the 'Anecdotes of Painting,' &c. Medals.

NOTES.

[25] In the 'Lady's Chapel' at Warwick are the ſingularly beautiful monuments of the Dudley family, erected in the reign of Elizabeth. Numberleſs others might be mentioned.

* Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. i. p. 160.

Some

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Some good medallions were ſtruck, during Elizabeth's reign, on great public occaſions; particularly on the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada. As the artiſts names are not known, there is little reaſon to ſuppoſe them Engliſhmen *.

Scotland.

In Scotland nothing could be expected in favor of an art, the deſtruction of whoſe faireſt works was one among the moſt prominent objects of John Knox's ſyſtem of reformation. An active demoliſher of monuments would have gained his living under the taſteleſs apoſtles of Caledonia with much more eaſe than the moſt expert ſtatuary.

That branch of ſculpture which looks toward medals, produced more than one ſcene from the eventful hiſtory of Mary Stuart; among theſe, the following is truly pathetic. The queen appears as low as the waiſt, holding her breviary; the motto, 'O God grant patience, in that I ſuffer vrang.' On the reverſe is read

'Quho can compare with me in grief?
I die, and dar nocht ſeik releif.'

Beneath is a hand ready to join one heart to another, with this motto:

'Hourt not the heart
Quho's joy thou art.'

The piece is of ſilver, and weighs two ounces; but the merit of it cannot be attributed to the artiſts of Scotland, as the name of the engraver is not known †.

Painting.

Sir Antonio More.

Painting lay dormant in England during the ſhort reign of Edward VI. [26] Under Mary it was enlivened by the preſence of Antonio More ‡, a native of Utrecht, who was ſent over to London that he might paint the portrait of the intended bride of the Spaniſh Philip. For this work he had an hundred pounds, a gold chain, knighthood, and a penſion

NOTES.

[26] Mr. Walpole mentions a catoptric portrait of Edward VI. which lay among the ſtores of old pictures at Somerſet Houſe. It is remarkable that Paul Hentzner, in his account of Whitehall, deſcribes this very picture.

* Evelyn on Medals, p. 94, &c. † Nic. Scot. Hiſt. Lib. p. 95.

‡ Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 122.

of

of a hundred pounds per quarter as painter to their majeſties. He ſtayed in England during the reign of Mary and was much employed [27]. Cent. XVI.

Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonſhire *, who, after a long confinement in the Tower, died by poiſon at Padua, was, if we may credit Strype [28], no mean proficient in this elegant art. Earl of Devonſhire.

Elizabeth encouraged painting becauſe ſhe was never tired of ſeeing portraits of herſelf [29]; and happily our age poſſeſſes not only her likeneſſes, but thoſe of every celebrated man in her court. Numbers of foreign [30] artiſts now found encouragement in England, but the native

NOTES.

[27] Intoxicated with the familiarity in which Philip indulged him, More one day returned a friendly tap on the ſhoulder from the king's hand with the blow of a ſtick. For this offence he was baniſhed from Spain. The king ſoon recalled him; but the artiſt, who probably knew the dark depth of Philip's mind, declined the invitation. [WALPOLE.

[28] 'Facile et laudabiliter, cujuſcunque imaginem, in tabula exprimeret.'

[MEMORIALS.

[29] 'A pale Roman noſe, a head of hair loaded with pearls and powdered with diamonds, a vaſt ruff, a vaſter fardingale, and a buſhel of pearls, are the features' by which we recogniſe Elizabeth.

There exiſts a family piece in which Henry VIII. Edward, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth (as the principal figure, and too large in proportion to the reſt) appear. Circumſcribed in golden letters are theſe verſes, ſuſpected by Mr. Walpole to be written by the queen.

'A face of much nobility, lo! in a little room!
Four ſtates and their conditions here ſhadowed in a ſhow:
A father more than valiant; a rare and virtuous ſon;
A daughter zealous in her kind; the reſt the world doth know;
And laſt of all a virgin queen to England's joy we ſee,
Succeſſively to hold the right and virtues of the three.'

On the foreground is written:

'The queen to Walſingham this table ſent,
Mark of her people's and her own content.'

[30] Among theſe was Frederic Zucchero, a cauſtic portrait-painter; who, when employed by Pope Benedict XIII. having been inſulted by the ſervants of that pontiff, painted them with aſſes' ears, and expoſed the picture in the moſt public place in Rome. This ſally of reſentment drove him from his office. Alſo Cornelius Ketel, a native of Gouda. This wild performer, after gaining great fame by painting in the common ſtile, laid aſide his bruſhes and painted with his fingers, and afterwards with his toes; and is ſaid to have executed theſe pieces with uncommon excellence. [WALPOLE.

* Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 128.

painters

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painters were very few indeed. Of theſe * Nicholas Hilliard, the queen's jeweller, was one of the moſt celebrated. He was a neat painter, and Dr. Donne ſings of him,

Nicholas Hilliard.

'A hand or eye
By Hilliard drawn is worth a hiſtory
By a worſe painter made.'

Yet Mr. Walpole ſays, that 'he arrived at no ſtrength of coloring, and that his faces are pale, and void of any variety of tints.' In his age, however, his performances were greatly valued. Hilliard died in 1619; in a MS. of his, diſcovered by Vertue, he highly praiſes the performances, chiefly in black and white, of John Bolſam, an artiſt whoſe works have entirely diſappeared.

The value ſet on the art was not high. There appears, in the fifteenth volume of the Fœdera, a ſalary of ten pounds per annum granted to William Herne, the queen's ſerjeant-painter.

Iſaac Oliver.

Iſaac Oliver †, an excellent miniature painter, probably of foreign extraction, flouriſhed in the days of Elizabeth. Every one of his numerous performances which are now extant are extremely valuable; fortunately, beſides their own merit, moſt of them have the additional value of repreſenting the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of the age. Oliver lived to ſhine in the days of Elizabeth's ſucceſſor.

Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

The age afforded one gentleman who attained the perfection of a maſter [31]: Sir Nathaniel Bacon ‡, Knight of the Bath, half brother of the great Sir Francis. He ſtudied painting in Italy, but his coloring approaches nearer to the ſtyle of the Flemiſh ſchool.

Hans Holbein.

England ought not to loſe the deſerved honor of foſtering and nobly rewarding the labors of Hans Holbein, an excellent artiſt, who died

NOTES.

[31] 'But none, in my opinion, deſerveth more reſpect and admiration for his ſkill and practice of painting, than Maſter N. Bacon (younger ſon to the moſt honorable and bountiful-minded Sir Nicholas Bacon), not inferior, in my judgment, to our ſkilfulleſt maſters.' [Peacham on Limning.

The buſt and tomb of this accompliſhed knight are to be ſeen in the church of Culford, Suffolk.

* Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 148. † Ibid. p. 152. ‡ Ibid. p. 163.

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in 1554, probably at the houſe of his patron the Duke of Norfolk in Duke's Place, London; he was born at Baſil in Switzerland (as Vertue believed) in 1498. Cent. XVI.

Eraſmus was the firſt who patroniſed his merit. The Lord Arundel admired his ſkill, and adviſed him to viſit England. He did ſo in 1526, tempted by the pleaſure of leaving a froward wife, and of receiving a larger price for his painting. The people of Baſil (enchanted with a fly which Holbein had drawn on a portrait ſo naturally, that many attempted to bruſh it off,) endeavored in vain to detain him. In England he was receiyed and encouraged by Sir Thomas More, until Henry chancing to ſee his performances ſeized on the artiſt for himſelf; and ſettled on him a penſion of 200 florins, beſides paying him for each picture he drew.

Once, Holbein is ſaid to have precipitated down ſtairs a peer who had intruded on him when he was drawing a lady's portrait for the king. The painter ruſhed to Henry and told his tale, which was received with a frown; and he was ordered to the royal cloſet. Next came the peer loudly complaining, and miſrepreſenting the ſtory. But Henry, after reprimanding him for his want of candor, thus addreſſed him: 'It is *me*, not *Holbein*, whom you have inſulted. I can make ſeven peaſants into as many lords; but I cannot make one Holbein. Begone! and remember that *I* protect him.' The behavior of Henry, Mr. Walpole obſerves, is the moſt probable part of the anecdote.

The king employed Holbein abroad as well as in England, and paid him ſo well, that the munificent offer made by Baſil of 'fifty florins a year for two years certain,' could not lure him back to his family. There are in Kenſington Palace eighty-nine fine drawings [32] of this maſter.

The want of ſome hiſtorian or biographer to have noted the artiſts of Scotland. Scotland, is ſtill ſeverely felt by him who wiſhes to record their merits. It is with difficulty, and from a private correſpondent, that Mr. Walpole, the moſt diligent of ſearchers, has gained ſome particulars concerning George Jamiſone *, the Vandyke of Scotland, who began to be known towards the

NOTES.

[32] Theſe have ſince been engraved in a maſterly ſtyle and publiſhed.

* Walpole's Anecdotes, Appendix to vol. iii. p. 2.

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close of the sixteenth century. But the account of him will come more properly a little later in this work.

Engraving.

The practice of engraving gained considerable strength towards the close of the 16th age. Archbishop Parker was its especial patron *, and kept two persons in his house, Hogenberg, and Lyne an Englishman, employed chiefly in engraving genealogies. A large piece of this kind, engraved in 1574 by one of these artists, comprehending the lineal descent of the English monarchy, was existing (says Ames in his Typographical Antiquities) in the manor-house of Ruckholts, in Essex.

This art (says Mr. Walpole), when once discovered, could not fail to spread in an age of literature.

Praise of English artists.

Ortelius, who published the 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,' employed more than one artist from England in the engravings for his work; and gives particular [33] commendation to English engravers.

Saxton's maps.

Christopher Saxton was the first regular engraver of county maps which England had seen. His map of Yorkshire is allowed by Thoresby to be 'the best that was ever made of that county.' He † had a patent from the queen for his undertaking.

Engraved portraits common.

The people of England under Elizabeth seem to have been as fond of portraits of remarkable persons as they are in the eighteenth century. 'By this time,' says Stowe, speaking of the Duc D'Alenson, 'his picture, state, and titles, were advanced in every stationer's shop, and many other public places.'

In the Cecil papers, the queen appears much displeased at certain bookbinders who had printed the face of her majesty, and of the King of Sweden (who courted her) together, and orders such engravings to be seized and taken away [34].

NOTES.

[33] He expresly names Antony Jenkinson who flourished in 1562, and Robert Leeth as skilful in taking the plot of a country. [WALPOLE.

[34] 'Had Elizabeth been thus circumspect,' says Evelyn, 'there had not been so many vile copies multiplied from an ill painting as, being called in and brought to Essex house, did for several years supply the pastry-men with peels for the use of their ovens.' [ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY.

* Ames on Printing, p. 540.

† Ibid. p. 542.

An art (that of poetry) now comes in view, which, as moſt adapted to the taſte of a warlike and not highly poliſhed nation, not only at this epoch boaſted moſt votaries, but had never quitted the iſland even in the moſt barbarous times. Cent. XVI. Poetry.

The age of Elizabeth has been ſtyled 'the golden age of Engliſh poetry *;' an epithet which every reader of taſte will controvert when he has ſtudied its hiſtory, and convinced himſelf of the extreme inequality of its writers, and of the real ſcarcity of good poets. Yet that a ſudden improvement in every ſpecies of poetry, and particularly in that appropriated to the ſtage, appeared towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, muſt be allowed. Improves in England.

The judicious hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry imputes that predominance of fancy and fiction which now glittered in every poetical production, partly to the very claſſical education univerſally allowed by people of rank to their children of both ſexes; and partly to the importation and tranſlation of numberleſs Italian novels, the reveries of a faſhionable but falſe philoſophy, 'a degree of ſuperſtition ſufficient for the purpoſes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvement of allegoric exhibitions in the popular ſpectacles †.' And why.

At the beginning of the period which we now read of, two kind of dramatic ſpectacles, the Myſtery and the Morality, had poſſeſſion of the ſtage. Theſe were compoſed in a tragi-comic ſtyle, and had yet a ſtrong tendency towards devotion [35]. The myſtery always exhibited ſome ſcripture ſtory, moſt abſurdly and ludicrouſly (although with no profane intention) verſified; the morality had more contrivance, and ſometimes ſhewed a boldneſs of thought worthy of a brighter age. A very ſtriking Myſteries and Moralities.

NOTES.

[35] 'New Cuſtome,' a morality publiſhed in the year 1573, had the following Dramatis Perſonæ, from whoſe names its tendency may be eaſily diſcovered:

Perverſe Doctrine,	An old Popiſh Prieſt,	Creweltie,	A Ruffler (*a*),
Ignoraunce,	Another, but older,	Avarice,	Another,
New Cuſtome,	A Miniſter,	Edification,	A Sage,
Light of the Goſpel,	Another,	Aſſurance,	A Vertue,
Hypocriſie,	An olde Woman,	Godde's felicity,	A Sage.

* Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 490. † Ibid. p. 491.

(*a*) A cheating bully.

Cent. XVI.

inſtance of this we ſhall find in the 'Coventry Play,' or 'Ludus Coventrice *, ſive Ludus Corporis Chriſti.' This, in a groſs and rude ſtyle, has foreſtalled the idea of our great Milton. But ſuch flights of genius were not often to be expected in a kind of compoſition which avowedly ſet order and common ſenſe and defiance.

Gammer Gurton's Needle.

'Gammer Gurton's Needle' is uſually ſtyled the firſt Engliſh comedy; for it appeared not until A. D. 1575, although Chetwood, in his 'Britiſh Theatre,' ſpeaks of fancied editions much earlier. The humor, though extremely low, is abundant; and the ſtrict rules of the antient comedy are more minutely attended to in its compoſition than a modern critic would expect.

Tragedy of Gorboduc.

The tragedy of Gorboduc, which was acted before Elizabeth at Whitehall, in 1561, deſerves notice, as having been perhaps the firſt ſpecimen of our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verſe, divided into acts and ſcenes, and clothed with all the formalities of a regular drama. It was written by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurſt; with ſome aſſiſtance, as is ſaid, from Thomas Norton, the coadjutor of Hopkins and Sternhold in the tranſlation of David's Pſalms †.

The following lines, in which Prince Ferrex imprecates curſes on himſelf, if he ever meant ill to his brother Porrex, are not without animation:

'The wrekefull Gods pour on my curſed hede
Eternal plagues, and never-dying woes!
The helliſh prince adjuſt my dampned ghoſte
To Tantal's thirſte, or proud Ixion's wheele;
Or cruel gripe to gnaw my growing harte,
To durynge tormentes and unquenched flames;
If ever I conceiv'd ſo foule a thought
To wiſhe his ende of life, or yet of reigne.'

Epic.

That the epic branch of poetry had reached to an amazing height in the reign of Elizabeth there needs no other evidence than what a peruſal of 'The Faerie Queen,' or indeed only of 'The Cave of Deſpair,' painted in the ninth canto, will afford.

* See Appendix.

† Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 355.

The

Cent. XVI. Sonnet.

The irregular ode, or ſonnet, was exceedingly wild, and ſomewhat unharmonious, at the commencement of the period we treat of. During the latter part of the century that ſpecies of compoſition was much attended to, and improved more perhaps than any other.

Ballad.

A new kind of poem, the ballad, had now ſucceeded to the minſtrel's ſong, and was become common and very popular [36]. Ballad-ſinging was indeed ſo much in vogue, and the employment ſo lucrative, that two celebrated treble-ſingers, named * 'Out-roaring Dick,' and 'Wat Wimbars,' are ſaid to have gained twenty ſhillings a day by chanting ballads at Braintree fair in Eſſex.

The firſt drinking ſong that appeared in the Engliſh tongue is connected with 'Gammar Gurton's Needle,' and was publiſhed in 1551.

Latin meaſures adopted.

A ſingular attempt was made, early in Elizabeth's reign, by the accompliſhed Sir Philip Sidney, to introduce the uſe of Hexameters and Pentameters in Engliſh poetry. It had little proſpect of applauſe, when, out of twenty lines, the two following only could be reckoned tolerably harmonious.

'Fortune, Nature, Love, long have contended about me,
Which ſhould moſt miſeries caſt on a worm, as I am.'

The experiment ſucceeded ſtill worſe, when pointed at an imitation of the Sapphie:

'If mine eyes can ſpeak, to do hearty errand,
Or mine eye's language, ſhe do hap to judge of,
So that eye's meſſage be by her received;
Hope, we do live yet †!'

Lives of Engliſh bards.

Some account of the poets of the age, and of their works, will naturally follow what has been ſaid of their art. It ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible, but the ſubject is copious.

NOTES.

[36] Ballads, as has been the caſe in modern times, were ſometimes made the vehicle of ſatire. We find that Thomas Deloney was committed to the Counter, in 1596, for ridiculing the queen, and the book of orders concerning the dearth of corn, in a ballad. Deloney was a collector of inferior antiquities. Among other books he had publiſhed the 'Hiſtory of Jack of Newbury,' collected from traditions of the time, and containing ſeveral curious ballads and reliques of old cuſtoms. Little more is known of this writer, except that he had ſatirized Kempe the comedian in what he calls 'Abhominable Ballets.'

* Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 292, note *c*. † Arcadia, vol. i. p. 140, 141.

Edward

Cent. XVI. Edward VI. was too much engaged in the ſtudy of languages, and his ſiſter, Mary I. too devout, for the due attendance on a ſtudy peculiarly adapted to minds unfettered and clear of any impetuous purſuit.

Elizabeth. Elizabeth, born to exceed her father [37] in every accompliſhment, as well as in every exertion of royalty, was, as we have ſeen, far from an indifferent poet.

Lord Buckhurſt. One of her moſt diſtinguiſhed miniſters, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurſt, had the ſuffrage of his age's beſt critics in favor of his 'Gorboduc.' But, as he lived to the reign of James I. it is there that he will properly be noticed.

Sir Philip Sidney. Another favorite of Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney, muſt undoubtedly be ranked among the poets of her age.

This amiable young man (for he was hardly thirty when he was ſlain) had been equally the delight of Elizabeth's court and army, as his perſon and endowments were only equalled by his valor and humanity. After his thigh-bone had been broken by a muſquet-ſhot, in the agony of his wound he called for water. Some was brought to him, but, as he was lifting it to his lips, the ghaſtly looks of a dying ſoldier ſtruck his eye. 'Take this,' ſaid he, holding the water to him, '*thy* neceſſity is yet greater than *mine*.'

NOTES.

[37] The throne of England has frequently added to the liſt of bards. We have verſes by Richard Cœur de Lion, by Edward II. Edward III. and by Henry VI.; which laſt, as they are very curious, and little known, will be inſerted here, although undoubtedly quite out of their place. They ſeem to have been compoſed during the depth of his calamities.

'Kingdomes are but cares,
State ys devoid of ſtaie;
Ryches are redie ſnares,
And haſtene to decaie.

Pleſure ys a pryvie pyke
Whych vyce does ſtyll provoke;
Pompe unprompt, and fame a flayme,
Pow'r a ſmouldryng ſmoke.

Who meeneth to remooſe the rocke
Owte of the ſlymie mudde,
Shall myre himſelfe, and hardlie ſcape
The ſwellynge of the floodde.' [NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.

He

He died with the reſignation of a ſaint; and, ſo general was the grief for his loſs, that it was looked upon 'as a ſin' to appear in gay clothes at court for ſeveral months after. Elizabeth lamented his death, and James of Scotland wrote his epitaph. As a writer Sidney appears rather a man of great literature than of bright genius. His Arcadia *, ſo highly admired in its age, is now little eſteemed. What follows is by no means his worſt poetry. He ſpeaks of a capricious miſtreſs, who, like Buchanan's Nææra, pretends an attachment, that he may not quit her in deſpair: Cent. XVI.

'No!—She hates me—Well away!
Feigning love, ſomewhat to pleaſe me.
For ſhe knows, if ſhe diſplay
All her hate, death ſoon would ſeize me,
And of hideous torments eaſe me †.'

John Heywood was a ſprightly bard, bred at Oxford. His wit introduced him to Sir Thomas More, and could even enliven the hours of that gloomy bigot Queen Mary. After her death, buffoon as he ſeems to have been, Heywood choſe to quit his country rather than live among triumphant heretics. He repaired to Mechlin, where he died in 1565. John Heywood.

In one of his poems Heywood interwove all the proverbs uſed in England into a comic but ſilly tale. The following is a ſpecimen. Neighbors were cenſuring an old woman for going to be married:

'One ſaid, "A well-favored old woman ſhe is;"
"The divell ſhe is," ſaid another; and to this
In came another, *with his five egges*, and ſaid,
"Fifty yeares paſt I knewe her a trimm mayde."
"Whate'er ſhe were then," cries one, "ſhe is nowe
"To bee a bride, *as meete as a ſowe*
"*To beare a ſide-ſaddle*. In this marriage
"Shee is comely *as a cowe in a cage*,
"*Ge' upp with a gal'd backe Gill! Come up to ſupper*;
"What! *My oulde mare, woulde have a new crupper?*" &c. &c. ‡

This prolific poet wrote 600 epigrams, beſides numberleſs plays, and ſeveral longer pieces, almoſt all now in oblivion.

* Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 164.

† Aſtrophel and Stella, p. 114. ‡ Heywood's Proverbes, 2d part, chap. i.

In

Cent. XVI.

Richard Edwards.

In 1566 died Richard Edwards, an amiable and ingenious bard, born in Somerſetſhire *, and bred at Corpus Chriſti College, Oxon. He was one of our earlieſt dramatic writers, was celebrated for his knowledge of muſic (which he ſtudied under Dr. Etheredge), and had a patent to regulate the children of the royal chapel as comedians †.

Juſt before his death he was honored with the queen's preſence in Chriſt Church Hall at Oxford, to view his favorite tragedy, 'Palamon and Arcite.' This was much applauded, but Elizabeth delighted moſt in the imitation of a pack of hounds in full cry. The young ſcholars were taken in, and cried out, 'There! There! He's caught! he's caught!' and the queen exclaimed, 'Oh, excellent! Theſe boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows that they may follow the hounds ‡!'

On his death-bed he compoſed a pathetic poem, entitled, 'Edwards's Soul's Knell.' He publiſhed a collection of his own poems under the quaint title of 'A Paradiſe of Daintie Devices.' One of them begins thus:

'In youthful yeares, when firſt my young deſires began
To pricke me forth to ſerve at court, a ſlender, tall young man,
My father's bleſſing then I aſked on my knee,
Who, bleſſing me with trembling hand, theſe words 'gan ſay to mee,
"My ſonne, God guide thy way, and ſhielde thee from miſchaunce!
And make thy juſte deſertes at court thy poore eſtate advaunce!" &c.

George Gaſcoigne.

In 1578 died George Gaſcoigne, a gentleman well ſkilled in poetry. He had been bred to the law at Gray's Inn; had behaved well in the Low Country wars; and, both in his winter quarters and after his return to England, had followed the Muſes. He publiſhed his poems as 'Flowers,' 'Herbs,' 'Weeds,' &c. An account of his 'Well-employed Life and Godly End' was publiſhed by a Mr. George Whetſtone. Gaſcoigne ſtyles what follows 'The Dole of Deſpair.' It is written to a falſe miſtreſs §:

'I muſt allege, and thou canſt tell,
How faithfully I vowed to ſerve,
And how thou ſeemdſt to like me well,
And how thou ſaidſt, I did deſerve
To be thy lord, thy knight, thy king,
And how much more I liſt not ſing.

* Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 283, 284.
† Chetwood.
‡ Ath. Oxon. ad Art. Edwards.
§ Muſes Library, p. 168, &c.

And

And canſt thou now, thou cruel one, Cent. XVI.
Condemn deſert to deep deſpair?
Is all thy promiſe paſt and gone?
Is faith ſo fled into the air?
If this be ſo, what reſts for me
But in my ſong to ſay of thee:

If Creſſid's name were not ſo known,
And written wide on ev'ry wall,
If bruit of pride were not ſo blown
Upon Angelica withall;
For high diſdain you might be ſhee,
Or Creſſid for inconſtancy?'

George Ferrars died in 1579, a man of family, a lawyer, a hiſtorian, and a bard. He had ſome ſhare in the 'Mirrour of Magiſtrates,' which was a joint compoſition of the beſt poets of the time. The moſt remarkable circumſtance of his life was his being arreſted for debt when ſerving in parliament for Plymouth in 33 Henry VIII. From this incident, and the ſucceeding reſentment of the houſe, ſprung that freedom from arreſts which repreſentatives have ever ſince enjoyed. Ferrars was employed as a man of wit to amuſe Edward VI. at a time when the accuſation and conſequent death of his uncle Somerſet gave him great concern. He was alſo 'Lord of Miſrule' at Greenwich, to divert the ſame prince. From his 'Complaynte of the Dutcheſs of Gloſter, exiled to the Iſle of Man,' the following lines are taken, as a ſpecimen of his talent for deſcription: George Ferrars.

'There felt I firſt poor priſoners hungry fare:
Much want, things ſcant, and ſtone walls hard and bare.'

'The chaunge was ſtraunge from ſilk and clothe of golde,
To rugged fryze my carcaſs for to clothe,
From prynces' fare, and daynties hot and colde,
To rotten fiſhe, and meate that one wolde lothe;
Diet and dreſſinge moche alike were bothe;
Beddinge and lodginge all alike were fyne;
Such downe it was as ſerved well for ſwyne.'

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Chriſtopher Marloe.

In 1592 periſhed Chriſtopher Marloe, an elegant poet, but a very bad man, if we may believe Anthony à Wood, who charges him with profligacy, blaſphemy, and atheiſm.

Some idea of his fanciful Muſe may be formed from what follows:

——'A ſtream of pureneſs rare,
Brighter than ſunſhine, for it did acquaint
The dulleſt ſight with all the glorious prey
That in the pebble-paved channel lay.

Upon its brim the eglantine and roſe,
The tam'riſk, olive (and the almond-tree,
A kind companion, in one union grows),
Folding their twind'ring arms, as oft we ſee
Turtle-taught lovers either other cloſe,
Lending to ſtillneſs, feeling ſympathy.

And as a coſtly vallance o'er a bed,
So did their garland tops the brook o'erſpread
With leaves which differ'd both in ſhape and ſhew,
Tho' all were green, yet diff'rence ſuch in green,
Like to the chequer'd bent of Iris's bow,' &c. &c.

Marloe wrote the beautiful and well-known ſong, 'Come live with me, and be my love,' and the anſwer to it.

He fell in a quarrel about a common proſtitute, in a filthy brothel. His antagoniſt was, as Antony à Wood quaintly expreſſes it, 'A bawdy ſerving-man; one rather fitter to be a pimp than an ingenious amoretto *, as Marlowe conceived himſelf to be.' The warm religioniſts repreſented the death of Marlowe as an immediate judgment of heaven.

Edmond Spenſer.

The year 1596 or 1598 deprived England of the great Edmond Spenſer †. He was born in London, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge. He quitted the univerſity on a diſappointment in ſtanding for a fellowſhip. Soon after this his poetical vein began to expand itſelf in complaint of his Roſalind's cruelty. His animated Lines on Deſpair gained him the patronage of Sir Philip Sidney; and he acquired the praiſe

* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. p. 338.

† Muſes' Library, p. 253.

and

and favor of his queen by his picture of the ghaſtly viſit paid by Dueſſa, a potent ſorcereſs, to 'Night.' For this ſtanza Elizabeth is ſaid to have ordered him one hundred pounds: 'What!' ſaid the œconomical Burleigh, all this for a ſong?' 'Give him then what is reaſon,' ſaid the queen, who had already repented of her generoſity. Spenſer, to whom this colloquy had been told, waited for ſome time with patience, but at length preſented this petition: Cent. XVI.

'I was promis'd on a time—to have reaſon for my rhyme;
From that time unto this ſeaſon—I've received nor rhyme nor reaſon.'

The queen peruſed the ſarcaſtic complaint, frowned on Burleigh, and ordered the 100l. to be paid. Soon after fortune ſmiled on our bard. He wedded a rich wife, was made ſecretary in Ireland, and had a large grant of lands. During his reſidence there he finiſhed his admired Fairy Queen. Deſmond's revolt utterly rooted up his happineſs. His plantations were deſtroyed, his houſe and one of his children in it burnt, and himſelf forced to fly to England. Even thither misfortune accompanied him. Sidney was dead, and Spenſer had no other patron, and is believed to have languiſhed and died in actual penury [38]. The ſubſequent affecting lines, in 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' are ſuppoſed to have given diſguſt to Lord Burleigh:

'Full little doſt thou know that haſt not try'd
What hell it is, in ſuing long to bide.
To ſpeed to-day; to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope; to pine with care and ſorrow;
To have thy *prince's* grace, yet want her *peer's*;
To gain thy aſking, yet wait many years;

NOTES.

[38] Camden's account of Spenſer has been here, perhaps, too implicitly followed. Mr. Malone, in his intereſting remarks on Shakeſpeare, edit. 1790, gives good reaſons for doubting both the diſtreſs of the poet and the date of his deceaſe. What then will be the explication of

'The thrice three Muſes, mourning for the death
Of learning, late deceas'd in beggary,'

in the 'Midſummer Night's Dream?'

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To fret thy ſoul with croſſes and with care;
To eat thy heart thro' comfortleſs deſpair;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To ſpend, to give, to want, to be undone.

Jaſper Heywood.

Jaſper Heywood, D. D. the ſon of the epigrammatiſt John *, before ſpoken of, died at Naples in 1597-8. He had been bred at Merton College, Oxon, whence his profligate conduct had driven him. He then became a Jeſuit [39], and was ſent on a miſſion to England; where, with many of his brethren, in 1585, he was thrown into priſon, whence he eſcaped with life by the unexpected favor of Elizabeth. He was learned, and tranſlated three plays into Engliſh with ſenſe and ſpirit, but in a moſt uncouth kind of metre, as will appear by the following ſpecimen, taken from his introduction:

"Oh, thou Megæra!" then I ſaid, "if might of thine it be
"Wherewith thou Tantal drou'ſt from hell that thus diſturbeth mee,
"Enſpire my pen.
'This ſaid, I felte the furye's force enflame me more and more;
And ten times more now chaſte I was than ever was before.
My hair ſtode up, I waxed wode, my ſynewes all did ſhake;
And, as the fury had me vext, my teeth began to quake,
And thus enflamed,' &c. &c.

Thomas Naſh.

There died in 1600 Thomas Naſh, a native † of Leoſtoff in Suffolk, and bred at St. John's College, Cambridge. He wrote three or four plays, but his chief performance was 'Piers Pennileſs,' a ſharp ſatire on the world for its unkind treatment of this irritable bard. His feelings, indeed, ſeem to have been painfully acute, as may be judged from the ſubſequent extract, which rivals Spenſer's picture of deſpair.

'Why is't damnation to deſpair and die,
When life is my true happineſs's diſeaſe?
My ſoul, my ſoul! thy ſafety makes me fly
The faulty means that might my pains appeaſe.
Divines and dying men may *talk* of hell,
But in my heart her ſeveral torments dwell.

NOTES.

[39] The turn of compliment in the age was certainly ſingular. Jaſper Heywood, in his preface to a viſion of Seneca, meaning to pay reſpect to a promiſing youth lately deceaſed, the ſon of Sir John Maſon, ſays, 'He lives with Jove, another Ganimede.'

* Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 388, &c. † Muſes' Library, p. 181.

Forgive

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Forgive me, God! altho' I curſe my birth,
And ban the air in which I breathe, a wretch;
Since miſery has daunted all my mirth,
And I am quite undone by promiſe-breach,
Oh, friends! *no* friends who *then* ungently frown
When changing fortune caſts us headlong down.'

There are other poets who deſerve notice. Grimoald, Kendal, Goulding, Drant, Churchyard, and many more; but, conſcious of having already exceeded his due limits, the author quits the ſubject.

Wales.

In reciting the progreſs of arts in Great-Britain, the excellence of the Welch in poetry ought by no means to be omitted. In that ſmall country verſe ſeems to have been interwoven with both the civil and military ſyſtem. The bards had poſſeſſed a rank not allowed to their romantic race in any other country, if we except Scandinavia and Iceland. They had counſelled the princes, led the armies to battle, held the firſt places at court, and reprimanded the judges [40], if their conduct gave them diſpleaſure. So high (although ſo pernicious) a compliment had never been paid to any ſet of men as Edward I. had beſtowed on the poets of Wales, when, by cutting them off, he believed that he had extinguiſhed the whole fire of patriot-bravery which had long defended the Welch frontier againſt every effort of ſucceſſive Saxon and Norman efforts. The ſongs and muſic of their bards, indeed, ſeem to have rendered the Cambro-Britons, if not invincible, yet inſenſible of the evils of war; and it is probable that the aſtoniſhing exertions of Owen Glendwr were well ſeconded by the vengeful deſcendents of Edward's martyrs.

Poetry connected with ſtate and war among the Welch.

At the period now treated of, the ſpirit of Welch poetry was on the wane. There was no need of the bard in war, nor even in private feuds,

Declines.

NOTES.

[40] It was in the century before Elizabeth that Davydd ap Edmwnt, a celebrated bard, gained additional honor, by compoſing an elegy on 'Sion Eos,' or 'John the Nightingale,' a brother poet, who had been executed for ſlaying a man. In this the irritated Briton ſeverely aſſails the judges in Wales and at Weſtminſter, wiſhes all the jurymen hanged, and bitterly laments that his friend was not tried by the good laws of Hoel Dha; referring to a large ſum which was offered to ſave the life of the ill-fated Sion.

[JONES's DISSERTATION.

which

Cent. XVI. which after great difficulty were now nearly ſuppreſſed. The Engliſh tongue inſenſibly crept over the borders, and the poet now found it his intereſt to repair to the capital, and there exert his talents.

Scotland. Poetry was not one of thoſe arts which the clamor of battle frighted away from Scotland. The ſame fertility of fancy, the ſame variation of imagery, which adorned its Northern votaries in an earlier ſeaſon, ſtill attended on it. The lyre of the Muſe was heard in the palace and in the cottage.

State of poetry.

James V. James V. the father of Mary, was unqueſtionably a poet, although there is ſome doubt * whether any of the pieces attributed to him are clearly proved to be his own †.

Mary. Mary of Scots was not probably enough verſed in the language of her native iſland to make uſe of it in poetry; but ſhe wrote verſes with harmony and ſenſibility in the French tongue.

James VI. James VI. her ſon, was a conſiderable verſifier, and not on the loweſt form of his claſs.

Sir David Lindeſay. Sir David Lindeſay, a courtier, much employed in the houſehold of James V. and afterwards appointed 'Lion King at Arms,' has been already celebrated as having exerted his great powers [41] of ſatire in favor of the reformation, and in ridicule of the abſurd ſuperſtitions of his country.

In his 'Dreme,' after ſeverely ſcourging the manners of the age, and particularly of the higher circles, he thus paints a fancied court, purified from vice and folly:

'Juſtice holds her ſwerde on hie,
With her ballance of equitie.
Dame Prudence has thee by the heid,
And Temperance does thy brydill leid,
I ſee dame Force make aſſiſtaunce,
Beirand thy targe of aſſuraunce.
And luſtie ladie Chaſtitie
Has baniſh'd Senſualitie.

NOTES.

[41] It were to be wiſhed that the extreme ludicrouſneſs of the ſting in each of the four lines did not prevent the hiſtorian from inſerting here the celebrated ſarcaſtical counſel of Sir David to his king, on his attachment to the Ladies Sandilands, Weir, and Oliphant. [DESCRIPTION OF ABERLADIE, APUD SC. ANTIQ. TRANSACTIONS, VOL. I.

* Antient Scottiſh Poems, vol. i. Eſſay, p. ci, Note *. † Ibid. p. cxix.

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Dame Riches takes on thee ſike cure,
I prày God thàt ſhe long indure;
That Povertè dar nocht be ſene
Into thie hows, for baith her ene;
But frà thy grace, fled mony mylis
Amangs the hunteris in the ylis.'

Introduces dramatic poetry to Scotland.

Dr. Mackenzie gives the credit of introducing dramatic poetry into Scotland to Sir David Lindeſay. Biſhop Douglas, indeed, is ſaid to have written 'Comædiæ Sacræ' long before, but, if he did, they were never acted *.

Sir Richard Maitland.

As an apt ſucceſſor to Lindeſay, we are now to ſpeak of Sir Richard Maitland, a worthy and ingenious knight †, born in 1496; who, amidſt the troubles of the Scottiſh court, in which he held a conſpicuous poſt, amuſed himſelf with the ſtudy of poetry, and endeavored, with well-intended, and not inharmonious lays, to inſpire his countrymen with a love of juſtice and independence on foreign nations.

This patriotic bard deteſted the Engliſh, who certainly were in his days no friends to Scotland. He wrote an ode to congratulate France on the capture of Calais. He therein heartily prays to God that the Scots may take Berwic, 'our marchis for to mend.' And then, with a commendable philanthropy, he wiſhes that

'The weiris (wars) had an end,
'And we to leif in peas and unitie.'

Soon after he appears to have diſcovered how very little good either of the contending nations meant to Scotland. It was then that he compoſed the intereſting ballad which follows.

I.

'In this new zeir, I ſie bot weir ‡,
Na cauſe their is to ſing.
I cannot ſing for the vexation
Of Frenchmen, and the congregation,
That has maid trowbill in the nation,
And mony bair biging §.
In this new zeir, &c. &c.

* Eſſay on Ancient Sc. Poems, Eſſay, p. cvi.
‡ I ſee only war.
† Ibid. p. cxiv.
§ Many a roofleſs building.

I have

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II.

I have no will to ſing or danſe,
For fear of England and of France;
God ſend them ſorrow and miſchance
In cauſe of their cumming.
In this new zeir, &c. &c.

III.

We are ſo rewlit, rich and puire,
That we wot not quhair to be ſuire *,
The bourdour †, as the borrow muir,
Quhair ſome perchance will hing.
In this new zeir, &c. &c.

IV.

And zit I think it beſt that we
Pluck up our hairt and mirrie be;
For thoch we wod lay doune and dee,
It will us help na thing.
In this new zeir I ſee but weir,
No cauſe their is to ſing.'

Other poets. We find the names of ſeven other Scottiſh bards mentioned in the poems of Sir David Lindeſay as his contemporaries, viz. Culroſe, Kyd, Stewart, Stewart of Lorn, Galbreith, Kinloch, and Ballentine. Little is now known of any among this liſt, and their works have periſhed with them. Alexander Scot ‡, who flouriſhed about 1550, is ſtyled the Anacreon of the Old Scottiſh Poetry, and the head of the minor poets. Of his pieces only ſeven appear to have been publiſhed, though ſeveral more are known to remain in MS. collections.

Alexander Scot.

England. Muſic. Edward VI. An attachment to muſic ſeems to have been hereditary in the Tudor family; Henry VIII. was a compoſer as well as a performer. Edward VI. was ſpoken of by Cardan as underſtanding muſic; beſides which, his own journal recites that he played on the lute to Monſieur St. André the French ambaſſador. The number of his band, and the appointment for its ſupport, were equal to thoſe of any among his predeceſſors.

* On what to depend. † The borderer.

‡ Eſſay, p. cxii.

That

That the gloomy bigot Mary underſtood muſic we may fairly infer from a letter written to her by her mother Catharine, ſoon after her ſeparation from Henry; in which, after exhorting her to ſuffer cheerfully, to truſt in God, 'and keep her heart clene,' ſhe bids her 'ſometimes, for your recreation, uſe your virginals [42] and lute, if you have any.' Cent. XVI. Mary I.

Elizabeth was a very conſiderable performer on the lute and on the virginals; ſhe is alſo ſuppoſed to have played on the violin [43] and on the poliphant, an inſtrument, ſays a writer on muſic, 'not much unlike a lute, but ſtrung with wire.' She loved too to hear loud muſic, and uſed to liſten, during her meals, to 'twelve trumpets and two kettle drums, which, together with * fifes, cornets, and ſide-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together.' Elizabeth. Delights in loud ſounds.

Sir James Melvill records a curious anecdote of this princeſs's ſkill and coquetry. He had told her that his miſtreſs, Queen Mary, 'ſometimes recreated herſelf in playing on the lute and the virginals, and that ſhe played reaſonably well for a queen.' That afternoon the Lord Hunſdon introduced him to a private gallery that he might hear Elizabeth play on the virginals, although he ſaid that he durſt not avow it.

'After I had hearkened a while,' ſays Melvill, 'I put by the tapeſtry that hung before the door of the chamber and ſtood a prettie ſpace, hearing her play excellently well. But ſhe left off immediately as ſoon as ſhe turned her about and ſaw me. She appeared to be ſurprized to ſee me, and came forward, ſeeming to ſtrike me with her hand; alleging, ſhe uſed not to play before men; but when ſhe was ſolitary, to ſhun melancholy †.' Her excellence in muſic.

If, ſays Dr. Burney, ſhe was ever able to perform any of the pieces preſerved in a MS. which goes under the name of 'Queen Elizabeth's Virgi-

NOTES.

[42] An ill-ſhaped clumſy box, much inferior to a ſpinet in loudneſs and ſweetneſs; apparently the firſt known among the tribe of keyed inſtruments; but, in the 18th century, totally laid aſide.

[43] An inſtrument like a violin, but with a neck ſo thick, and ſo loaded with ornaments, that no hand could graſp it, was bought at a ſale in London. It had the creſt of Elizabeth's favorite Leiceſter engraved upon it, and was dated 1578. There was a hole in the neck for the thumb to paſs through, but the confinement of the hand prevented any poſſibility of ſhifting.

* Hentzner's Itin. Strawb. Hill edit. p. 57.

† Melvill's Memoirs, p. 105.

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nal Book,' she must have been a very great player. Some of them are so difficult, that it would be hardly possible to find a master in Europe who would undertake to play one of them at the end of a month's practice.'

Composition difficult but not elegant.

The constant encouragement given by so many successive royal patrons should, one might imagine, have introduced to the art of music, invention, taste, and elegance. On the contrary, nothing, at the period now treated of, seems to have been thought necessary for keyed instruments, but variations on old tunes; in which all the harmony was crouded which the fingers could grasp, and all the rapid divisions of the times which they could execute. Even nominal 'Fancies' were without fancy, and confined to the repetition of a few dry and unmeaning notes in figure or imitation.

The instrumental music of Elizabeth's reign seems to partake of the pedantry and foppery of the times; and eternal fugues upon uninteresting subjects were the means of establishing the reputation of a composer.

Music a constant domestic amusement.

The royal example was followed by the majority of private families, and a knowledge of music appears to have been, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, an indispensible accomplishment in family life. 'Being at a banquet,' says Morley in his "Plaine and easie Introduction to Practical Music," 'supper being ended, and music books brought to table, the mistress of the house, according to custom, presented me with a part, earnestly intreating me to sing; when, after many excuses, I protested unfeignedly 'that I could not;' every one began to wonder, yea, some whispered to others demanding how I was brought up.'

'When you come to an inn,' says Fynes Moryson, 'you shall be offered musicke, which you may freely take or refuse *.'

Nor were the lower ranks without their parties of music suited to their inclinations. 'Small and popular musicks, sung by these "catabanqui" upon benches and barrel heads; their audience boyes and country fellowes that pass by them in the streets. Blind harpers, and suche taverne minstrells, that gave a fit of mirth for a groate; their matter being for the most part stories of old times, as the tale of Sir Topaz, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell, Climm of the Clough †,' &c.

* Itinerary, p. iii. p. 3, 150.

† Puttenham's Art of Poesy, p. 69.

The

The expence of a band was probably reaſonable enough. Edward Baſſano, a performer of eminence, had little more than thirty pounds * a year, and a ſalary of forty pounds was thought adequate to the merits of the great Dr. Bull. Cent. XVI. Muſicians ill paid.

Among the muſicians who flouriſhed under the latter Tudors, the following deſerve moſt notice:

Dr. Chriſtopher Tye has already been mentioned as a poet. In that line he ranges with Sternhold and Hopkins; but as a muſician he is ſpoken of by Dr. Burney with reſpect. Dr. Tye.

Thomas Tallis was a venerable, aged organiſt; and one of the greateſt muſicians, not only of this country [44] but of Europe. The moſt extraordinary of all his labors was a ſong of forty parts, which ſtill exiſts. This the Engliſh hiſtorian of muſic, ſtyles 'a ſtupendous, though perhaps Gothic, ſpecimen of human labor and intellect.' Tallis died in 1585, and was interred in the Old Church at Greenwich; which having been demoliſhed in 1720 to be rebuilt, the memorials of all its dead were confounded in its ruins. Strype had, however, preſerved his epitaph, one ſtanza of which runs thus: Thomas Tallis.

'He ſerv'd long time in chappel with great prayſe,
Fower ſovereigns reignes, a thinge not often ſeen;
I mean King Henry and King Edward's daies,
Queene Marie, an Elizabeth our queene.'

On another occaſion Dr. Burney humorouſly remarks, that the martyrdom of Teſtwood, and the peril of Marbeck, two muſicians, little affected the fraternity; for that, however the creeds of the monarchs differed, their muſicians had conſtantly tuned their conſciences to the court pitch, *i. e.* in perfect uniſon with their ſovereign, the head of the church.

The names of Bird, Porter, and Bull, will be attended to with more propriety in the next reign.

NOTES.

[44] When the celebrated Geminiani heard a favorite anthem compoſed by Tallis which begins thus, 'I call and cry,' he exclaimed, 'The man who made this muſt have been inſpired!'

* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 756.

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Thomas Morley.

Thomas Morley, one of the gentlemen of the queen's chapel, had more merit, as the author of a Treatiſe on Muſic mentioned before, than as a performer or a compoſer, although eminent in both theſe branches of ſcience. On his work, the intelligent Hiſtorian of Muſic obſerves, that 'although redundant in ſome particulars, and deficient in others, it is ſtill curious, and juſtly allowed to have been excellently well adapted to the wants of the age in which it was written *.'

The burial ſervice ſet by Morley, which is ſuppoſed to be the firſt that was compoſed after the reformation, ſtill continues to be uſed in Weſtminſter Abbey on great and ſolemn occaſions. This ingenious and ſtudious muſician is ſuppoſed to have died nearly at the acceſſion of James I. to the Engliſh crown.

Such was the ſtate of muſic under Elizabeth; nor does it ſeem to have been contemptible in depth of compoſition and alacrity of execution, when compared with that of either of the ſucceeding centuries. Taſte in the compoſer and performer, and excellence of inſtruments, appear to have been the only deficiencies of the ſixteenth age.

Welch Muſic.

Wales claimed a ſtyle of muſic peculiar to itſelf; and has the ſingular advantage of ſtill poſſeſſing ſeveral original melodies of high antiquity. Some of theſe ſtill convey to the ear, ideas of the manners and conviviality, cultivated by the antient protectors of thoſe who played on the harp.

Meetings of the bards, which had maintained the intereſts both of poetry and muſic, had been regularly ſupported until the reign of Elizabeth; at that period they began to droop; and, after a ſolemn ſynod or 'Eiſtedvodd,' held from 1568 to 1570, under [45] the auſpices of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, it was more than an hundred years before another aſſemblage of the ſame kind was convoked.

The harp was the national inſtrument of the Welſh, but it was an inſtrument much inferior to that which, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century,

NOTES.

[45] Commiſſioners were appointed to examine, at this meeting, each bard; to grant proper degrees and excluſive privileges to thoſe whoſe ſkill merited encouragement; and to oblige the undeſerving to betake themſelves to ſome occupation in life, on pain of being accounted and treated as vagabonds. [Evans' Welch Poetry. Pennant's Tour.

* Dr. Burney's Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. iii. p. 99, 105.

tury, is honored by the touch of the faireſt hands in Europe. It had, in the days of Elizabeth *, only one row of ſtrings, conſiſting of thirty-three; it meaſured about four feet nine inches, and was made of Sycamore wood. It was neceſſary to tune it afreſh when the key was changed; but, when any accidental ſharp or flat was needed in the middle of an air, the performer contrived to form the half-note by ſtopping the top of the ſtring with his thumb. The body was highly poliſhed; the ſtrings were made of fine and gloſſy hair; and the bards ſpeak with affection of their favorite inſtrument, as of a beloved miſtreſs. Syon Phylip, a poet of the ſixteenth century, thus deſcribes his harp: Cent. XVI.

Imitated from Mr. Jones's proſe verſion of the Welch.

Fair is my harp, high-poliſh'd to the ſight,
Form'd like a heart, and ſtation'd near my breaſt;
Gorgeous in figure, yet of burthen light;
How ſweet the ſounds by each fair ſtring expreſt!
To form this charm divine four things unite:
Thin wood, ſkin ſupple, hair ſo gloſſy bright,
And bone applied with art to keep the fabric tight. J. P. A.

On the other hand, the buffoon-phyſician, Andrew Borde, makes a Welchman ſay:

'If I have my harpe I care for no more;
It is my treaſure, I keep it in ſtore;
For my harpe it is made of a good mare's ſkynne;
The ſtrynges bee of horſe haire, it maketh a good dynne:
My ſonge, and my voice, and my harpe, doth agree,
Much lyke the buzzynge of an humble bee;
Yet in my country doe I make paſtyme,
In tellynge of prophecies, whyche bee not in rhyme,' &c.

[INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE.

Beſides the harp the Welch poſſeſſed the 'Crwth,' a kind of violin with ſix ſtrings, which were played on by a bow; the 'Pibhorn' or hornpipe, a reed pipe tipped with horn at each end; the 'Pibau' or bagpipe; the 'Tabrwdd,' the tabret or drum; and the 'Corn Buelin,' or bugle-horn.

* Diſſertation on Welch Muſical Inſtruments by Mr. Jones, p. 103.

Cent. XVI. Theſe were ſeldom heard, as the rational preference obtained by the harp ſilenced inferior inſtruments.

Scotland.

The reformation, which raged in Scotland like a torrent, ſwept away the cathedral muſic of the North along with the other gorgeous trappings of the Roman Catholic faith. Some of the lighter airs were preſerved only as food for ridicule, and were completely burleſqued by being adapted to ludicrous words.

The reformation a foe to Muſic.

* When the new faith was eſtabliſhed, the old church tunes were again brought forward, and were ſung in divine worſhip. A tranſlation of David's Pſalms was ſoon formed to ſuit them; and the book of pſalmody patronized by John Knox, called 'The Common Tunes,' is ſtill ſung in the Northern churches.

Not contented with this, the ill-judging fanatics (all reformations, religious and civil, produce ſome fanatics) of the times ſought to enlarge the circle of pſalmody, by fantaſtically and profanely attempting to ſanctify licentious ballads, and by † intermixing holy ſentiments with unmodified obſcenity [46].

Prophane burleſque.

A collection of theſe, entitled, 'A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, collectit out of ſundry parts of the Scripture, with ſundrie of other ballats changed out of prophaine ſanges for the avoiding of ſinne and harlotrie,' is now in being, but extremely ſcarce; and, were it utterly obliterated, we may preſume, from the ſpecimen of it given in Mr. Tytler's Diſſertation, neither religion nor decency would ſuffer any loſs. Muſic indeed, diſguſted at the prepoſterous treatment it had received, ſeems for a ſpace to have deſerted its once highly-favored Scotland; for a ſtatute, paſſed in 1579, directing the re-eſtabliſhment of muſical ſchools, laments that 'the art of muſic and ſinging is lyke to falle into grate decaye ‡.'

Character of Scottiſh muſic.

It is impoſſible to quit the ſubject of Scottiſh muſic without joining with the very ingenious writer juſt mentioned, in avowing that the national muſic of Scotland exhibits ſtrong expreſſions of the paſſions, particularly of thoſe

NOTES.

[46] The well known tunes of 'John, come kiſs me now,' 'Kind Robin lo'es me,' and 'John Anderſon my Jo,' are ſaid to be of this number. [TYTLER'S DISSERTATION.

* Tytler's Diſſertation on Scot's Muſic, in Antiquarian Tranſactions, vol. i. p. 491.

† Ibid. p. 492. ‡ Stat. 98 Parl. xx. Jac. VI.

which

which had a melancholy turn. Indeed it highly deſerves what was ſaid of it by Taſſoni (the elegant writer of 'La Secchia Rapita,'), 'that it was plaintive and pathetic, and different from all other muſic.' But this commendation entirely refers to ſecular compoſitions. It was the ſhepherd ſoothing his ſolitude by harmony, and celebrating the charms and the conſtancy of his miſtreſs, or lamenting her cruelty [47], not the monk raiſing his oriſons to heaven, which ſtamped the character. The church muſic was probably like that of England, grand and ſonorous, but generally deficient in taſte. Cent. XVI.

NOTES.

[47] It may amuſe the reader to know that the nicely diſcriminating genius of Mr. Tytler has attempted to range the ancient Scottiſh ballads according to the dates of their compoſition. And the following are thoſe which he conjectures were compoſed during the reigns of James IV. James V. and during the reign and life of Mary: 'Buſk ye, buſk ye my bonny Bride;' 'Hero and Leander;' 'Willie's rair and Willie's fair;' 'Cromlet's Lilt;' 'The Flowers of the Foreſt;' 'Gilderoy;' 'Balow my Boy;' 'The Gaberlunzie Man;' 'The bonnie Earl of Murray;' 'Leeder Haughs and Yarrow;' 'Abſence will never alter me;' 'Tak your auld Cloak about ye.' [TYTLER'S DISSERTATION.

HIS-

HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. VI.—PART II.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING, IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO THAT OF JAMES I. A. D. 1603.

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Commerce begins to be valued.

THE period was now arrived when, the general intereſts of nations being better underſtood, commerce began to be eſtimated at its due value, and to be guarded and encouraged by treaties as the eſtabliſhment which could beſt ſupply wealth for impoſts, and mariners for foreign expeditions.

It was not however in a reign like that of Edward VI. ſoured by domeſtic turbulence, nor like that of Mary, when bigotry and rapaciouſneſs by turns guided the ſtate, that any attention was likely to be paid where ſo much was due. Yet, under the narrow-minded conſort of Philip, the adventurous mariner purſued his way to wealth and knowledge totally without

Cent. XVI.

encouragement from his needy monarch, but unmoleſted by her avidity; a fate milder than that of the manufacturer, whoſe property lay always in her view, and afforded perpetual temptation to the rapacity of deſpotiſm.

Elizabeth encourages commerce.

The cloſe of 1558 introduced a new reign and new encouragements to commercial enterprizes and diſcoveries. Elizabeth, conſcious what addition both to the ſtrength and wealth of the nation muſt accrue from the extenſion of her trade, appears to have wiſhed ſincerely well to the cauſe both of commerce and of manufacture; although her private intereſt, and the inceſſant perſecutions of her avaricious favorites, betrayed her into the fatal meaſure of granting monopolies, and of creating excluſive companies with excluſive privileges, fatal to the intereſts of her moſt induſtrious ſubjects.

Plan of the chapter.

To her marine adventurers ſhe was more juſt, and ſometimes, with caution, even liberal. In conſequence we find the Engliſh commerce, under her auſpices, branching itſelf out with ſuch vigor and variety, that, to prevent confuſion, it will be proper to treat of it under different heads, to point out the progreſs and ſucceſs of each ſeparate commercial enterprize, according to the date of its commencement, and to touch at the cloſe on the leſs productive ſubjects of manufactures, diſcoveries, and colonies.

Commerce with the Hanſetowns.

The Hanſe towns, or Eaſterlings, as they boaſt the earlieſt connection with England, demand the preference in hiſtory. Their traders had long enjoyed a lucrative ſtation in London. They had foſtered the avidity of the ſovereign by advancing loans of money, and the indolence of the merchant and mechanic by finding an immediate vent for his manufactures. As theſe men paid no more duty than *one* per cent, were buyers and ſellers, brokers and carriers, (for none but Hanſeatic veſſels were employed in the traffic,) their profits were vaſt; ſo vaſt indeed, that they tempted foreigners of opulence to reſide in a city where yet they knew themſelves to be expoſed to the conſtant abuſe of an unbridled populace, and to ſtill more deciſive injuries, whenever a dearth, a peſtilence, or even a ſevere impoſt, ſhould ſour the minds of the citizens.

Reſtricted by Edward VI.

The ſhort-lived miniſtry of Warwick, under Edward VI. ſhook off theſe harſh fetters from the commerce of England. The Hanſeatic privileges were declared to be forfeited, and many reaſons were given for the ſtrong and deciſive meaſure of placing an impoſt of 20 per cent on all their imports

ports and exports [1]. Scarcely had the ſtrangers time to complain of this ſeverity ere the acceſſion of Mary, and her marriage with the ſon of the German emperor, reſtored them to their privileges; a meaſure dictated probably more by caprice than reaſon, ſince it appears * that ſhe revoked her conceſſions not long after ſhe had granted them. Cent. XVI.

The Hanſeatics diſguſted with Elizabeth.

It does not ſeem that the demiſe of Mary made any alteration in favor of the foreign merchants. They preſented, indeed, repeated remonſtrances to the throne; and, finding no redreſs, withdrew from the Engliſh commerce, hoping that neceſſity would occaſion their recal. This weak ſtep only tended to convince the Engliſh merchants that they could carry on their own trade without the help of foreigners. They formed companies, built ſhips, and ſoon found the ſweets of thoſe additional profits which this new independence afforded them.

Endeavour to expel the Engliſh cloth from Germany.

Alarmed at theſe exertions, which menaced deſtruction to their moſt profitable branch of trade, the Hanſeatics employed all their influence in the diet to prevent the importation of Engliſh cloth into Germany; and contrived, by their intrigues, to oblige the ſubjects of Elizabeth to remove their 'ſtaple,' or cloth market, from port to port, until they found a kind reception at Hamburgh †; from whence, in ſpite of prohibitions, and every precaution which the enemies of the trade could take, the excellence of the fabric made the Engliſh cloth be received on the continent, in greater quantities than ever.

Their privileges in England aboliſhed.

The formation of the 'Eaſtland Company' in 1580, with powers from Elizabeth to trade in the Baltic, and, in 1597, the ſhutting up of the Steel-yard, long known as the reſidence of the Eaſterlings, completed the emancipation of Engliſh commerce from the Hanſeatic bondage. Nor could repeated ſupplications, in 1602 and 1604, obtain a renewal of privileges ſo noxious to native induſtry.

NOTES.

[1] Perhaps the moſt effectual reaſon for the proceeding remained untold. During the year before this regulation the Eaſterlings had exported 44,000 pieces of Engliſh cloth, and the Engliſh merchants only 1100. Beſides, from the port of Southampton only, there had ſailed for the Netherlands, ſixty ſhips laden with unmanufactured wool; a commodity of which theſe engroſſers had beat down the price to eighteen-pence the ſtone. [ANDERSON.

* Wheeler's Treatiſe on Commerce, p. 100. † Anderſon's Com. Dict. p. 192.

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Exports and imports.

The exports from England to the Hanſe towns were wool, cloths and fringes, ſaffron, lead and tin, ſheep and rabbit ſkins, beer, cheeſe, and Mediterranean wines. While ſhe received from them, jewels, bullion, wrought ſilks, cloth of gold and ſilver, ſpices, drugs, linen, ſerges, tapeſtry, madder, hops, glaſs, ſalt fiſh, arms, ammunition, and houſehold-furniture *.

Trade to Ruſſia.

Ruſſia, the terror of the continent in the eighteenth century, was in the ſixteenth a vaſt, but hardly civilized ſtate, unconſcious of its own power, inſulted by the ſcarcely more ſavage Tartars, and totally unknown to any Europeans except to a few Flemiſh traders, who cautiouſly preſerved the ſecret, and enjoyed in ſilence the ſweets of an excluſive commerce.

Enterprize and fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, one of the few adventurous mariners of the ſixth Edward's reign, animated by a liberal ſubſcription of 6000l. ſupplied by forty-nine ſharers, ſailed from Graveſend, in May 1553, with three ſmall veſſels, in ſearch of a ſhort paſſage to China (then termed 'Cathay') by the North Eaſt. The gallant knight, after diſcovering the iſle of Spitzbergen (or Greenland) met with ſuch diſtreſs from ſtorms and floating mountains of ice, that, forced into the cruel latitude of ſeventy-two North, he found himſelf, with two of his ſhips, obliged to paſs the winter on the ſnowy coaſt of Nova Zembla; where, in a creek among the rocks, the ill-fated commander, with the ſeamen of both ſhips, were found by the wandering Laplanders frozen to death [2] †.

Port of Archangel diſcovered.

Captain Richard Chancellor, who commanded the third veſſel, had better fortune. Providence ſteered his bark to the harbor where Archangel has ſince been built. The monks at the abbey of St. Nicholas, which ſtood near the coaſt, ſhewed hoſpitality and even reſpect to their famiſhed gueſts; and aided the reſolute Engliſhman to paſs on ſledges the ſnowy deſerts which lay between them and Moſcow. As he was provided

NOTES.

[2] '*Nocumenta*,' ſays the quaint Dr. Fuller, 'prove *documenta*, and the ſhipwrecks of ſome, prove the ſea marks of others.' [WORTHIES OF DEVONSHIRE.

The remains of this intrepid mariner were found in his cabin; and near him his diary, which he had continued almoſt to the hour of his death.

[ADAMS' ACCOUNT, APUD HAKLUYT.

* Luigi Guiccardini's Deſcription of the Netherlands, paſſim.

† Adams' Account, apud Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

with

with general letters from Edward VI. to any princes whom he might viſit, he advanced with intrepidity to the palace; and preſented them to the ſovereign of Ruſſia *. Cent. XVI.

John Baſilowitz, who then reigned in Ruſſia, although a fierce and barbarous deſpot, had yet ſtrong and clear reaſon, and ſaw in the bold adventurer the character of his nation. He eagerly ſprung forward to meet the advances of the Engliſh, who, he foreſaw, would introduce his country to the wiſhed-for commerce of Europe; and he ſent back Chancellor loaded with honors and preſents. Nor did he forget to return letters to King Edward, who was unhappily dead before they could reach him †.

The proſpect of an excluſive trade with a great nation, abounding in furs and other deſirable objects of commerce, ſoon allured the enterprizing and the wealthy; and a charter was granted in 1554 to a company of merchant-adventurers for 'the diſcoverie of lands, countries,' &c. &c. This was the parent of the Ruſſia company. Soon after it was formed, two ſhips were diſpatched, with the enterprizing Chancellor as their commiſſioner, to the new found port. Again he landed, croſſed Lapland, found the Czar at Moſcow, and was amply compenſated for the fatigues of his way by the advantageous privileges which he obtained for his principals. The cloſe of the ſtory is painful: the gallant ſeaman ſet ſail for England with a Ruſſian nobleman as ambaſſador, and bales of rich preſents for his ſovereign, under his care. On the coaſt of Scotland, a violent gale drove his veſſel on a reef of rocks; careleſs of his own ſafety, Chancellor only thought of his important charge; and actually periſhed in the waves in the act of preſerving the life of the Ruſſian, who was received [3] on ſhore with that hoſpitality which has always diſtinguiſhed the Scottiſh character, and forwarded to London with proper reſpect to his dignity. Commercial treaty with Ruſſia.

The intercourſe between the nations was now kept up with attention; and Anthony Jenkinſon, the active agent of the new company, had, after

NOTES.

[3] We will rather truſt to Holingſhed, who at leaſt intimates (p. 1132) his kind reception in the North, than to the ſour and prejudiced borderer Lord Wharton; who, in a letter preſerved in 'Mr. Lodge's Illuſtrations' writes, 'he may thanke God that he eſcaped from their (the Scots) crewel covetouſe wyth his lief.'

* Stowe's Annals, p. 629. Holingſhed, p. 1132. † Hakluyt, ubi ſupra.

frequent

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frequent voyages to Ruſſia, found means to penetrate through Moſcow to the Wolga, down that vaſt river to the Caſpian Sea, and thence to Perſia; the Engliſh had even ſent goods to the port of Narva, in the Baltic Sea; when the company, now become of importance to the nation *, aſked and obtained a confirmation of their excluſive privileges by act of parliament. This ſtatute, dated in 1566, permitted York, Newcaſtle, Hull, and Boſton, to join in the undertaking if the inhabitants ſhould deſire that privilege.

Trade to Perſia unfortunate.

The adventurers were not fortunate in their early years. The ever ill-fated project of an inland trade with Perſia, led them into deep expences; and a rich cargo of ſilks, ſpices, and pearls, the produce of five laborious years travel, was intercepted on the Wolga, and plundered by the pirate coſſacks †. Soon after, the Engliſh were involved in the national calamities of Ruſſia; they loſt all their ſtores when the country was ravaged, and Moſcow burnt by the invading Tartars; and for theſe damages, although an indemnity was repeatedly promiſed, little was received. The Engliſh even gradually loſt their excluſive privileges; and Horſey, an agent who was ſent by the Ruſſia company to ſtrive for their recovery, had the mortification to find his veſſel ſaluted in the harbor of Archangel (as it was now ſtyled) by French and Flemiſh veſſels, as well as by thoſe of England. The eyes of the Ruſſian prince were indeed now open to the advantages of receiving the ſhips of rival nations; and the Engliſh were, from that period, obliged to be contented with little more advantage over the traders of other countries than what the goodneſs of their wares, and the ſuperior induſtry of their workmen could give them.

Exports and imports.

The imports from Ruſſia were chiefly hides, furs, &c. &c. The exports thither from England were cloths; and, what is remarkable, coarſe linen, which is in the eighteenth century brought in great quantities from Ruſſia, made, in the ſixteenth, a large part of the exports thither.

Trade with Turkey.

The firſt genuine account of any intercourſe between England and the dominions of the Ottomans, occurs in 1553, when Anthony Jenkinſon is reported by Hakluyt to have obtained of Sultan Selim, then at Aleppo on his march againſt Perſia, a licence to trade at any Turkiſh port on the ſame terms, as to cuſtoms, with the French and Venetians ‡.

* Hakluyt, firſt edit. p. 365. † Camden's Annals, A. D. 1565.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. ii.

It

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A company formed.

It was not, however, until 1575, that a regular commercial treaty was eſtabliſhed with the Porte; and that, in conſequence, a company was formed by charter to trade thither. Its term was only to laſt ſeven years (renewable, if required) and it might be diſſolved by one year's notice.

The agents ſailed to Conſtantinople in 1582, carrying with them excellent inſtructions from the indefatigable patriot Hakluyt*, as to the lights which might be obtained in the Eaſt for the benefit of Engliſh manufactures, gardens, and woods. This patent, we are to obſerve, was not renewed until 1593, and then only for twelve years.

Advantages to England.

The conſequences of the direct trade to Turkey ſoon appeared to be highly beneficial to England. The Venetians and Genoeſe, who had hitherto monopolized both the ſale of Indian goods and the carrying trade, gradually were diſpoſſeſſed of both by the ſhips of England. To complete the ſettlement of factories in the Syrian ports, &c. Harebone, a man of activity, was ſent in a frigate of thirty-four guns; he viſited the whole African and Aſiatic coaſt which bordered the Mediterranean; and concluded an advantageous treaty with the piratical ſtates of Barbary.

Expences large.

From this time to the cloſe of Elizabeth's reign, the Levant trade proceeded with great advantage to the merchants and to the nation; not, however, without heavy complaints of the vaſt preſents (to the amount of 2000l.) given annually to the piratical ſtates to avoid a perpetual warfare with their corſairs †.

Exports and imports.

Woollen cloths and calf-ſkins were the chief exports from England to Turkey. The imports were 'ſilks, camblets, rhubarb, rich wines from Cyprus, oil, cotton, carpets, galls, and ſpices.' To Barbary, cloth and linen were ſent, and the returns were ſugar, dates, almonds, and melaſſes.

Trade to Africa.

Some attempts had been made, during the reign of Mary, to open a trade with Guinea, but the firſt adventurers only brought home one ſhip out of three. And although ſome cargoes, both of gold duſt and of elephants teeth, were carefully brought to England in ſucceeding years, yet no ſteady and dependible branch of commerce appeared for a long ſpace of time.

Negro trade.

At length the negro trade, that much reprobated ſource of wealth and of contention, was opened in 1562 by Captain John Hawkins of Devon-

* Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 164. † Captain Carliſle's Treatiſe on Trade, paſſim.

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shire; who, assisted by a liberal subscription, fitted out three ships, and sailed to the coast of Guinea, whence he carried 300 negro slaves (acquired by methods not to be too closely scrutinized) to Hispaniola*. He exchanged his lading there for hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls, and returned in opulence A. D. 1563. No more is heard of this species of traffic during several years.

Voyages to Benin.

A ship and pinnace of London made a prosperous voyage to Benin, in Africa, in 1588; and the queen, in the same year, granted a patent to certain merchants of London and of Exeter, for ten years, to trade exclusively to the rivers Senegal and Gambia.

In 1590 we find the same ship and pinnace sailing again from London to Benin, and again returning with success.

Exports and imports.

The exports to Africa were at that time linen and woollen cloths, hardware, ornaments, such as copper bracelets and glass beads, hawks bells, hats, toys, &c. The imports, elephants teeth, palm oil, cloth of cotton, and of the bark of trees†.

Trade to the East-Indies.

The trade to the East-Indies was, from the vast distance of its object, and the great capital which was required to carry it on, the last of those various commercial shoots which sprung from the fertile soil of the adventurous industry of England. It was not until 1600 that a company was regularly formed, with George Earl of Cumberland at their head, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, in the list of proprietors. They had been encouraged to this undertaking rather by the successes of the Portuguese and of the Dutch, than of their countrymen; since the only English voyage hitherto attempted to those parts, and executed by Captain James Lancaster, had been singularly unfortunate [4].

A company formed in 1600.

This

NOTES.

[4] He had sailed in 1591 with three ships on a privateering, rather than a mercantile account, to the East-Indies. A sickness, which assailed his crew near the Cape of Good Hope, obliged one ship to return homewards; another, with Captain Raymond, or Riman, was separated in a storm beyond the Cape, and heard of no more. Lancaster's ship alone reached the coast of Malabar. Nothing succeeding which he attempted in the East, he quitted those shores, and sailed to the West-Indies; but thither his ill-fortune pursued him.

Going

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 500.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 175.

This charter *, which was renewable at the end of fifteen years, and which actually exiſted through various viciſſitudes until 1708, when it ſank into that of the 'United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies,' was much on the plan of that which was renewed towards the cloſe of the 18th century. The governor and deputy-governor, the twenty-four directors, annually elected and formed into committees, the allowance of time for the payment of cuſtoms, the re-exportation of Indian merchandiſe after it has paid the duty, and almoſt all the other conditions of the charter, have been handed down, 'literatim & verbatim,' from the adventurous merchants of Elizabeth's ſchool to their fortunate and opulent ſucceſſors. Cent. XVI. Its rules.

The firſt ſtock of a company, doomed in future time to govern a country more extended, better peopled, and poſſeſſed of more and richer commodities and treaſures than the Roman empire at its greateſt pitch of ſplendor, was only 72,000 l. And their firſt fleet conſiſted of four large ſhips, under the conduct of the ſame Captain Lancaſter, whoſe diſaſters in the Eaſt had been repaired by a fortunate and lucrative expedition to the coaſt of Braſil. Its moderate ſtock.

Neither the ſucceſs of this expedition, nor the valuable though ſmall addition to his country's dominions, atchieved by Lancaſter on his return from the Indies, fall within the compaſs of this volume. Elizabeth, the inſpirer and encourager of every adventure, had paid the laſt debt to nature before either veſſel (for they returned ſeparately) reached her coaſts.

Every tranſaction of importance to the commerce of England, during a period ſo intereſting to its riſe and progreſs, has now been cautiouſly traced. Other negotiations of the ſame date there are, but they have little or no reference to the ſubject. The miniſters of Edward VI. in the ſame treaty which ſold Boulogne to France, ſtipulated for a mutual intercourſe of trade. But this treaty was ſhort-lived, and does not ſeem to have been renewed in its commercial tendency, when a new one was brought forward in 1559. Diſputes on the African coaſt occaſioned a treaty with Portugal. Duties Treaties.

NOTES.

Going on ſhore with a party to ſearch for proviſions on an unknown iſland, thoſe on board baſely abandoned him, and left him, and moſt of their comrades, expoſed to hunger and wretchedneſs. Three years elapſed before the unfortunate captain, with a few of his men, whom famine had ſpared, could find their way back to England. [HAKLUYT.

* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv.

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which Elizabeth thought unreaſonable were ſometimes the cauſe of tranſient agreements with Denmark; and the only treaties not hitherto mentioned, thoſe with Holland, related to mutual defence, and not in the leaſt to matters of commerce or trade.

Manufactures.

The ſhort and unſettled reigns of Edward VI. and Mary I. produced [5] not that confidence in government which could tempt the opulent to ſupply manufactures with the neceſſary funds. Mary was indeed led by her love for an undeſerving huſband to treat her mercantile ſubjects with bitter injuſtice. She would aſk unreaſonable loans, and would revenge the denial by ſtopping exportation, and even by ſeizing the cloth which had been ſold to foreigners. Once ſhe raiſed 50,000l. by an extortion of this kind. The loſs of Calais, whence much cloth was exported into Flanders, hurt the woollen manufacture.

The activity with which the government of Elizabeth was inſpired, ſeems to have transfuſed itſelf into the breaſts of every rank among her people. We obſerve thoſe who had ſuperior powers diſtinguiſhing themſelves by voyages of diſcovery, by forming new commercial connections, and by endeavouring to plant colonies in diſtant climes. While thoſe whoſe abilities took a mechanical turn, enriched their country and themſelves by enlarging [6] the circle of its manufactures.

Knives.

That of knives *, now ſo widely extended, appears to have commenced in London A. D. 1563, under the auſpices of one Thomas Matthews of

NOTES.

[5] One act of Mary's ſterile adminiſtration deſerves to be excepted from the cenſure which, in general, it merits. She aboliſhed that part of the code of laws relative to the woollen trade, which prevented any perſon from making cloth, unleſs after having ſerved full ſeven years at the buſineſs. It appears ſtrange to read that her liberal-minded ſucceſſor ſhould have renewed a prohibition which is generally accounted impolitic by the adepts in the trade. It ſtill remains in force.

[6] Before the ſixteenth century ends, we find that luxury had obtained a firm footing in the houſe of the mechanic. 'We were ſhown,' ſays a traveller, 'at the houſe of Leonard Smith, a taylor, a moſt perfect looking-glaſs, ornamented with gold, pearls, ſilver, and velvet, ſo richly as to be eſtimated at 500 ecus de ſoleil.' [PAUL HENTZNER.

Add to this the evidence of Fynes Moryſon, who obſerves that, towards the cloſe of Elizabeth's reign, there were few among the better ſort of the Engliſh gentry and *traders* that had not cupboards of ſilver plate to the value of 200l.

* Preſent State of Great Britain, 1683, p. 77.

Fleet-bridge; this, however, was rather a revival than a new manufacture, since, in the days of Chaucer, Sheffield was, as it ſtill continues to be, famous for its cutlery. 'A Sheffield whittle bare he in his hoſe *.' Cent. XVI.

That of † needles [7] was commenced in 1566, and directed by Elias Grouſe, a German. Needles.

Felt hats were not made in England in 1571, as a ſtatute was then enacted which ordered an Engliſh woollen cap to be worn in preference by every perſon above the age of ſeven, on pain of forfeiting 3s. 4d. Ladies, lords, gentlewomen, &c. are excepted ‡. This reſtriction, we are told, had very little effect. Woollen caps.

The manufacture of glaſs had been probably brought to ſome perfection in London in 1575; for Holingſhed, after he has ſpoken of the deſtruction of a glaſs-houſe by fire, adds, 'the ſame houſe which had conſumed great quantities of wood in making fine drinking glaſſes, is now itſelf conſumed,' &c. &c §. Glaſs.

A loom for the weaving of ſilk ſtockings was erected in 1600, under the patronage of William Lee of St. John's College, Cambridge ‖. Silk ſtockings.

But nothing aided the progreſs of manufacture in England ſo much as her juſt and prudent attention to the perſecuted ſtrangers whom the bigotry of Spain expelled from their habitations. Some families had, in the days of Edward VI. quitted their homes, and followed their teachers to the Engliſh Flemiſh emigrants enrich England.

NOTES.

[7] Needles had appeared in Cheapſide during the reign of Mary. A Spaniſh negro had made them, but as he refuſed to diſcover his art, the nation received little benefit from him. The pin had been known in England ever ſince the cloſe of Henry VIII.'s reign; where it had afforded to the ladies a pleaſant ſubſtitute for ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, claſps, hooks and eyes, and ſkewers made of wood, braſs, ſilver, and gold. This minute implement was thought ſufficiently important to merit a parliamentary regulation. Accordingly, by 'ſtat. 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 13,' all 'pinnes' are prohibited from being ſold, unleſs they be 'double-headed, and have the heads ſoldered faſt to the ſhank of the pinne, well ſmoothed, the ſhank well ſhaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and ſharpened.' This long proceſs, which muſt have rendered the pin expenſive, was dropped in about three years, and the pin became what it now is. [STOWE, &c.

* Chaucer's Works. Reves Tale.
† Stowe's Chron. an. 1566.
‡ Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 19.
§ Chron. of England, p. 1261.
‖ Howel's Hiſt. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

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coaſt. Theſe had already erected their looms, when the acceſſion of Mary obliged them to purſue liberty of religious worſhip, to a colder climate.

With Elizabeth more liberality of ſentiment came forward, and ſome of the exiled ſtrangers returned. But it was to the wheels and gibbets of the Duke D'Alva that England is moſt indebted. Scared by his inhumanity, the Flemiſh manufacturers fled thither in ſhoals, and were received with humanity and hoſpitality. They repaid this politic kindneſs by peopling the decayed ſtreets of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colcheſter, Maidſtone, Southampton, and many other towns, with active and induſtrious weavers, dyers, cloth-dreſſers, linen-makers, ſilk throwſters, &c. They taught the making of bays, ſays, and other ſtuffs *; and many of their poſterity now enjoy large eſtates and reſpectable titles in the counties which, with ſo much good ſenſe, opened their arms to ſhield them from their purſuers. It was from this period that England may begin to date that ſuperiority in the works of art which has rendered her in the eighteenth century the market of Europe; and even extended the ſale of her manufactures to the ſavage ſhores of Kamſchatka †.

Fiſheries protected.

In a country interſected by numerous harbours, ſurrounded by a prolific ocean, and ſituated near large ſhoals abounding with cod, herrings, &c. it would have been unpardonable in the rulers to neglect that which would, at the ſame time, afford food for the natives, a deſirable article of commerce to ſtrangers, and the means of preſerving a naval ſuperiority over the reſt of the world.

Neither the adminiſtration of England or Scotland were blameable in this branch of their duty. In the former, we find not leſs than twelve ſtatutes paſſed during the reign of Elizabeth, all tending to the encouragement of the fiſheries on the Engliſh coaſt; and the fiſhermen appear to have been the only people of their rank who were, by an expreſs act of parliament ‡, exempted from the preſs, unleſs when pointed out by their county magiſtrates.

Tribute from Spain.

It ſhould not paſs unobſerved that, in 1553, Philip of Spain obtained a licence for his ſubjects to fiſh on the North coaſt of Ireland during twenty-one years, on conſideration of one thouſand pounds yearly; 'which ſum,'

* Meterani Hiſtoria Belgica, tom. iii. † Cook's laſt Voyage, vol. iii. p. 201.

‡ Stat. Eliz. 5. cap. 5, fo. 43.

writes

writes Sir J. Burroughs, 'was accordingly brought into the Exchequer of Ireland *.' Cent. XVI.

The importance of the Newfoundland fiſhery began to be known to the European ſtates about the middle of Elizabeth's reign. Hakluyt mentions the number of ſhips ſent by each nation in 1578. The Engliſh had but 15 ſhips on the banks, but they were ſtout and large, and gave law to the 100 Spaniſh, 50 Portugueſe, and 150 French veſſels which attended the fiſhery. They protected the whole fleet from pirates, and levied a tax in ſalt on each foreign bark for their good ſervices. Fiſhery at Newfoundland.

No progreſs, nay ſcarcely a beginning, was made in the whale-fiſhery under Elizabeth. That the Engliſh had little knowledge of the methods uſed in carrying it on, appears plainly from a paper in Hakluyt's Collection, dated 1575; wherein it is expreſsly directed, that the whole care of the enterpriſe ſhould be entruſted to Biſcayners, as the only perſons who underſtood the buſineſs †. Some whales were killed by theſe enterprizing Spaniards on the Newfoundland banks in 1578; but only for their blubber, as the value of whalebone was then unknown. Whale fiſhery ſcarcely known to the Engliſh.

In Scotland great and unremitted attention was paid to every kind of fiſhery; and the kinds were various. The white fiſh, which included cod, ling, and herring; the red fiſh or ſalmon, and the black fiſh, which ſeems to have been a kind of trout, were each protected by many and repeated ſtatutes. Some containing very particular rules for the ſalting ‡ and packing of the fiſh; ſome enjoining all manner of obſtructions to be removed which might prevent the free egreſs and regreſs of the ſalmon; and ſome to prevent the exportation of ſalt. It was alſo with a view of enlarging the fiſheries, as well as civilizing the inhabitants, that an act paſſed in 1597 for the building of three borough-towns § in Kintire, in Lochaber, and in the Iſle of Lewis. Yet, though ſuch attention was paid to the acquiſition of a commodity which conſtituted the moſt valuable of the Scottiſh exports, a due care was taken that the people of the country ſhould be ſerved before foreigners. On this account, and on that of preſerving to the king his cuſtoms, a ſtatute ‖, in 1578, orders all white fiſh to be brought to certain Scotland. Great attention paid to the fiſheries.

* Treatiſe on the Sovereignty of the Britiſh Seas, p. 80. † Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 413, 414.
‡ Stat. 141, Parl. 8 Jac. VI. § Stat. 267, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.
‖ Stat. 60, Parl. 5 Jac. VI.

free

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free ports in Scotland, and not to be ſold without examination by the proper officers.

Salt improved.

As the making of ſalt in the beſt manner was of the utmoſt conſequence to the exiſtence and ſucceſs of the fiſheries, the improvement of it was by no means neglected. Accordingly, in 1563, it was announced by parliament *, that 'certaine ſtrangers of excellent ingine' had brought a new and improved method of making ſalt into Scotland; and that, during fifty years, theſe perſons might make ſuch ſalt excluſively. It does not however appear that any great advantages attended on this invention.

Salt was ſo ſcarce and dear in 1573, that its exportation was prohibited † during three years 'at leaſt.'

Strictneſs as to meaſure of caſks.

To conclude this ſubject, too much praiſe can ſcarcely be given to the great attention paid by the legiſlature of Scotland, to the juſt and proper ſize of the barrels in which the ſalted fiſh were to be exported. Many ſtatutes are to be found on this ſubject in the Scottiſh code; particularly an effective one ‡ in the ſame year as that laſt mentioned.

England. Diſcoveries of countries.

Although thoſe Engliſh mariners who attempted to diſcover new lands, and ſuppoſed ſtraights, under the auſpices of Elizabeth, were uniformly unſucceſsful, they owed their ill-fortune neither to want of ſpirit or perſeverance.

Vain trials for a N.W. paſſage to India.

The earneſt wiſhes of the merchants prompted them to believe that there muſt be a nearer way to Japan, China, and the Eaſt-Indies, than the long and extraneous courſe round the Cape of Good Hope. It was to the North-Weſt that it was fancied this paſſage lay; and ſeveral of the firſt mariners of the age, Sir Humphry Gilbert, the Captains Frobiſher, Pet, and Jackſon, with many others, attempted it in vain.

And for one by the N. E.

Another paſſage to the ſame countries, leſs plauſible, but much ſhorter, had its ſupporters. It was ſuppoſed to lie on the North coaſt of Nova Zembla, and to reach China in a North-Eaſtern direction. The unfortunate Sir Hugh Willoughby had, in 1553, loſt his life in ſearching for this paſſage; but the moſt Northern port of Ruſſia had been diſcovered by his miſhap. Some other attempts were made on the ſame coaſt, particularly

* Stat. 71, Parl. 9 Qu. Marie. † Stat. 56, Parl. 4 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 57, Parl. 4 Jac. VI.

one

one by Captain Stephen Burroughs *, but without even a proſpect of ſucceſs; ſince the vaſt fields of ice which occupied the Northern ſea, effectually barred the paſſage. Cent. XVI.

The experience of two ages, which have paſſed ſince theſe unſucceſsful enterprizes, has proved that no ſuch paſſage exiſts to the North-Weſt; and, that that to the North-Eaſt, though exiſting, is totally blocked up with ice.

Theſe enterprizes were not totally fruitleſs. In 1567, Captain Frobiſher, in his purſuit of the North-Weſt paſſage, fell in with the ſtraights which lead to Hudſon's Bay, and diſcovered the Weſtern coaſt of Greenland †. Thence he brought a ſavage, and ten years afterwards a load of ſhining ores, whence it was generally ſuppoſed gold would be produced. Unfortunately, on a trial being made, the ores proved to be utterly worthleſs ‡; while the poor ſavage, unconſcious of the advantage of civilization, pined away through regret for his native ſnows [8]. Greenland, &c. diſcovered.

New Albion, or, as it is now called, California, was diſcovered in 1579 by Sir Francis Drake, while he was endeavouring to find a paſſage back from the South-Weſt coaſt of North America into the European ſeas. He took formal poſſeſſion of the country, which appeared to be an iſland, and erected a column to the honor of his queen. And New Albion.

A diſcovery of great uſe to mariners was made in 1602 by Captain Goſnold, an expert Engliſh ſeaman. He firſt found the way of croſſing the Atlantic to North America without deviating to the Weſt-Indies, and paſſing the dangerous Gulph of Florida §. Paſſage to America ſhortened.

The ſeaſon for planting colonies with ſucceſs was not yet arrived. A very able treatiſe had indeed been written on the ſubject, in 1582, by Captain Carliſle, the ſon-in-law of Sir Francis Walſingham. He had enlarged on the great advantages which colonies might bring to the mother country with Colonies attempted in America.

NOTES.

[8] There have been doubts formed concerning the abilities of thoſe to whom the examination of theſe promiſing ores were ſubmitted; and a ſtory is told of a quantity which chanced to be left untried; and which, many years afterwards, in the hands of a ſkilful chymiſt, produced pure gold. [CAMPBELL'S LIFE OF FROBISHER.

* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 282.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 26, 96.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 680, 681, 682.

§ Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 211.

art

Cent. XVI.

art and ſpirit, the conſumption of manufactures, employment for idle perſons, &c. &c. To prove his faith in his own reaſoning, Carliſle joined heartily with Sir Walter Raleigh * and others, in raiſing a fund which might enable a number of ſettlers to occupy lands in America; and Elizabeth readily granted a charter for ſo patriotic an undertaking. A voyage undertaken at this juncture by the Captains Amidas and Barlow (who ſucceſsfully traded with the American natives, and brought home pearls and the new luxury of tobacco), ſtrengthened the intereſt of the promiſing deſign. Accordingly the celebrated Sir Richard Grenville, in 1584, ſailed for the American coaſt, and ſettled a colony in a diſtrict which the maiden queen had honored by the name of Virginia. Her auſpices, however, availed little. Famine and diſcord aſſailed the new ſettlers as ſoon as Grenville had left them; and the very ſmall reſidue returned to England in 1585, entirely cured of all wiſhes for emigration †. This plan and thoſe of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for the ſettling Florida and Newfoundland [9], which proved equally abortive, completed the hiſtory of colonization during the days of Elizabeth.

Abortive.

Scotland.

The commerce of Scotland was not inconſiderable in 1544. Lord Herbert ſpeaks of the harbor of Leith as containing more riches 'than could have been eaſily imagined ‡.' And Drake relates, that not long after this, the Engliſh took twenty-four Scottiſh ſhips, fraught with rich merchandize, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries §.

The port of Leith rich.

Scottiſh commerce with Antwerp.

In the deſcription of the Netherlands, by Luigi Guiccardini, Antwerp, it is ſaid, 'has no great commerce with Scotland, as England and France

NOTES.

[9] The enterprizing knight, having obtained a patent, had ſailed to Newfonndland, and formally taken poſſeſſion of the iſland; he had even diſcovered, as he believed, a rich ſilver mine. He quitted the coaſt to fetch ſettlers from England, but was unhappily loſt in his paſſage. It was the romantic turn of this gallant officer's character which haſtened his end. He had fought in Ireland with great applauſe, and could not bear the whiſper which he believed to be circulated, 'that he was fearful at ſea.' To ſhew his firmneſs, he would ſail, in ſpite of his friends' intreaties, in his ſmalleſt ſhip; and ſunk beneath the tempeſtuous waves, calmly repeating to his men, 'Courage, my lads! we are as near to heaven by ſea as by land!' [Worthies of Devon. Hayes, apud Hakluyt.

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.

† Hiſt. of Virginia, apud Britiſh America, vol. i.

‡ Life of Henry VIII. p. 508

§ Drake's Hiſtoria Anglo Scotica, p. 351.

chiefly

chiefly ſupply her wants; yet Antwerp exports thither ſome ſpicery, ſugar, madder, wrought ſilks, camblet, ſerges, linen, and mercery. In return, Scotland ſends to Antwerp vaſt quantities of peltry of many kinds; leather, wool, and indifferent cloth; fine large pearls, though not equal to thoſe from the Eaſt.' Cent. XVI.

Stephen Perlet aſſerts that the Scots traded with Bourdeaux and Rochelle for wine, and carried merchandize from their own country, and not money, in return*. This is confirmed by an Engliſh traveller in the reign of Elizabeth, who ſays that the Eaſtern Scots exported to France (probably from Glaſgow, &c.) coarſe clothes, linen and woollen; wool, goat-ſkins, &c. and brought back from thence wines and ſalt†. And Bourdeaux.

Acts, to prevent the import or export of merchandize without paying the proper duty, are repeatedly inſerted in the Northern code. But in general the prohibition ſeems chiefly levelled at ſuch who either took wool or hides, unmanufactured, out of the realm. Coals, candles, and linen cloth, are ſometimes, with leſs good policy, included. Laws againſt contraband traders.

In 1581 the Weſtern coaſt of Scotland ſeems to have been infeſted with contraband traders; as an act of that year prohibited all trading, except at appointed harbours, on pain of confiſcation of ſhip and cargo‡.

The chief commercial intercouſe between Scotland and the continent was ſtill carried on through the medium of Campveere, a town in the United Provinces; and regulated by a conſervator, who had great powers allotted to him for that purpoſe. No leſs than ſix ſtatutes were framed in 1597, for the proper conduct of the trade, the oath to be taken by the traders, the duties to be levied, and the obedience and attention due to the conſervator§. The Scots exported little elſe than wool, hides, ſalmon and other ſalted fiſh in barrels, and a ſmall quantity of coal; for, ſo ill were the principles of mechaniſm underſtood, that to drain the water from the mines was thought impracticable [10]; and the government ſeems to have Regulation of trade with the Netherlands.

NOTES.

[10] The firſt engine for drawing water from mines in Scotland was invented by a predeceſſor of the Earls of Balcarras; and was ſecured to him by a patent from James VI. during twenty-one years. [ARNOT.

* Antiqu. Repertory, vol. i. p. 237.

† Fynes Moryſon's Itinerary, p. 155.

‡ Stat. 120, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

§ Stat. 259, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64. Parl. 15 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. been under perpetual terror leſt the coal ſhould fail or become unattainable by the nation. On this account the exportation was always diſcouraged, and in 1597 entirely prohibited.

Imports. The articles of importation from the Netherlands were innumerable: iron, lead, haberdaſher's ware, furniture, were among them; even wooden diſhes and cart-wheels. The purchaſe of ſpears and other military inſtruments was enjoined by government.

The lights which fall on the ſtate of Scottiſh manufactures in the ſixteenth century are very faint.

Manufactures little ſpoken of. A paper in the 'Tranſactions of the Scottiſh Antiquarian Society,' recounts the riſe of the Edinburgh corporations of 'Hammermen,' as happening in 1582. Particular circumſtances are added as to the gradual acceſſion of various branches of the trade, ſuch as the 'Dalmaſcars,' or ornamenters of ſword-blades, in the ſame year; the Gaird-makers in 1583, &c. Each ſubdiviſion, when it joined the general body, produced an eſſay of its art; and, from the account given in the paper above-mentioned, their performances of various kinds appear to have been ingenious and well-finiſhed; but no more is known, and the hiſtorian's beſt guides, the acts of parliament, are entirely ſilent as to any protection or encouragement to manufacturers. What few acts there are which affect any trades, are rather of a hoſtile ſort. An excluſive privilege to ſalt-makers, another to a ſilk-maker *; a ſtatute 'in favor of Goldſmiths,' has only its title printed †; but one in 1592, which forbids all 'craft' to be exerciſed in the ſuburbs of any burrow whatever ‡, muſt have been fatal to manufacturers, who generally chuſe the ſuburbs for their reſidence; or, more probably, proved that there were but few to annoy. It has been, indeed, already ſaid that, except ſalted fiſh, Scotland exported only the raw materials of trade, wool, hides, &c. Of conſequence it is not probable that ſhe had any flouriſhing manufactures.

No ſtatutes for their encouragement.

England. Inventions and improvements. Highways mended. In 1555 the firſt general ſtatute for mending the highways of the kingdom is to be found; ſurveyors are thereby ordered to be appointed, and labour to be done, as in the eighteenth century.

* Stat. 25, Parl. 7 Jac. VI. † Stat. 59, Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 156, Parl. 12 Jac. VI.

Inſurance

Cent. XVI.

Insurance of ships and goods.

Insurance of merchandize at sea, by a joint contribution of opulent traders, is first mentioned [11] by 'Luigi Guiccardini,' who published in 1560 'A Description of the Netherlands.' This salutary institution did not reach London until the close of the sixteenth century, when it soon acquired such importance as to demand the aid of a statute * towards its regulation.

Italian book-keeping.

The Italian method of book-keeping was taught in England by James Peele, A. D. 1569. His work, printed in the black letter, is still extant; and its instructions, although verbose, are practicable. The preface speaks of the art as new in England, but as having been long used by foreign merchants; and affirms that many merchants of London took instructions from him, and sent their apprentices to be taught.

London supplied with water.

In 1582 a supply of water was brought by Peter Morris, a freeman of London, to the highest part of the city. He laid pipes over the tower of St. Magnus.

New fruits and flowers introduced.

In the same year the currant bush from Zante, and the tulip from Vienna, were introduced to the soil and climate of England. The tulip had been known at Vienna but a little while. It came thither from Constantinople.

Chest at Chatham.

In 1588 'the Chest at Chatham' was established, which, by means of a small deduction from the pay of every seaman, provides an annual allowance for such as may chance to be wounded.

Weights and measures.

No attempt to place the important article of 'weights and measures' on an equal footing throughout the realm, appears. Strict regulations took place by statute, respecting the standard weight of goldsmith's work †, the measurement of leather ‡, the weight and measure of honey §, and a very few other things; but no general reformation was attempted.

NOTES.

[11] Yet we are told that all the policies of insurance made at Antwerp have a clause inserted to declare that their conditions, in case of dispute, shall be governed by the regulations usual in 'Lombard-street, London.' [MALYNES' LEX MERCATORIA.

* Eliz. 43, cap. 12.

† 19 Eliz. cap. 15.

‡ 1 Eliz. cap. 9.

§ 23 Eliz. cap. 8.

Cent. XVI.

Scotland.

There appears no conſiderable regulation in Scotland concerning 'weights and meaſures' during the latter part of the ſixteenth age, unleſs in the article of fiſh. But, probably, this might be rendered leſs neceſſary, as much attention had been paid to this ſubject by James the Fourth in an early part of the century *.

England.

Ships.

Until the reign of Elizabeth, few merchant-ſhips of conſiderable bulk were built in England; and thoſe adventurers who wiſhed to uſe large veſſels, bought them of the Hanſe-town ſhipwrights. Thus we find Captain Hawkins ſailing to America in the 'Jeſus of Lubeck,' the only large ſhip of his ſquadron.

Scarcity of Engliſh ſhips in 1599.

And, among the reaſons given for a ſtatute, in 1559, which permits imports and exports in foreign ſhips, is the deficiency of Engliſh veſſels to carry out the merchandize of their country †.

The active and adventurous Earl of Cumberland is celebrated as the firſt Engliſh ſubject who built a ſhip of 800 tons burthen ‡.

Increaſe of veſſels.

The merchant ſhips of England, although not large, ſoon became, towards the cloſe of the century, numerous, and did ſpecial ſervice to their country on many occaſions, particularly againſt the Spaniſh Armada in 1588. Size and bulk could not be expected in merchant veſſels, when Elizabeth herſelf, having engaged to ſupply the Dutch with thirty or forty ſhips of war, ſtipulates, that half of them ſhall bear 200 tons burthen, and the other half between 100 and 200 §.

Number of ſhips and men in the merchant ſervice, A. D. 1582.

In 1582 a kind of 'cenſus' was taken under the inſpection of the Lord Admiral Clinton, that the mercantile ſtrength of the nation might be properly eſtimated. It was then found that the merchants could ſupply the royal navy with 14,295 mariners, and 1293 ſhips, of which 217 were above 80 tons ‖.

Scotland.

That Scotland had many ſhips employed in the merchant's ſervice we are certain, although only from collateral accounts.

In September 1557, ſome ſhips of Hull took the admiral and the vice-admiral of the *merchant ſhips* of Scotland ¶. This implies a large fleet of trading veſſels.

* Stat. 96, Parl. 6 Jac. IV.

† Stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 8.

‡ Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 192.

§ Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 340.

‖ Sir W. Monſon's Tracts, apud Harleian Voyages, vol. iii. p. 248.

¶ Talbot Coll. of Letters at Herald-Office, No. 149.

The

The ſtatute enacted under James III. of Scotland (and which was often afterwards renewed), which forbad all merchant ſhips to tempt the danger of the ſeas 'between the feaſt of St. Simon and Jude, and Candlemaſs-day,' muſt have contributed to diſhearten the Northern ſeamen, by opening their eyes to a ſenſe of their danger in that tempeſtuous clime *. Both Sir Andrew Wood and Sir Patrick Spence [12], two of the moſt celebrated Scottiſh commanders, periſhed by ſtorms. Cent. XVI.

England. Bad ſtate of coin at the acceſſion of Edward VI.

That wretched debaſement of Engliſh coin, which the neceſſities of Henry VIII. unſatiated with the plunder of half his kingdom, had occaſioned, is believed to have given pain to the ſuſceptible mind of Edward VI. at the very early age when he received his crown.

His firſt coinage. His firſt coinage, nevertheleſs, emulated the worſt of his father's †. The pound of gold made thirty pounds in tale, though but twenty carats fine; and the pound of ſilver produced forty-eight ſhillings by tale, though but one-third fine. Thus every pound of fine ſilver made ſeven pounds four ſhillings in money; and the king's profit on each ſuch pound was four pounds four ſhillings.

Falſe coiners. As baſe money is moſt eaſily to be counterfeited, many falſe coiners were known to take advantage of the public calamity. Even one of the mint-maſters, Sir William Sherrington ‡, was attainted by confeſſion of

NOTES.

[12] Accordingly in an ancient ballad we find this veteran officer, much diſtreſſed on receiving orders to put to ſea in the winter ſeaſon.

'O, quha is this has done this deed,
This ill deed unto me?
To ſend me out this time o' zeir
To ſail upon the ſe?'

He was in conſequence caſt away; and the bard proceeds:

'Have owre, have owre to Aberdour!
Its fiftie fadom deip;
And their lies guid Sir Patrick Spence,
Wi' th' Scots lords at his feit.'

[RELIQUES OF ANCIENT POETRY, VOL. I.

* Stat. 15, Parl. 3 Jac. III. † Leake's Hiſt. Account of Engliſh Coins, p. 211.
‡ Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 17.

counter-

Cent. XVI. counterfeiting teſtoons [13] to the value of 2000l.; and Francis Digby *, a gentleman, was convicted of counterfeiting 'ſhillings, groats, rials, and crowns.'

Standard of gold improved.

In the third year of Edward, the ſtandard of gold was ſomewhat amended; and, in his fourth, it was brought to its original purity, viz. twenty-three carats, three grains and an half, fine, and half a grain alloy. But the ſilver grew worſe; for ſhillings were coined at the rate of ſeventy-two to the pound; and twelve ounces of fine ſilver were arbitrarily raiſed to the value of fourteen pounds eight ſhillings.

In the ſame year, however, the baſe money was lowered by proclamation, firſt to three-quarters, and then to half its nominal value †.

In 1551, crown and half-crown pieces of ſilver became for the firſt time current money; the ſixpenny piece too is believed then to have firſt appeared in England.

Silver coin ſomewhat purer.

The year 1552 witneſſed a great improvement in the ſilver coin. The pound, which contained eleven ounces, one penny-weight, fine, and nineteen penny-weights, alloy, was coined into no more than three pounds by tale. This was done by indenture ‡, and the ſilver threepence then made its firſt appearance.

Gold coin bought up.

The natural conſequence of good money floating along with baſe coin is, that the good will be bought up for melting, and muſt ſoon be loſt to the country. To prevent this cataſtrophe, which was approaching with haſty ſteps, ſevere puniſhments were denounced by parliament § againſt ſuch as ſhould 'exchange any coined gold or ſilver, receiving or paying more than the value placed on the ſame by the king.'

Some amendment under Queen Mary.

Queen Mary had no ſooner mounted the throne than ſhe ſought popularity, by iſſuing a proclamation which promiſed ſpeedy relief for the in-

NOTES.

[13] Sherrington had the command of the Briſtol mint, and ſupplied the Protector's brother with a large ſum of money. It is him of whom the good Latimer ſpeaks rather too favorably, when he mentions, in a ſermon, the reſtitution which a courtier had made. [LATIMER'S DISCOURSES.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 292.
† Stowe's Annals, p. 605, 606.
‡ Lownds, p. 47.
§ Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 19.

conveniences

conveniences which ſo much baſe coin had brought upon the nation; and announcing that 'ſhe had ordered her mints to form a coinage of ſilver, in fineneſs of the ſtandard ſterling; and of gold, in which the ſovereign was to value thirty ſhillings, the half-ſovereign or royal fifteen ſhillings, the angel ten, and the half-angel five. The ſilver coins were the groat, half-groat, and penny. Baſe money was directed to paſs at half its nominal value *.' But the 'ſtandard ſterling' here mentioned was not ſo fine as the old ſtandard by two penny-weights. Beſides, the baſe coin continued to be current; and, although reduced to half value, was exceedingly detrimental to the commerce and credit of the nation. Cent. XVI.

The attempts to free England from its abundant baſe money had, during the reigns of Edward and Mary, been laudable, though inſufficient. It was reſerved for the firm hand of Elizabeth to reſtore the true ſtandard to her coin and credit, in conſequence of the meaſure, to her country.

Elizabeth reforms the coin.

During the two firſt years of her active government ſhe coined ſo much money, both gold and ſilver, all of the right ſterling ſtandard, that ſhe found herſelf enabled to utter a proclamation, in 1560 †, by which the bad coin [14] was reduced to its real value; viz. the beſt teſtoon to fourpence halfpenny, the ſecond beſt to twopence farthing, and the third ſort to nothing; the old groat to twopence, &c. &c. And as this regulation was at firſt ſeverely felt by the holders of baſe money, the queen condeſcended, in her edict, to apologize for the meaſure, and to ſtate how far the honor of the nation was concerned in clearing from its currency that inundation of falſe coin which had overwhelmed its credit in foreign countries.

There was now a ſeparate mint in the Tower, to which the bad money was brought in heaps, as it was no longer the intereſt of the holders to keep it in circulation [15]. At the cloſe of 1561, when the operation of

NOTES.

[14] Camden affirms that the queen, ſometime before ſhe deſtroyed the bad coin, cauſed it all to be marked with 'a greyhound, a port cluſe, a lion, harp, roſe, or fleur de lys.' [REMAINES.

[15] All foreign coins were, at the ſame time, forbidden to be any longer current in England, and were ordered to be melted down, except only the Flemiſh, and the French golden

* Kennet's Queen Mary I. p. 335. Stowe's Annals, p. 616.

† Stowe's Annals, 1560.

Cent. XVI. of melting it all was completed, the following computation of the work and its coſt is given by Stowe *, who lived at the time:

Total of baſe money, 631,950 pound weight.

Which was current money, according to the rates of their ſeveral ſtandards, 638,113l. 13s. 6d.

Total of the maſs of fine monies, 244,416 pound weight.

Which is, in current money, at 60s. the pound weight, 183,248l.

The charges of coinage amounted to near 13,000l. [16].

Thanked by the nation.

'Next to the reformation of religion,' ſays an ingenious and accurate modern writer †, 'nothing could be more glorious or beneficial to the kingdom than the reformation of the money.' The parliament congratulated Elizabeth upon it; and it makes a ſtriking part of the laudatory inſcription on her tomb at Weſtminſter.

After ſhe had accompliſhed this great work, the queen proceeded to coin, from time to time, the neceſſary quantities of money to ſupply the

NOTES.

golden crown. Vaſt quantities of Spaniſh gold were, in conſequence of this order, brought to the mint; 2600l. was ſent in during one ſingle week. [STOWE'S ANNALS.

[16] Mr. Hume, on the authority of a MS. in the Paper Office, aſſerts that, to ſupply the neceſſary funds for the coinage, Elizabeth employed Greſham to borrow 200,000l. for her at Antwerp. He adds, that ſhe herſelf afterwards was ſo impolitic as to make an innovation in the coin in 1601, by dividing a pound of ſilver into *ſixty-two* ſhillings inſtead of *ſixty*, the former ſtandard. 'This,' he writes, 'was the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.' [HIST. OF THE TUDORS, VOL. II.

The table beneath, taken from Biſhop Fleetwood's 'Chronicon Pretioſum,' will ſhew at one view, all the variations of the coin during the ſixty years which have been the ſubject of this volume:

		Money by tale in a lb. Troy.	Fine ſilver in a lb. weight.		Alloy.	
		oz.	oz.	dwt.	oz.	dwt.
Laſt year of	Henry VIII.	48	4	0	8	0
3d	Edward VI.	72	6	0	6	3
5th		72	3	0	9	0
6th		60	11	1	0	19
1ſt	Mary I.	60	11	0	1	0
2d	Elizabeth	60	11	2	0	18
43d		62	11	8	0	18

* Survey of London, vol. i. p. 97, 98. † Leake's Hiſt. Account, p. 232.

currency of the kingdom; nor varied (except once, in the forty-third year of her reign, a very little) from the proper ſtandard. The goodneſs of the metal frequently tempted the eſſays of clippers; and in 1578, Jean de Loy, a Frenchman, and five Engliſh gentlemen *, were arraigned and executed for offences of this kind, in conſequence of a ſtatute † which had paſſed two years before, declaring clipping and coining to be treaſon. Cent. XVI. Puniſhment of clippers and coiners.

The judicious Dr. Davenant eſtimates the value of the ſilver coin in England at the death of Elizabeth at 2,500,000l. ſterling. If therefore, with Dr. Campbell ‡, we reckon the golden coin at 1,500,000l. more, the ſtock of coined money in the realm, at the acceſſion of James I. will amount to 4,000,000l. ſterling.

Scotland.

The death of James V. made a conſiderable alteration in the current money of Scotland. Groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies, are never mentioned in any ſubſequent ſtatutes. It is ſuppoſed that this was occaſioned by the riſe of ſilver in value, and by the new practice of the Scots; who, like their allies, the French [17], began to drop the ſmaller coins, and only name thoſe which were larger §. Change of coins after James V.

The ſtandard of money in Scotland had been continually varying. In the 16th of James V. 1529, a pound weight of gold, when coined, had produced 108 pounds of current money. But, under Mary of Guiſe's adminiſtration, A. D. 1556, a pound weight of gold, although the quantity of alloy was conſiderably increaſed, produced 144 pounds current money. In 1529, a pound weight of ſilver, when coined, produced 9l. 2s.; but, in 1556, it produced 13l. current money ‖.

The ſhort reign of Mary Stuart produced chiefly a coinage of teſtoons; a piece which anſwered in bulk and appearance to the Engliſh ſhilling, but had only one-fifth of its value. On her marriage with Lord Darnley ſhe ſtruck ſilver coins, which weighed each an ounce, and were impreſſed with two thiſtles, and 'Maria & Henricus, Dei Gra. R. & R. Scotorum.' The Coinage of Mary.

NOTES.

[17] 'Thus in France,' ſays Biſhop Nicholſon, 'the deniers periſhed and were forgotten, and the ſols and livres ſucceeded in their room.' [SCOT. HIST. LIBRARY.

* Stowe's Annals, p. 684.
† Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 1.
‡ Lives of Admirals, vol. i. p. 391.
§ Nic. Sc. Lib. p. 94.
‖ Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderſon's Diplom. p. 80.

Cent. XVI. reverſe of theſe pieces was remarkable; a tree (ſuppoſed to relate to a remarkable yew in the park of the Earl of Lenox, father to Darnley) crowned, and the motto 'Dat gloria vires.' The value of this coin was thirty ſhillings. There were others of twenty ſhillings, and ſome of ten, all with the ſame impreſſion *.

In 1563 it was found neceſſary to exert the powers of government, and, by two ſevere ſtatutes, to prevent the exporting bullion, and importing falſe coin from abroad †.' A coinage to no very great amount was executed in 1567, and the next four years [18].

Money debaſed under the regent Morton.

The profligate adminiſtration of Morton, in 1580, brought a ſudden increaſe of corruption on the Scottiſh coinage, which had already degenerated much from its purity. That unprincipled ſtateſman at once added a fourth part of alloy to every pound of ſilver; and the value of the coin ſunk in proportion. This was an evil which demanded an immediate remedy; and, in conſequence, ſoon after the fall of that regent ‡, a ſtatute paſſed, which, after enlarging much on the evil ſuffered throughout Scotland, by the high price of the laſt coinage of ſilver, prohibits the ſeven perſons there named, who had been entruſted with the coinage, to proceed any farther in it; and directs all that ſilver, to the weight of two hundred

Called in.

eleven ſtone, and ten pound weight, which had been coined, to be brought in again, and re-coined in 'ten ſhilling pieces of eleven-penny, fine [19], conteinand foure in the unce, havand on the ane ſide the portaiture of his majeſtie's bodie armed, with ane crown on his head, and ane ſword in his hand,'

NOTES.

[18] Among the coins of James VI. is found a ſilver piece, dated 1567, weighing an ounce, and valued at thirty ſhillings. It has impreſſed, a drawn ſword, with a crown on the point, circumſcribed with the celebrated ſpeech of Trajan, 'Pro me. Si merear, in me.' The choice of this motto is aſcribed to George Buchanan.

[19] By this expreſſion, 'eleven-penny, fine,' muſt be underſtood 'eleven ounces, fine, to a pound, Troy,' and not 'eleven penny-weights to an ounce;' ſince that ſuppoſition muſt not only leave the ſilver plate very baſe, but it would alſo be much diſproportioned to the fineneſs of the gold plate, which was fixed at twenty-two carats.

[Anderson's Origin of Commerce, Vol. II.

* Nic. Sc. Lib. p. 95.

† Stat. 69 & 70 Parl. 9 Qu. Mary.

‡ Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderſon's Diplom. p. 74.

hand,' &c. &c. * The king's maſter-coiner has this taſk impoſed upon him, and the 'Takkeſmen,' or coiners, are releaſed from their contracts. Cent. XVI.

In a ſubſequent ſtatute, which confirms certain regulations made at Dundee, great complaint is made of the ſcarcity and exorbitantly high price of gold and ſilver coin. A fixed value is therein appointed, which was on no account to be exceeded. Beſides this, all good ſubjects were encouraged to bring forward their plate, and ſend it to be coined at the mint; 'only the thretty-pennie thereof being retained for his majeſtie's profit †.' Value regulated.

The laſt notice taken of the Scottiſh coinage [20], before the acceſſion of James to the crown of England, appears to have been in 1600, in which a ſtatute paſſed ‡, promiſing that there ſhall be no alteration made in the value or fineneſs of the coin during that ſeſſion. Affirmed.

The price of ſilver, in ſpite of all endeavors to the contrary, continued to increaſe. Sixty ſhillings were paid for an ounce of that metal in 1603; and the 'mark pieces' coined in 1601, 2, 3, and 4, are proportioned in value to that rate. There were half-marks, quarter, and half-quarter marks alſo coined; the laſt was the ſmalleſt ſilver piece (as Biſhop Nicolſon thinks) ever minted in Scotland. It value was, in 1603, twenty pence Scots, and about three halfpence Engliſh. And theſe 'marks,' with their ſub-diviſions, were the laſt pieces coined by James VI. before he quitted Edinburgh to aſcend the throne of England §. High price of ſilver, A. D. 1603.

England.

It appears, by the very exact memorials compiled by Biſhop Fleetwood, that, in 1550, wheat and oats were at the average price of eight ſhillings the quarter; malt five ſhillings and a penny; Malmſey wine fourpence the quart; a load of ſtraw five ſhillings, and of charcoal twelve; ſea-coal was not commonly uſed. Rate of living, A. D. 1550.

From this one might ſuppoſe the coſt of living to be then at leaſt five times cheaper than in the eighteenth century; yet the extreme debaſement of the coin, in 1550, obſtructs the calculation.

NOTES.

[20] In 1597, the proportion of Scottiſh money to that of England was as ten to one; the Scots having in that year coined fifty ſhillings from an ounce of ſilver, and thirty pounds out of an ounce of gold.

[RUDDIMAN'S PREFACE TO 'DIPLOMATA & NUMISMATA,' &c.

* Stat. 106, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.
† Stat. 253, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.
‡ Stat. 9, Parl. 16 Jac. VI.
§ Nic. Scot. Hiſt. Lib. p. 97.

Cent. XVI.

Houſe rent was cheap in proportion. The comptroller of the king's houſehold occupied at the ſame period a manſion in Channel-Row, Weſtminſter, near Whitehall, at the yearly rent of thirty ſhillings *.

A. D. 1559. In 1559, the phyſician in ordinary of Elizabeth † had a penſion of one hundred pounds per annum, beſides diet, wine, wax, &c. The profeſſorſhips at both univerſities continued at forty pounds a year, as in the days of Henry VIII.; but, as the money had been reformed by the queen, the amount was really much greater than it had been. Wheat was ſold then at nearly eight ſhillings the quarter; a load of hay coſt twelve ſhillings and ſixpence; and Bourdeaux wine was bought at fifty ſhillings the hogſhead.

A. D. 1594. Towards the cloſe of the century it was enacted, that wheat ‡ might be exported when not more than twenty ſhillings the quarter; peas and beans thirteen ſhillings and fourpence; and barley and malt twelve ſhillings. As theſe were certainly looked on as moderate prices for the commodities, it may reaſonably be ſaid that the ſame ſum of money would purchaſe, in 1594, four times as much of the neceſſaries of life as it would do in 1794. A difference eaſily to be accounted for, from the ſubſequent increaſe of population and of coin.

In the ſame year the queen fixes the ſalary of her 'Keeper of the royal library, at Whitehall,' at 13l. 6s. 8d. per annum §; a ſum nearly equal to ſixty pounds in the eighteenth century.

Scotland.

Rate of living, A. D. 1551.

The price of proviſions in Scotland, as ſettled by parliament in 1551 ‖, was very moderate, when the difference between the current money of the ſiſter-nations is conſidered, which ſeems to have been at that period pretty nearly as one Engliſh pound to four [21] Scottiſh.

The ſwan and the crane are prized at 5s.; the black game 6d.; a tame gooſe 16d.; a capon 12d.; a common fowl 8d.; a chicken 4d.; and a pig 1s. 6d. Wines had alſo their allotted price: Bourdeaux wine was limited

NOTES.

[21] By a record in the Fœdera it appears that, only eight years before, the ſettlement on the Lady Margaret Douglas, the niece of Henry VIII. was 6800 marks Scottiſh money, or 1700 marks ſterling; a difference of about four pounds to one.

* Life of Sir Thomas Smith, apud Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 86.

† Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 532.

‡ Stat. 35 Eliz. cap. 7.

§ Rym. Fœd. vol. xvi. p. 264.

‖ Stat, 12, Parl. 5 Qu. Marie.

to

to 16l. the ton, or 8d. the pint; and wine of Rochelle to 13l. the ton, and 6d. the pint. Cent. XVI.

In 1584 a life-guard of forty ſoldiers was raiſed for the * protection of the king's perſon; to each of theſe was appointed a ſtipend [22] of 200l. per annum, amounting at that time to little more than twenty-five pounds Engliſh; ſo much had the money of Scotland decreaſed in its value. Stipends of life-guards men.

At the ſame period the ſtipends of preachers throughout Scotland were varied from 400l. down to 100l.; that is, from about 100l. ſterling to 25l.; and ſome few produced only 16l. 10s. per annum †. Of clergymen.

The venerable but ill-founded prejudices againſt the lending of money for intereſt, continuing to operate during the ſixteenth century, produced in England repeated ſtatutes to condemn and endeavour the abolition of that practice. The good ſenſe of Elizabeth ſoon diſcerned the neceſſity and uſe to the community, of the only means which could induce the miſer to unlock his treaſures, and permit them to rove abroad to the encouragement of the bold adventurer and the induſtrious trader. Accordingly, an act paſſed in 1571 which, after bitter denunciations againſt 'uſury,' permits money to be borrowed and lent at the rate of ten per cent. per annum ‡. England. Intereſt of money. Ten per cent. allowed by ſtatute.

The ſame conſideration induced the legiſlature of Scotland, by two ſucceſſive acts, to allow the ſame intereſt, ten per cent, to be taken in the Northern diſtrict of the iſland §. The ſame in Scotland.

NOTES.

[22] It is an odd circumſtance that the king ſhould order the firſt fruits of church-benefices, and the produce of vacant livings, to be ſet aſide expreſsly for a fund for the payment of this guard. [ACT ABOVE CITED.

* Stat. 137, Parl. 8 Jac. VI. † Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 97.

‡ 13 Eliz. cap. 8. § Stat. 251, Parl. 15 Jac. VI. and Stat. 7, Parl. 16 Jac. VI.

HIS-

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. VII.—PART II.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, VIRTUES, VICES, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS, LANGUAGE, DRESS, DIET, AND DIVERSIONS, OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO THAT OF JAMES I. AND VI. A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.

Character of the Engliſh under Elizabeth.

THERE is no epoch in the Hiſtory of England which merits ſo much and ſuch accurate conſideration as to character and manners as that now before the reader. He will find himſelf, when he contemplates the reign of Elizabeth, unleſs he is ſomewhat more than a ſuperficial obſerver, equally deceived in his idea of the queen and of her people; and, dazzled with the brilliant glory of the one, and the romantic bravery of the other, will paint to himſelf a faultleſs monarch at the head of a ſimple, virtuous, invincible nation.

We

Cent. XVI.

We have already ſat in judgment on Elizabeth; her magnanimity has met its due praiſe, her deſpotiſm and caprice their cenſures; the nature of thoſe whom ſhe governed is now to be inveſtigated. Fortunately, the turn of the age led to 'vindications, letters, papers, apophthegms,' &c. which have furniſhed as ample materials for an account of the manners of the people, as are afforded by the chronicles of the day for their political hiſtory.

The period now treated of is not in general favorable to the Engliſh character. Conſtancy of ſentiment, in the days of Mary, was, indeed, the juſt praiſe of many martyrs; but the majority of the nation changed its faith four times in twenty years, without a thought of remorſe.

Religion.

The religion of Elizabeth's reign was all in extremes. On the one ſide fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition; on the other ſourneſs and hypocritical parade. If *theſe* were pompous beyond reaſon in their worſhip, *thoſe* were ſullen and ſlovenly. Both Papiſt and Puritan, when uppermoſt, made uſe of perſecution. But there the Proteſtant party ſhewed moſt moderation; 'becauſe,' writes a ſarcaſtic author, 'they were leſs governed by the prieſthood than the Roman Catholics.'

Bravery.

Undaunted valor, and a forward ſpirit of enterprize, diſtinguiſhed the ſoldier and the mariner of Elizabeth; ſubordination appears not to have marked his character.

Activity.

'They * are powerful in the field,' ſays Paul Hentzner, 'ſucceſsful againſt their enemies, and impatient of any thing like ſlavery.'

Unjuſt charge of piracy.

'They † are,' he adds, 'good ſailors, and better pirates [1].' And Fynes Moryſon, in his travels on the continent ‡, avers, that ſuch was the general opinion of the Germans; 'for that which we call "warre at ſea," and "the royal navy," they terme "robbery and pirate ſhips," neither have they patience to hear any juſtification or excuſe.' Scaliger, too, joins in this calumny; 'Nulli melius piraticum exercent quam Angli §.'

NOTES.

[1] Conceit had ſtation among the follies of the Engliſh; for the obſervant German traveller adds, 'If they ſee a foreigner particularly well made and handſome, they ſay, "it is pity he is not an Engliſhman!"' [HENTZNER.

* Hentzner, apud Fugitive Pieces, vol. ii. p. 301. † Ibid. p. 300.

‡ F. Moryſon, part i. p. 37. § Scaligerana, p. 226.

This

This cenſure was unjuſt. The Engliſh only plundered thoſe who were at open war with their nation; and they treated their priſoners with humanity. It may however be ſaid, with too much appearance of truth, that the predatory enterprizes againſt the almoſt defenceleſs Spaniſh coloniſts, headed by younger brothers or needy elder ones, tended little to increaſe the ſtock of national honeſty. Cent. XVI.

The picture which Biſhop Latimer draws of his own times is odious; the corruption of each judge; murtherers unpuniſhed [2]; adultery [3], covetouſneſs, bribery, inſolence to the poor, and neglect of paying their wages [4]; theſe were, according to the good prelate, the prominent features of his day. Some allowance muſt, however, be made for the excuſable exaggeration of a zealous orator; ſtriving to awaken and terrify an infant king, and a greedy, indolent, ſelf-intereſted miniſtry. Latimer's character of the age.

To the vices of the age, the ſway of Mary added bigotry and inhumanity; But theſe were the crimes of a few, and affected not the national character.

Among the favorites of Elizabeth, beſides the moſt extreme ſervility, there was to be found ſo rank a crop of envy, that it choked the faireſt plants; the minds of Nottingham, Raleigh, even of Eſſex, abounded with this vile weed. Envy thrives at court.

Thoſe who have been accuſtomed to hear of the hardy manners of Elizabeth's age, will wonder at the following remark of Dr. Caius, which charges thoſe fancied patterns of ſturdy manlineſs with effeminate delicacy; Effeminacy.

NOTES.

[2] 'A ſearcher in London diſpleaſed a merchant: they had words, and the merchant kills him. They that told me this tale ſay it is winked at; they look through their fingers and will not ſee it; whether it is taken up with a pardon or not,' &c. &c.
[LATIMER'S SERMONS.

[3] The ſoureſt of ſatiriſts, Philip Stubs, charges the gentlewomen of London, in the moſt groſs terms, with poſſeſſing gardens in the ſuburbs, walled round and locked up; but provided with arbors, bowers, turrets, and banqueting-rooms, for the reception of their paramours. [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

[4] 'For the love of God let poor workmen be paid! They make their moan that they can get no money; the poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-men, bow-makers, arrow-makers, ſmiths, carpenters, and other crafts, cry for their wages. They be unpaid, ſome of them three or four months, ſome of them half a year,' &c. [LATIMER'S SERMONS.

Cent. XVI.

'The olde manly hardineſs, ſtoute courage, and painfulneſs of Englande, is utterly driven away; in the ſteade whereof men now-a-daies receive womanlineſs [5], and become nice; not able to withſtande a blaſte of wynde, &c *.'

The faſhion of revenging private wrongs by ſomewhat very like aſſaſſination, was too common among the great as well as the inferior ranks of ſociety [6].

Other vices and follies prevalent.

The memoirs of Cary, Earl of Monmouth, afford an inſtance of the prevalence of gaming at the court of Elizabeth. 'I had no mind,' ſays he, 'to ſtay in the court; but having given out ſome money to go on foot in twelve days to Berwick, I performed it that ſummer, which was worth to me two thouſand pounds; which bettered me to live at court a good while after †.'

NOTES.

[5] That, however, the court ladies could in their turn put on *manlineſs*, we have a ſtriking inſtance in Mr. Lodge's intereſting and curious 'Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory.' Mary, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, in conſequence of a quarrel between the family of Cavendiſh (to which ſhe belonged) and that of Stanhope, ſent in 1592 the following meſſage to Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford, by a ſpecial perſon; who declared, when he delivered it, that if he erred in any thing, it was 'in ſpeaking it more mildly, and not in terms of ſuch diſdain as he was commanded. My lady has commanded me to ſay thus much to you, "That though you be more wretched, vile, and miſerable than any creature living; and, for your wickedneſs, be become more ugly in ſhape than the vileſt toad in the world; and one to whom none of reputation would vouchſafe to ſend any meſſage; yet ſhe hath thought good to ſend thus much to you; that ſhe be contented that you ſhould live (and doth no waies wiſh your death), but to this end, that all the plagues and miſeries that may befall any man, may light on ſuch a caitiff as you are; and that you ſhould live to have all your friends forſake you; and, without your great repentance (which ſhe looketh not for becauſe your life has been ſo bad), you will be damned perpetually in hell fire." With many other opprobrious and hateful words, which could not be remembered, becauſe the bearer would deliver it but once, as he ſaid he was commanded.'

[6] In a letter from Mr. Gilbert Talbot to the Earl of Shrewſbury, dated February 13, 1578, an account is given of 'one Wyndam, who ſhott at my Lord Rytche' while riding in the ſtreets; and of Lodowyke Grevell's attack on Sir John Conwaye (in the ſtreet alſo), firſt with a 'cougell,' wherewith he ſtunned him; and then with a ſword while he lay on the ground. 'I am forced,' ſays the letter writer, 'to trouble your honor wyth theſe *tryflynge matters*, ſince I know of no greater.' It was a ſavage age when theſe matters were accounted 'tryflynge.' [LODGE'S ILLUSTRATIONS.

* The Booke of Counſeil, &c. by Dr. John Caius, fol. 23. † Cary's Mem. p. 24.

The probity of the inferior people appears in no favourable light, nor did the adminiſtration of the police [7] contribute much to the extirpation of profligacy. Cent. XVI.

Drinking had its votaries in abundance. Much time was ſpent by the citizens of London at their numerous [8] taverns. In the country, if a bitter writer of the time * may find credit, every public houſe was crowded from morn to night with determined drunkards. Drunkenneſs.

Camden, who allows the increaſe of drunkenneſs [9] among the Engliſh, imputes it to their familiarity with the Flemings in the Low Country wars.

The

NOTES.

[7] 'The thirſt after this authority,' ſays the Lord Keeper, ſpeaking of country magiſtrates, 'proceedeth from nothing but an ambitious humour of gaining of reputation among their neighbours; that ſtill, when they come home, they may be preſented with preſents.' [TOWNSHEND'S HIST. COLLECTIONS.

[8] The taverns of London were many and much frequented. An old bard has favored us with a liſt of them in 'Newes from Bartholomew Fayre,' a black letter poem, the title-page of which is torn off:

'There hath been great ſale and utterance of wine,
Beſides beere, and ale, and ipocras fine,
In every country, region, and nation—
But chiefly in Billingſgate, at the Salutation;
And the Bore's Head near London ſtone;
The Swan at Dowgate, a taverne well knowne;
The Miter in Cheape; and then the Bull Head;
And many like places that make noſes red;
Th' Bore's Head in Old Fiſh-ſtreet, Three Crowns in the Vintry;
And now, of late, St. Martin's in the Sentree;
The Windmill in Lothbury; the Ship at th' Exchange,
King's Head in New Fiſh Street, where royſters do range;
The Mermaid in Cornhill; Red Lion in the Strand,
Three Tuns Newgate Market; Old Fiſh Street at the Swan.'

[ANNOTATIONS ON OLD PLAYS.

[9] Among other ſatires on the Engliſh propenſity to drink, we find Gaſcoygne's 'Delicate Dyet for daintie-mouthed Droonkards.' 'The Almaynes,' ſays he, 'with their ſmale Rheniſh wine, are contented; but we muſt have March beere, double beere, dagger ale,

* Stubs' Anatomie of Abuſe, p. 73.

Cent. XVI.

Swearing.

The practice of perpetual ſwearing [10] can only ſeek for extenuation in recurring to the general cuſtom of Europe.

Credulity.

Credulity reigned throughout Great Britain with unlimited ſway. But this was the favorite folly of Europe; and when the firm mind of Elizabeth could deſcend to court the ſcience of * Dr. Dee; and while the column uſed by the wicked, wiſe, and accompliſhed Catharine di Medicis to conſult her mages, ſtill exiſts; we muſt not wonder at the 'chriſtened cat †' of James, nor the entire belief of witchcraft, both in England and Scotland, in the ſixteenth century.

That we may not judge too hardly of the Engliſh from the foregoing picture of their manners, it were but juſt to compare their faults with thoſe of the other Europeans of the ſixteenth century. Inhumanity and rapacity will then be found to have ruled the continent; and the maſſacres of France, the gibbets and wheels of the Netherlands, the aſſaſſinations countenanced by Spain, and the poiſonings encouraged in many Italian ſtates, will hide the foibles of Great Britain, in their gloomy and murtherous ſhade.

NOTES.

ale, bracket, &c. &c. Yea, wine itſelf is not ſufficient, but ſugar, lemons, and ſpices, muſt be drowned thereinne!' He proceeds to execrate the folly of permitting the wife, &c. to follow her mate to the alehouſe, and even to invoke her as a pretence for a bumper. 'Before your maiſtreſſe and my beloved wife, pledge me this cup full.'

[10] The example ſet by the ſovereign certainly had ſome effect. Elizabeth never ſpared an oath in public ſpeech or private converſation when ſhe thought it added energy. See 'Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ,' &c. &c. The wretched French prieſt who ſaw England in 1553, adds his blundering teſtimony, 'In their cups they will ſwear "blood and death" that you ſhall drink, &c. ſaying, "Bi God, drink iou, goud ouin."

[VOYAGE D'ESTIENNE PERLIN.

The ſtage (which always preſents the trueſt picture of the times) produces, in Gammer Gurton's Needle, a clown, of not more than common brutality, who ſwears by Gog's 'bones,' 'ſoule,' 'harte,' 'breade,' 'ſacrament,' 'woundes,' and 'maliſon,' all within two ſhort ſcenes. DODSLEY'S OLD PLAYS, VOL. II.

'If they ſpeake,' writes the bitter Stubs, ſpeaking of the Engliſh, 'but three or four words, yet they muſt be interlaced with a bloudie oath or two.'

[ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

* Berkenhout's Biography, p. 425, note c. † See before, p. 197.

In

In point of national character, the Scots ſeem, in the latter half of the ſixteenth century, to have had the advantage of their Southern neighbours. Their zeal for religion was ſincere, although inconſiderately fervent; and their blind attachment to their teachers ſprung from a laudable eagerneſs to hear their doctrines uninterruptedly. Cent. XVI. Scotland. National character.

The ſpirit of Chivalry had reigned, a very ſhort time before the reformation, as decidedly in Scotland as in any part of Europe; and the war which James IV. waged againſt his brother-in-law, Henry VIII. had no foundation except his romantic and fancied attachment to the Queen of France, 'whom he had never ſeen, and yet whoſe letters' (as his conſort, Margaret of England, tenderly urged) 'had more influence on his conduct than the tears of his wife, and the remonſtrances of his people *.' Spirit of chivalry.

At length the long peace which followed the acceſſion of Elizabeth to the Engliſh throne, and which terminated in a fœderal union of the ſiſter kingdoms, in ſome degree changed the manners of the Scots; directed that ferocious valor which uſed to harraſs their rival neighbours againſt each one's domeſtic foe; and kindled among the once-peaceable diſtricts a ſpirit of revenge and plunder which had hitherto only been known to the borderers, or the leaſt civilized highland clans. Murthers [11] and conflagrations, the natural conſequence of deadly feuds, were now too often perpetrated; nor could the weak efforts of the pacific James VI. protect the houſes and families of his ſubjects. Peace abroad produces ſanguinary home diſſentions.

It was rather among the lower than the higher orders of ſociety that virtue was to be ſought in the North. The men of rank were almoſt uniformly unprincipled, ambitious, and corrupt. There was a race run be- Corruption of the great.

NOTES.

[11] The practice of aſſaſſination, it ſhould be obſerved, conveyed not, in the ſixteenth age, that idea of horror which modern times have annexed to it. Buchanan relates the murthers of Cardinal Beatoun, and of Rizzio, without expreſſing thoſe feelings which ſeem natural to a man, or that indignation which became a hiſtorian. Knox too talks of the death of Beatoun, and of the Duke of Guiſe, not only without cenſure, but with exultation. On the other hand, Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, mentions the aſſaſſination of the Earl of Murray with ſome degree of applauſe; and Blackwood dwells upon it with the moſt indecent triumph, and aſcribes it directly to the hand of God.

[ROBERTSON'S HIST. OF SCOTLAND.

* Drummond's Sc. Hiſt. p. 72, 74.

tween

Cent. XVI. tween the favorites and miniſters of James VI. for the gold of Elizabeth; gold which was avowedly laviſhed on theſe deſpicable beings to procure the moſt important ſecrets of State.

Charity well regulated. A general exerciſe of brotherhood, and of that charity which relieves the needy, muſt be allowed to the Scots, who maintained their poor by voluntary contributions, not by legal aſſeſſments. But of the other ſpecies of charity, which makes allowance for thoſe of a different faith, the nation was deſtitute. And thoſe, whether Epiſcopalians or Papiſts, who differed in their ſentiments from the tenets of the national church, were ſtigmatized from the pulpits as 'children of the devil.'

All ranks given to drinking. One exceſs, that of the bottle, the Scots were perhaps introduced to by their exerciſe of hoſpitality. A traveller, who ſpeaks kindly of his reception in the North, points out the courtiers, the country gentlemen, and the merchants, as hearty votaries to the cauſe of drinking*.

Credulous as to witches, &c. Credulity, ſupported by ridiculous traditions, was as much the foible of the age as were bigotry and narrowneſs of mind [12]. The Scots were no more exempted from this imbecility than their Southern neighbours [13]. We

NOTES.

[12] Perhaps the moſt ungenerous inſtance of narrow ſentiment that ever ſullied the annals of a corporation is the following; which can indeed only be parallelled by that act of Henry VIII. of England, which rendered the moſt delicate of concealments treaſon, in any lady whom he might court.

The common council of Edinburgh enacted, in 1583 (as it ſtands in the 7th volume of their council-book), that whereas hitherto the freedom of the city had been the portion of the daughters of each citizen; now, if ſuch unmarried daughters were not reputed pure virgins at the time of their marriage, they and their huſbands ſhould forfeit their right to any ſuch freedom. [MAITLAND'S EDINBURGH.

[13] On all the old houſes ſtill exiſting in Edinburgh there are remains of taliſmanic or cabaliſtical characters, which the ſuperſtition of earlier ages had cauſed to be engraven on their fronts. Theſe were generally compoſed of ſome text of ſcripture, of the name of God, or perhaps of an emblematic repreſentation of the reſurrection.

[ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.

Nor were the inhabitants of the country leſs diſpoſed to ſuperſtition than thoſe of the capital, although they ſeem to have varied in their choice of a protector, as the following anecdotes will prove:

In 1594, the elders of the Scottiſh church exerted their utmoſt influence to aboliſh an irrational cuſtom among the huſbandmen, which, with ſome reaſon, gave great offence. The

* Fynes Moryſon's Itinerary, p. 56.

We find, in 1560, Robert Henderſon, a ſurgeon, receiving from the Scottiſh council twenty marks for reſtoring to life a man and woman run through the bodies by the French, and a woman who had lain two days in her grave *. Cent. XVI.

Witchcraft was made a capital crime very early after the reformation †. That practice was indeed, under one name or another, in univerſal credit throughout Europe. It flouriſhed moſt in the North, where there were 'matron-like witches, and ignorant witches.' It was to one of the ſuperior ſort that Satan, being preſſed to kill James VI. thus excuſed himſelf in French, 'Il eſt homme de Dieu ‡.'

England. The language neglected.

It was peculiarly unfortunate for the Engliſh tongue that, for a long ſpace after the invention of printing, every perſon who aimed at diſplaying his powers of writing, thought that he muſt uſe the Latin tongue in his compoſitions. Accordingly, the vernacular ſtyle, inſtead of being ſtrengthened and refined by numerous compoſitions, was only corrupted with new barbariſms, for want of that attention and practice which it might fairly claim from Engliſhmen. The judicious hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry thinks that ('except § Sir Thomas More, whoſe "Dialogue of Tribulation," and "Hiſtory of Richard III." were eſteemed ſtandards of ſtyle as low as the reign of James I.) Roger Aſcham was perhaps the firſt of our ſcholars who ventured to break the ſhackles of latinity, by publiſhing his "Toxophilus" in Engliſh; chiefly with a view of giving a pure and correct model of Engliſh compoſition, or rather of ſhewing how a ſubject might be treated with grace and propriety in Engliſh as well as Latin.' It appears, however, that the art of writing well in Engliſh was attended to in ſome degree in 1553,

NOTES.

The farmers were apt to leave a portion of their land untilled and uncropt year after year. This ſpot was ſuppoſed to be dedicated to Satan, and was ſtyled 'The good man's croft,' viz. 'the landlord's acre.' It ſeems probable that ſome pagan ceremony had given riſe to ſo ſtrange a ſuperſtition. [BOOK OF UNIVERSAL KIRK, APUD ARNOT.

* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 24, from the Council-Book.

† Stat. 73, Parl. 9 Maria. ‡ Spotiſwood, p. 384.

§ Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 329.

ſince

Cent. XVI.

Dr. Wilson's book on rhetoric.

since Dr. Thomas Wilson [14], the interesting author of a 'Treatise on Rhetoric,' published at that period these remarks: 'When we have learned usuall and accustomable wordes to set foorthe our meaninge, we ought to join them together in apte order, that the eare may delite in hearynge the harmonie. I know some Englishmen,' he proceeds to say, 'that in this poinct have such a gifte in the Englishe, as fewe in Latine have the lyke; and therefore delite the wise and learned so muche with their plesaunte composition, that many rejoice when they maye heare suche, and thynke muche learninge is gotte when thei maie talke with them.' He owns, however, that faults were sometimes to be found in English compositions, and

Alliteration.

particularly censures the excess of alliteration; 'Some,' says he, 'use overmuche repetition of one letter, as "pitifull povertie prayeth for a penie, but puffed presumpcion passeth not a poynct; pampering his panche with pestilent pleasure, procuring his passeporte to poste it to hell pitte,

Rhyme improperly introduced.

there to be punished with paynes perpetuall." Others he blames for the affectation of 'ending their sentences all alike; making their talk rather to appear rymed metre, than to seme plaine speache.' One preacher he heard who had not a dozen sentences in his whole sermon but what ended in rhyme. So that 'some, not the best disposed, wished the preacher a lute; that soe with his rymed sermon he mighte use some plesaunte melodie; and so the people might take pleasure divers waies, and daunce if they liste *.'

These intelligent remarks describe plainly enough the convulsive throes of a manly, expressive language, struggling to produce sense and gracefulness, but ill assisted by her literary gossips.

NOTES.

[14] Dr. Wilson was bred at King's College, Cambridge, where he was tutor to the two sons of the Duke of Suffolk, who fell by the sweating sickness. After narrowly escaping the snares of the Inquisition at Rome, he was much employed by Elizabeth in embassies and other state business, and became Dean of Durham, secretary of state, and privy counsellor. He died in 1581. He used uncommon dispatch in public business, and had a singular strength of memory. Seven orations of Demosthenes were by him translated into the English language. [Hist. of Poetry.

* Wilson on Rhetoric, fol. 85, 86.

The

The Engliſh tongue wanted not for miſleaders, ſhaded by the plauſible cloak of improvement. Cent. XVI.

In Elizabeth's reign the taſte of ſpeaking the language (if not of writing it) had nearly been led away, from ſtrength and dignity to accumulated Antitheſis, by one John Lilly; whoſe pedantic compoſitions ſo infected the court, that it became the faſhion, among people of politeneſs, to ſtudy and imitate his turgid meaſure. Of the merit which attracted theſe imitators let the following extract bear witneſs. Antitheſis. John Lilly

'He cauſed the ſees to breake their boundes, ſith men had broke their vowes; and to ſwell as farre above their reach, as men had ſwerved beyond their reaſon. Then might you ſee ſhippes ſayle where ſheepe fed; anchors caſt where ploughes goe; fiſhermen throwe their nets where huſbandmen ſowe their corne; and fiſhes throwe their ſcales where fowles do breed their quilles.'

Yet it was of this unnatural bombaſtic writer that Mr. Blount (no deſpicable author) ridiculouſly ſays, in his 'Epiſtle Dedicatorie,' 'For this poet ſate at the ſunne's table; Apollo gave him a wreath of his own bayes without ſnatching; the lyre he played on had no borrowed ſtringes.' 'She,' he adds, 'who could not "parles Euphuiſm," was as little regarded as ſhe who cannot ſpeak French.' In this he referred to a book of Lilly, entitled, 'Euphues and his England,' ſcarcely to be parallelled for antitheſis, alliteration, and abſurdity. Ridiculouſly commended.

The many extracts from Scottiſh poets and proſe writers, which have accompanied the paſt hiſtory, render any deſcription of the language uſeleſs. The men of northern ſhires of England, and the lowlands of Scotland, ſpoke a dialect which, being derived from the Saxon tongue, was nearly the ſame. The Highlanders did then (and do ſtill) uſe the Erſe or Erſh language; but the tongue of the lower ſhires of Scotland ſeems to have been always called Engliſh [15]. Scotland. Language. Derived from the Saxon.

This

NOTES.

[15] An act, paſſed in the fifth parliament of Mary Stuart, ordains, that none ſhall print without licence, 'outher in Latine, or in Engliſh toung.'

'Oh, reverend Chawſer! roſe of rhetoures alle!
Was thou not of *our Inglis* alle the licht?'

[DUNBAR'S GOLDEN TERGE.

'Alas!

Cent. XVI. Neglected.

This language, like that of England, ſank for a long time under a claſſical oppreſſion. Nor did any author think of writing in a tongue ſo little calculated to expreſs his thoughts with energy or delicacy; while the Latin, nervous, conciſe, and perſpicuous, courted his pen. 'While this,' ſays an elegant modern, 'was almoſt the only ſpecies of compoſition, and all authors, by uſing one common language, could be brought to a nearer compariſon, the Scottiſh writers were not inferior to thoſe of any other nation. The happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in proſe or verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almoſt any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country *.'

Its merits.

But, although it ſeems probable that the dialect of Scotland, had the nations remained ſeparate, might, like that of England, have purified itſelf, and become the language of the hiſtorian and the poet, yet the acceſſion of James to both crowns prevented each chance of celebrity. The court being withdrawn from the capital, no domeſtic ſtandard of propriety and correctneſs of ſpeech remained. The few compoſitions which Scotland produced were tried by the Engliſh ſtandard, and every word or phraſe which varied from that, was pronounced barbarous †. An unjuſt deciſion; ſince, doubtleſs, the lowland Scottiſh dialect retained more of the Saxon tongue, unmixed with any Norman idiom [16], than the Engliſh; and

NOTES.

'Alas! for ane, quhilk lamp was in this land,
Of eloquence, the flowand balmy ſtrand!
And in *our Inglis* rhetorick the roſe,
As of rubèis, the carbuncle bin choſe.' [LYNDSAY'S PAPINGO.

"*Quis not laborat, non manducet*;"
This is, in Ingliſche toung or leit,
"Quha labouris nocht, he ſhall not eit."
[LYNDSAY'S SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAITS.

[16] On this ſubject the ingenious Diſſertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect, ſent by Dr. Geddes to the 'Antiquaries of Scotland,' merits a peruſal; he writes as a man well ſkilled in polemics. He ſupports the 'ſal, bus, peris, polis, deminis,' &c. of the Scots, againſt the Southern 'ſhall, buſh, periſh, poliſh, diminiſh,' &c. The ſounds, 'admeer, reteer, ſurveeve,

* Robertſon's Scotland, vol. ii. p. 256. † Ibid. p. 258.

and the expreſſions in Chaucer and Lydgate, which puzzle the moſt learned commentator, could be frequently better comprehended by the ſimple ſwain who tends his flocks on the banks of Tweed. Cent. XVI.

The uſe of the 'W' ſeems to have been little known in the North in 1549; for we find 'Vedderburne's Complainte of Scotlande, vyth an exortatione to the three eſtaits to be vigilante in the deffens of their public veil.' The letter 'Z' continued its uſurpation on the 'Y,' as in 'zeir,' 'zounge,' 'zouthe,' &c. &c. And the 'Qu' univerſally ſupplied the place of the 'W' when the 'V' was not admitted. Letters varying from the Engliſh.

It ought not to paſs unobſerved that, beſides the Engliſh language, and the Scottiſh dialect of the ſame tongue, there were ſpoken, within the iſland of Great Britain, in the ſixteenth century, three diſtinct tongues, or at leaſt two languages and a dialect, each capable of expreſſing the beauties of poetry or proſe with grace and energy. Three tongues ſpoken in Gr. Britain.

Of the Corniſh we now hear little. It has expired as a ſpoken tongue; but Dr. Borlaſe has preſerved a few proverbs, ſuch as The Corniſh

'Tau tavas.' 'Hold thy peace, tongue!'

'Guel yw guetha vel goofen.' 'It is better to ſave than to beg.'

The Corniſh ſay, that in ſweetneſs of ſound they excel the Welch; as in the word 'ſtone,' which they call 'Lêh,' and the Welch 'Lech.' A lake too is in the more guttural Welch 'Llwch,' but in Corniſh 'Lûh *.'

The Welch, on their ſide, by no means ſubmit to this award. 'Our language,' ſays the reverend author of a treatiſe on the ſubject, 'is poſſeſſed of native ornaments and unborrowed treaſures; it rivals the Greek The Welch.

NOTES.

ſurveeve, and requeer,' he with ſome juſtice affirms to be ſofter than the 'admire, retire, ſurvive, and require,' of the South. And he lays great ſtreſs on the power of forming expreſſive diminutives, as man, manny, manniky, and mannikin; and laſs, laſſy, laſſiky, and laſſikin; words no more confounded with each other than the capello, capelletto, cappellino, cappellone, and capellaccio, of the Italian. It is an undoubted fact, that the Scots have reſiſted the inroads of the Norman tongue with much more ſucceſs than the Engliſh, who content themſelves with applying, with the Norman, to a butcher (boucher) for veal (veau), beef (boeuf), or mutton (mouton), or perhaps roaſt a fowl (poule). But the Scot goes with the Saxon to the 'fleſher,' buys fleſh, or dreſſes a hen.

[TRANSACTIONS OF SCOTTISH ANTIQUARIES.

* Nat. Hiſt. of Cornwall, p. 314.

Cent. XVI. in its aptitude to form the moſt beautiful derivatives, as well as in the elegance, fertility, and expreſſiveneſs, of an infinite variety of compounds; and deſerves the praiſe that has been given to it by an enemy. Notwithſtanding the multiplicity of gutturals and conſonants with which it abounds, "it has the ſoftneſs and harmony of the Italian, with the majeſty and expreſſion of the Greek *."

The following epigram on the ſilk worm, conſiſting of vowels, affords an example of aſtoniſhing melody of choſen words to thoſe that can pronounce it with propriety:

'O'i wiw wy i weu e a, a'i weuau,
O'i wyau y weua;
E' weua ei we aia',
A'i weuau yw ieuau iâ.'

Thus tranſlated by Mr. Jones:

'I periſh by my art,
Dig mine own grave;
I ſpin my thread of life,
My own death weave †.'

The Erſe. The Erſe or Erſh language is ſaid to have great powers of expreſſion, both of the majeſtic and of the tender kind. It is ſtill ſpoken throughout a large diſtrict of the North; and, from the great attention which has been ſhewn towards the reliques of its antient poetry, there happily appears no danger of its being loſt.

The modern compoſition which follows, is given by Mr. Pennant ‡ as a ſpecimen of the tongue.

The celebrated epitaph by Ben Jonſon on the counteſs of Pembroke:

Galic.

'An ſho na luighe fo Lìc-lìghe,
Ha adh-bheann nan uille bhuadh,
Mathair Phembroke, Piuthar Philip,
Ans gach Daan bith' orra luadh.

* Walter's Diſſertation on the Welch Language. Printed at Cambridge.
† Jones's Diſſertation on Welch Muſic, &c. p. 54. ‡ Scottiſh Tour, Appendix, No. 4.

A, Bhais

Cent. XVI.

A, Bhais mann gearr thu ſios a coi-meas,
Beann a dreach, ſa h' Juil, ſa Fiach
Briſtidh do Bhogh, gun Fhave do ſhaighid
Bithi-mar nach bith tu riamh.'

Epitaph.

'Underneath this marble hearſe
Lies the ſubject of all verſe.
Sidney's ſiſter, Pembroke's mother:
Death, ere thou haſt kill'd another,
Fair and learn'd, and good as ſhe,
Time ſhall throw a dart at thee.'

Engliſh hoſpitality.

The taſte for feaſting and hoſpitality ſtill continued to reign among the Engliſh who could afford it [17].

Thoſe of high rank had ſuperb ſervices of plate at their meals when they entertained viſitors of importance. At other times they had complete ſets of pewter to ſupply its place. Thoſe of inferior rank ſometimes had plate.

NOTES.

[17] The Londoners did not always return with graciouſneſs the hoſpitable reception their country friends had beſtowed on them; on which 'the olde countrie clerkes framed this ſaeing,

'Primus jucundus,
Tolerabilis eſtque ſecundus;
Tertius eſt vanus,
Sed fœtet quatridianus.' [DESCRIPTION OF BRITAINE.

Paraphraſed:

Four days to ſpend
With aſking friend,
In London fair, I reckon'd:
The firſt in glee
Paſt merrily,
Not quite ſo well the ſecond;
The cold third day
I ſaw diſplay
A congé ſo explicit,
I left the place,
Nor gave him ſpace
To bid me end my viſit. J. P. A.

The

Cent. XVI.

The men of quality, probably to excite them to hoſpitality, had each permiſſion to import a conſiderable quantity of wine free from impoſt *.

Silver veſſels.

A ſcurrilous Frenchman, who viſited London in 1553, and groſsly abuſes the whole nation, owns that 'the Engliſh uſe ſilver veſſels in common to drink in; the ſervants,' he ſays, 'wait on their maſters bare-headed, and leave their caps on the buffet. Their bread,' he owns, 'is whiter than that of France, and as cheap.' He adds, 'That they are fond of eating with their beer ſoft ſaffron cakes ſtuck with raiſins, which add to its flavor. The artiſans,' he ſays, ſuch as hatters and joiners, 'he perpetually ſees on holidays, feaſting in taverns on rabbits, hares, and ſuch ſorts of meat.'

A more candid traveller, who wrote about thirty years later, ſays that 'the Engliſh are more polite than the French in eating, devouring leſs bread but more meat, which they roaſt in perfection. They put,' he adds, 'a great deal of ſugar in their drink.'

No forks.

That decent and cleanly utenſil, the fork, was yet to be diſcovered. At every meal the fingers were uſed to keep the meat ſteady, and to convey it to the mouth. Spoons and knifes ſeem coeval with Edward the Confeſſor †, but forks were little known before the reſtoration.

Silence at table during the meal, is ſpoken of as a mark of good breeding.

Fine table linen.

Table-cloths were made of very valuable linen. Mrs. Otter, in Ben Jonſon's 'Silent Woman,' mentions a damaſk table-cloth which coſt eighteen pounds. The good man of the houſe ſat at the upper end of the board, 'with a fayre napkyn layde before him on the table, *lyke a maſter* ‡.'

Delicate meats.

'Lamb, and a great variety of delicate [18] meates §, from all quarters of the country,' ſeem to mark the luxury of Elizabeth's reign. 'Now-

NOTES.

[18] Among theſe, brawn ſtood foremoſt. When Calais was taken by France, the quantity of that meat which was found in ſtore puzzled the victors. They judged it to be a dainty; but in vain did they roaſt it, bake it, and boil it, ſtill they could not make it eatable. Harriſon, who tells this ſtory, laughs at the friars who took it for fiſh, and at the Jews who would not believe that it was part of a hog. [Description of Britaine.

* Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. ii. p. 27.

† See the print of Earl Godwin's death, in Strutt's Cuſtoms, &c.

‡ Hiſt. of John Winchcomb. § Harriſon apud Holingſhed, p. 166.

a-days,'

a-days,' writes the moſt cauſtic of Puritans, 'if the table be not peſtered from one end to the other as thick as one diſh can ſtand by another, and to every diſh a ſeveral ſauce, appropriate in its kind, it is thought unworthy the name of a dinner.' 'And at the third courſe beſide, other ſweet junkets, and delicate confections of ſpiceries, and I cannot tell what.' 'A good peece of beefe is now thought too groſſe for theyr tender ſtomachs to diſgeſt *.' Cent. XVI.

A kind of deſert was not unuſual. Dr. Caius writes, that one ſhould eat 'after mete quinces or marmalade, pomegranates, oranges ſliced, eaten with ſugar; ſuccate of the pilles or bark thereoff, and of pomecitres; olde apples and peres; prunes, raiſons, dates, and nutts,' &c. &c. † Deſert.

In a ſtill older work gueſts, when faſting, are to be preſented with 'butter, plommes, damſons, cheryes, and grapes. After mete, peres, nuttes, ſtrawberyes, myrtle beryes, and hard cheſe; alſo braundrells or pepyns, with careways in confetes ‡.' 'Jellies of all colours, codinats, marmilats, ſuger-bread, ginger-bread, and florentines,' are added by Harriſon to the deſert.

The degrees of bread were theſe: firſt, the manchet, which was the fineſt; next, the chete or wheaten-bread; then the ravelled bread, ſomewhat coarſer; and then the brown bread, of two ſorts, the one much inferior to the other. Different ſorts of bread.

Breakfaſt was little uſed. If any thing was taken it was a glaſs of ale and a ſlice of bread [19].

The hour of dinner with people of fortune was eleven before noon; and of ſupper, between five and ſix in the afternoon; while the merchants (contrary to modern ideas) took each of their meals an hour later; and the huſbandman one hour ſtill later than the merchants. We have reaſon to Hours of meals.

NOTES.

[19] Sir Lionel Raſh, in Green's 'Tu Quoque,' a pleaſant comedy of Elizabeth's age, ſays, 'I have ſent my daughter this morning as far as Pimlico to fetch a draught of Derby ale, that it may fetch a colour into her cheeks.'

* Stubs' Anatomie of Abuſes, p. 69. † Booke of Counſeil, &c. by Dr. John Caius, fol. 24.
‡ Boke of Kervynge, fol. 1, B.

ſuppoſe

Cent. XVI. Clearing of the table.

ſuppoſe that the dinners of the great were prolonged to a conſiderable ſpace of time [20]. When the dinner, deſert, &c. were completely ended, a wooden knife was uſed inſtead of a cloth, to clear away the remnants, crumbs, &c. from the table [21].

Hoſpitality is never ſuppoſed, by a poetical fancy, to be confined to the houſe of the great; and Warner, a bard of Elizabeth's age, thus deſcribes the reception of an earl in a cottage; he

Rural food.

'Did houſe him in a peakiſh grange, within a foreſt great;
Where, known and welcomed as the place and perſons could afforde,
Browne bread, whig, bacon, curds, and milke were ſet him on the borde.
A cuſhion made of liſts, a ſtool half backed with a hoope,
Were brought him, and he ſitteth down beſide a ſorry coope.
The poor old couple wiſh'd their bread were wheat, their whig were pery;
Their bacon beef, their milk and curds were creame to make him mery.'

Wines.

In wines, the Engliſh of Elizabeth's age were uncommonly luxurious. Harriſon mentions fifty-ſix ſorts of French wines, and thirty-ſix of Spaniſh, Italian, Greek, Canarian, &c. which, to the quantity of 30,000 tons, were yearly imported. The ſtrongeſt of theſe were always accounted the beſt.

'Furthermore,' ſays Harriſon, 'when theſe have had their courſe that nature yeeldeth, ſundrie ſort of artificial ſtuffe muſt ſucceede in their turn,

NOTES.

[20] 'An Italian,' ſays Dr. Wilſon, 'having a ſuit to the Archbiſhop of York, attempted to ſpeak to his Grace, but unhappily chanced on a time when he was giving a ſtate dinner to his prebendaries. At eleven he was juſt ſat down to the ſplendid meal, nor could the Italian, although he called again at twelve, at one, and at two, prevail on the porter to let him ſee the prelate, who was ſtill at dinner. Diſguſted at the holy epicure, the ſuitor left his buſineſs in the hands of a friend, and returned to Italy. Three years after this, meeting an Engliſhman at Rome, and becoming his acquaintance, he aſked him one day if he knew the Archbiſhop of York? 'Perfectly well,' ſaid the Briton. 'Then tell me,' ſaid the Italian, 'I beſeech you, has he yet finiſhed his dinner?' and related the ſtory.'

[WILSON ON LOGIC AND RHETORIC.

[21] Enter three or four ſerving men, one with a voyder and a *wooden knife* to take away. [STAGE DIRECTION IN 'A WOMAN KILLED WITH KINDNESS.'

Enter Guſtus with a *voyding knife* in his hand. [LINGUA, ACT 5, SCENE 13.

ſuch

ſuch as ypocras and wormwood wine, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong beer.' To Cent. XVI. theſe we may add clarey or claret [22], and braket.

'The ſtrongeſt wine uſed,' ſays the ſame writer, 'to be called "Theologicum;" and the laymen, when they wiſhed to ſpend a ſingularly jovial hour, uſed to ſend for wine to the parſon of the pariſh *.

One cuſtom of the ſixteenth century deſerves particular mention, ſince it is now upheld in Britain only among all the nations of the earth.

'As for drink it is not uſually ſet on the table in pots and cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to have, or as neceſſity urgeth; ſo that when he hath taſted of it, he delivereth the cup again to one of the ſtanders-by, who, makyng it cleane, reſtoreth it to the cupboard from whence he had fetched the ſame †.' 'By this device,' adds the author, 'much idle tippling is furthermore cut off; for, if the full pots ſhould continually ſtand at the elbow, or near the trencher, divers would alwaie be dealing with them; whereas now they drinke ſeldome,' Method of drinking.

NOTES.

[22] To amuſe the epicure, the method of compoſing theſe favorite beverages ſhall be inſerted from 'Arnold's Chronicle of London,' quoted by Mr. Strutt.

'The crafte to make Ypocras.

'Take a quarte of red wyne, an unce of ſynamon, and half an unce of gynger; a quarter of an unce of greynes and of longe pepper, wythe half a pound of ſugar; broie all theſe not too ſmalle, and then putte them in a bagge of wullen clothe (made therefore) with the wyne, and lette it hange over a veſſel tylle the wyne be runne thorow.'

N. B. It is preſumed that the wine ſhould be poured in boiling hot, elſe it would gain little of the ſpicy flavor.

'The crafte to make Clarre (or Claret).

'For eighteen gallons of good wyne take half a pounde of gynger, a quarter of a pounde of longe pepper, an unce of ſaffron, a quarter of an unce of coliaunder, two unces of "calomole dromaticus," and a thyrd of as moche honey that is claryfyed as of youre wyne; ſtrayne thym thro a clothe, and doo it into a clene veſſel.'

'The crafte for Braket.

'When thou haſt good ale, draw out a quart of it, and put it to the honey, and ſet it over the fyre, and let it ſeethe well, and take it of the fyre and ſcume it wel, and ſo againe, and then let it keele a whyle, and put therto the peper, and ſet hym on the fyre, and let him boyle togyder, with eſy fyre, but clere. To four gallons of good ale, put a pynte of fyne tryed honey, and a ſaucer full of pouder of peper.'

* Harriſon, apud Holingſhed, p. 166. † Ibid. p. 167.

Cent. XVI.

and onelie when neceſſitie urgeth; and ſo avoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the ſervitours with filling of their boles [23].' This peculiar cuſtom is confirmed by the account given by Fynes Moryſon *.

Beer.

The beer uſed at the houſes of noblemen, &c. was commonly a year old; ſometimes two, when it came to the maſter's table. It was called March beer, from the time of its brewing. The beer for the ſervants was ſeldom more than a month old. 'Ech one,' ſays Harriſon, 'coveting to have the ſame as ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſowre; and his bread new as poſſible, ſo that it be not hot.'

Cider, &c.

Cider or Pomage, and 'Pirrie,' ſeem to have been confined to their own native counties. And our intelligent author ſpeaks with great contempt of a 'kind of Iriſh-ſwaſh [24],' made in Eſſex, and called Mead.

Glaſſes (which came from Venice at a great expence) were more faſhionable at great tables than ſilver cups.

Scotland.

Eccleſiaſtic hoſpitality.

Thoſe vaſt ſources of hoſpitality and encouragements to indolence, the religious houſes, were, in Scotland, the firſt victims to the reformation. In one monaſtery at Perth, where only eight monks reſided, the followers of Knox diſcovered eight puncheons of ſalt beef; wine, beer, and ale, in proportion, beſides abundance of bed clothes, and of table linen, ſingular in delicacy of texture [25]. This plentiful ſtore was meant to be ſhared with the hungry and weary traveller †.

NOTES.

[23] Our learned intelligencer, Harriſon, proceeds to derive this ſalutary mode from the practice of Mneſtheus of Athens, who, he ſays, 'brought up the cuſtom in conſervation of the honor of Oreſtes,' who had not yet expiated the ſlaughter of his mother, Clytemnaſtra.' [DESCRIPTION OF BRITAYNE.

[24] The Cambro-Britons had always been partial to this liquor; Dr. Andrew Borde makes his Welchman ſay,

'I do love "cawſe boby," good toaſted cheeſe;
And ſwyſhe metheglin I loke for my fees.'

[25] The very nature of the eccleſiaſtical revenues prompted the monks to hoſpitality. The abbey of Holy-rood received annually (beſides money, wheat, barley, and oats) 500 capons, 24 hens, 24 ſalmon, 12 loads of ſalt, and large quantity of ſwine. [ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.

* Itinerary, part iii. p. 150.

† Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 81.

That

That the general hoſpitality of the Scots was no way inferior to that of the Engliſh, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe. And ſuch was the national turn to luxury, that, immediately after a ſevere reſtriction by act of parliament, placed 'on the exceſſe of coaſtelie cleithing *,' another ſtatute † follows, complaining of ſuperfluous banqueting [26], 'not only of ſik ſtuffe as grows within the realme, bot alſoe of drogges, confectoures, ſpiceries brocht from the pairtes beyond ſea, and ſauld at dear prices to monie folke that are verie unabil to ſuſtene that coaſte;' and laying a heavy fine (twenty pund) not only on the maſter of the houſe, but on every one of his gueſts, partakers of ſuch banquet. Exceptions are made in favor of prelates, peers, and ſuch as can ſpend 2000 markes annually. Cent. XVI. Expenſive banqueting cenſured by parliament.

It muſt not however be concealed, that, in 1580, either from their ſufferings by civil conteſts, or from their former extravagance in houſehold expences, the country gentlemen of Scotland had in ſome parts found houſe-keeping too coſtly, and had boarded themſelves out in 'burrows, townes, clauchannes, and aile-houſes, with their houſehaldes;' others remaining in their own houſes 'buirded themſelves and others, to their awin ſervands, as in hoſtillaries.' A ſtatute ‡, made on this occaſion, ſets this practice forth as 'an unhoneſt forme, and a great abuſe, contrair the honor of the realme,' and lays a heavy fine on all perſons (according to their rank) that practice the ſame. Cuſtom of boarding prohibited.

The luxury of the table muſt have ſuffered by a ſeaſonable reſtriction in 1584, when, 'in reſpect of the dearth and ſcarcity of all kind of fleſhes,' the prohibition of eating meat, during the ſeaſon of Lent, is renewed by act of parliament; and all perſons are forbidden to kill or eat either 'lambes or young vealles' before Whitſunday each year, under a heavy penalty, Young cattle preſerved

NOTES.

[26] Nor was this the earlieſt law againſt table-luxury. In 1551, an act had reſtrained, by very minute directions, the pleaſures of the meal. In this an unkind diſtinction is made between the 'ſmall perſones' and people of rank. The former are fined, while the man of quality only ſuffers by being 'repute and haldane as ane man given to his voluptuouſnes, and contemnar of authority, and not to the common weil.' [STAT. 2, PARL. 5 MARIE.

* Stat. 113, Parl. 7 Jac. VI. † Stat. 114, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 116, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. which was extended 'aſs weil againſt the eaters as againſt fleſhoures, cuikes, hoſtellares, and uthers, preparers thereof *.'

The military men were no way deficient in good living. After the fight of Pinkie or Muſſelburgh, the victors found in the Scottiſh camp 'oatmeal, oat-cakes, butter, cheeſe, ale, and wine;' and in ſome tents 'ſilver plate and chalices †.'

Abundance of wine.

The Scots, ſays an Engliſh traveller of Elizabeth's age, 'drink pure wines, not with ſugar, as the Engliſh do; at feaſts they put comfits in their wine as the French do ‡.' He proceeds to deſcribe the plenty and variety of wines at a Northern table, and the hearty uſe which is made of them, in a manner more to the honor of the hoſpitality, than the moderation of the entertainers.

Yet his deſcription of the cookery and tables of the Scottiſh gentlemen is not flattering [27]. 'They eat,' he ſays, 'little freſh meat, and ſalt their geeſe and their mutton, but not their beef.' And there appears, in the board which he deſcribes, a great want of variety, though not of quantity [28].

NOTES.

[27] The following account of a ſportſman's haſty meal was perhaps grounded on one of thoſe half-intended miſtakes which foreigners, and particularly the French, are apt to make, when deſcribing the manners of other countries:

M. de Montmorenci was told by the Vidam de Chartres, afterwards poiſoned by Catharine di Medicis (who reſided ſome time in the North, and was very popular there), that, after hunting, the Scots were uſed to take part of their game, and, after cutting it into thin ſlices, to ſqueeze it between haſel rods until it was thoroughly dry, and that then they uſed to eat it with bread, but with no farther dreſſing.

[BRANTOME. VIC. DE CHARTRES.

[28] That the Caledonian board may have fair play, here follows a liſt of the dainties and delicacies protected by act of parliament, each by name, and (as there is good reaſon to believe) plentiful throughout the land: 'Fallowe deare, daes, raes, hares, partridges, moore fowles, blacke cockes, aith hennes (*a*), termagants (*b*), wyld dukes, teilles, atteilles, goldings, mortyns, ſchydderenis, ſkaildrak (*c*), heron, butter,' &c. &c.

[STAT. 23, PARL. 16 JAC. VI.

(*a*) Heath. (*b*) Ptarmigans. (*c*) Sheldrake.

* Stat. 225, Parl. 14 Jac. VI.

† Holingſhed's Eng. Chron. p. 988.

‡ Fynes Moryſon's Itinerary, p. 156.

The

The cloſe of the eighth Henry's reign had left the fantaſtical [29] Engliſhman in poſſeſſion of the doublet, the petticoat, and the breeches, diſgraced by the 'braguette,' and ſtuffed out to an enormous ſize with horſe-hair and cotton. The modern beef-eater (as he is vulgarly ſtyled from 'buffetier') dreſſes nearly in the ſame mode, though with leſs indecency and abſurdity. Cent. XVI. England. Dreſs.

To exemplify beyond a doubt the enormous and cumberſome folly of the faſhion, an ingenious modern writer produces evidence from a MS. in the Harleian collection to prove that there actually was a ſcaffold erected round the inſide of the parliament-houſe for the accommodation of ſuch members as wore thoſe huge breeches; and that the ſaid ſcaffold was taken down * when, in the eighth of Elizabeth, thoſe abſurdities went [30] out of faſhion. Garments enormouſly ſtuffed.

Num-

NOTES.

[29] An eccentric bard of the age thus ſatirizes the changeable nature of the Engliſhman as to dreſs; he draws him naked with cloth in one hand, but uncertain how he ſhall ſhape it with the ſheers which he holds in the other. Beneath are theſe lines:

'I am an Engliſhman, and naked I ſtand here,
Muſynge in my mind what raymente I ſhall were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyll were that,
And now I wyll were I cannot tell *what*.
What doe I care if alle the worlde me fayle?
I will have a garment reache to my tayle.
Then am I a mynyon, for I wear the new guiſe,
The next yeare after I hope to be wyſe;
Not onely in wereing my gorgeous araye,
But I wyll goe a learnynge a whole ſumer's daye,' &c. &c.

[INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE BY DR. ANDREW BORDE.

[30] This fooliſh mode, though it ſunk in 1565, yet roſe again in the commencement of the next age, when it was laſhed by a ballad, entitled 'A lamentable Complaint of the poore Countryeman agaynſte Greate Hoſe, for the Loſs of their Cattelles Tales.' The following extract from this piece will ſhow its tendency, and teſtifie its humour.

'What hurt, what damage, doth enſue
And fall upon the poore,
For want of wool and flax of late,
Which monſtrous hoſe devoure.

The

* Strutt's Cuſtoms, &c. vol. iii. p. 85.

Cent. XVI.

Ridiculed.

Numberleſs were the jokes made upon this prepoſterous dreſs. 'A man,' ſays Bulmer *, 'being cited to anſwer for offending againſt the ſumptuary law which prohibited ſuch garments, declared that they formed his ſafeſt ſtorehouſe; and produced from within, ſheets, two table-cloths, ten napkins, four ſhirts, and abundance of linen and other neceſſaries; ſaying, he had yet great ſtore behind. So the judge laughed and diſmiſſed him.

The cloak, which ſurmounted the whole, was varied as to ſhape and materials according to the wearer's fancy. It was made of ſilk, ſatin, or ſtuff, and was either buttoned or tied over the ſhoulder. Before the cloſe of the century it became uſually ornamented with ſilk, gold, and ſilver embroidery.

The hat had but juſt ſuperſeded the woollen cap and the hood, and had not acquired any certain faſhion.

Large beards.

The beard, in the reign of Mary I. throve abundantly [31]; thoſe of Biſhop Gardiner and of Cardinal Pole, in their portraits, are of a moſt uncommon ſize. The lawyers alone had a regulation impoſed on this important feature †.

Shirts were articles of great expence and elegance. They were made of 'camericke, Hollande, lawne, or els of the fineſt cloth that may be got.'

NOTES.

The haire has ſo poſſeſs'd of late
The bryche of ev'ry knave,
That not one beaſte nor horſe can tell
Whyche waye his taile to ſave.'

It cloſes thus:

'I woulde that ſuch as weare thys haire
Were well and truly bound,
Wyth every haire a louſe to have,
To ſtuffe their bryches oute;
And then I truſte they woulde not weare
Nor beare ſuche bagges aboute.'

[31] The beard was ſometimes uſed in the ſixteenth century as a tooth-pick caſe. The celebrated Admiral Coligny always 'wore his tooth-pick,' ſays Brantome, 'in his mouth, his ear, or his beard, whence the Italians uſed to ſay, 'Dio mi guarda del animo è ſtecco del amiraglio." [Vie de Conde par Brantome.

* Pedigree of the Engliſh Gallant, p. 548.

† Dugdale's Orig. Judiciales, apud Grainger, vol. i. p. 288.

And

And were ſo wrought with 'needle-worke of ſilke, and ſo curiouſly ſtitched with other knackes beſide, that their price would ſometimes amount to ten pounds. But this luxury was not at its height * until near the cloſe of the century. Cent. XVI.

No part of the Engliſh dreſs varied more ſuddenly than the ſhoes, which, during the ſhort reign of Mary, were increaſed ſo unreaſonably in breadth at the front, that (ſays Bulmer in his 'Pedigree of the Engliſh Gallant') 'if I remember aright, there was a proclamation came out that "no man ſhould weare his ſhoes above ſixe inches ſquare at the toes."

Towards the cloſe of the century the dreſs was again altered in many reſpects. The hat became more gay in appearance; it was covered with ſilk or velvet, but the beaver hat was the moſt expenſive, as it coſt from thirty to forty ſhillings. There were taffeta hats worn, with 'monſters, antiques, beaſtes, fowles, and all manner of pictures,' embroidered with ſilk, gold, and ſilver †. Change of faſhions in 1566.

The crown of the hat now grew high and narrowed towards the top, and had ſometimes a rich hat-band, adorned by goldſmith's work and precious ſtones [32], which, with a feather and a ſcarlet cloke, marked the man of diſtinction. The wearing of felt hats was a much more antient cuſtom than is in general ſuppoſed. They are ſpoken of in Lydgate's 'London Licke-pennie [33];' a poem made at the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

A hat of black velvet, with a red feather and band, was faſhionable in 1571 ‡.

The hair was now cut cloſe on the top of the head, and grew long on the ſides §.

NOTES.

[32] 'My hat-band. A row of diamonds of a thouſand markes!' [THE WITTS.

'I had on a new cable hat-band, of maſſie goldſmith's work, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat, the brims of which were thick embroidered with gold twiſt and ſpangles.' [EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR.

[33] 'Where Flemynges began on me for to crye:
"Maſter what will you chepen or bye?
Fine *felt hats* or ſpectacles to rede?
Lay down your ſylver and here you may ſpede." [LYDGATE.

* Stubs' Anatomie of Abuſes, p. 27. † Ibid. p. 25.

‡ Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 117. § Hentzner apud Fugitive Pieces, vol. ii. p. 300.

Jewels

Cent. XVI.

Jewels were ſometimes worn in the ear by ſhewy young men [34], and ſometimes ribbands.

Beards leſſened.

The beard was exceedingly leſſened [35], and gradually dwindled into muſtachos [36] or whiſkers.

Satirized.

An old hiſtorian thus deſcants on the various beards of his age: 'Some are ſhaven from the chin lyke thoſe of the Turkes; not a few cut ſhort like the beard of Marques Otto; ſome made round like a rubbing bruſh, others with a pique devan; Oh, fine faſhion! others being ſuffered to grow long; the barbers being growen as cunnynge in this behalfe as the taylours. And therefore if a man have a leane and ſtreight face, a Marquis Otton's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long ſlender beard will make it ſeem the narrower; if he be weaſel-beaked, then ſo much haire left on the cheekes will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen, and ſo grymme as a gooſe,' &c *.

Ruff enlarged.

The ruff became large, but not ſo much ſo as that of the ladies; it was ſometimes double, ſometimes wired, and ſometimes ſtiffened with yellow ſtarch. It exceeded all bounds ſo far that at length it caught the eye of the exact Elizabeth; who, equally diſpleaſed with that monſtrous garb,

NOTES.

[34] Maſter Matthew, in 'Every Man in his Humour,' propoſes to 'pawn the jewel in his ear' to pay for the warrant againſt Downright. Faſtidio, in 'Every Man out of his Humour,' boaſts of his miſtreſs favors, 'this ſcarf, or this ribband for my ear or ſo.' The poet Gaſcoigne, as he draws his own picture, preſenting his book to Elizabeth, has a ſtill different ear ornament, a pen; and thus he ſings:

'Beholde, good queene, a poett with a ſpeare,
(Straundge fightes well mark'd are underſtode the better)
A ſoldier armde with penſyle in his eare;
With pen to fighte, and ſworde to write a letter.

[FRONTISPIECE TO GASCOIGNE'S TRANSLATION OF 'THE HEREMYTE.'

[35] Yet the Reverend John More of Norwich continued, during the reign of Elizabeth, to diſplay a moſt enormous beard; 'That no act of my life,' ſaid he, 'may be unworthy of the gravity of my appearance.'

[36] Very early in the 17th century, M. de Bouteville, condemned to loſe his head for a duel at Paris, was ſeverely reprimanded by the prieſt who attended his laſt moments, for taking great pains to lay his muſtachos on the block in ſuch a poſition that the axe might not diſcompoſe them. [ESSAIS DE ST. FOIX.

* Harriſon's Deſcription of Britaine, p. 172.

and

and with the length of the rapier of the day, directed officers to attend, and to clip the ruffs and ſhorten the ſwords of offenders againſt her rules *. Cent. XVI.

Its ſize regulated.

The thick and ſtuffed garment now was diminiſhed to a long jacket [36] like a waiſtcoat, made of ſilk or ſatin, with a large cape and long cloſe ſleeves. The petticoat diſappeared; and the breeches, having diſcarded their indelicate and burleſque appendage, ended far above the knee [37], where they were met by a ſtocking, not woven to fit the leg, but cut out by a taylor from 'ſilk, velvet, damaſke, or other precious ſtoffe †.' The coſt of this part of the dreſs was incredibly high.

Stuffed clothes are ſeen no more.

The venerable Harriſon is laudably ſevere on the pains neceſſarily taken to make this ungovernable hoſe ſit ſmoothly on the leg. 'Then,' ſays he, 'muſt the long ſeames of our hoſe be ſet by a plumb-line; then we puffe, then wé blow, finally we ſweat till we drop, that our clothes may ſtand well upon us.'

Roſes of very high prices were frequently worn on the ſhoes of faſhionable men. Sometimes the ſhoes had buckles of ſilver or copper gilt ‡. The garters coſt no more than ſix ſhillings the pair, which in the next reign was hardly bought for five pounds. The corked ſhoes, pantofles, or pinſnets, were often of velvet, embroidered with gold or ſilver; and it was the mode to let the heel project an inch or two beyond that of the pantofle §, much to the inconvenience of the wearer.

The ſwords and daggers were richly gilt, the blades damaſked, and the ſcabbards covered with velvet.

The dreſs of the ſervant ſeems to have depended more on the maſter's caprice than on the faſhion [38].

The

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[36] Yet of this reformed garment the querulous Stubs complains, as being 'ſo hard-quilted, ſtuffed, bombaſted, and ſewed, as they can neither worke nor yet well play in them;' nor can the wearer 'bow himſelf to the ground, ſo ſtiff and ſturdy they ſtand about him.' [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

[37] 'Nailor came through London apparelled in a doublet and galey-gaſcoigne (*a*) breeches, all of crimſin ſattin, cut and raced.' [ANTIQUAR. REPERT. VOL. I.

[38] A runaway page was thus deſcribed in the reign of Elizabeth:

Theſe

* Townſhend's Journals, p. 250.
† Anatomie of Abuſes, p. 30.
‡ Stowe's Chron. p. 1039.
§ Anatomie of Abuſes, p. 32.

(*a*) Hence the ludicrous word 'Gallygaſkins.'

Cent. XVI.

Head-dreſs of the ladies.

The head-dreſs of the ladies varied much during the age of Elizabeth. The fly-cap, which was faſhionable in 1770, when formed of pearls, was the exact head-dreſs of her court * ladies. Some ladies had a ſmall cap with a veil, which was thrown behind the neck. Some had [39] vaſt loads of falſe hair; others wore the hair entirely uncovered and braided behind. Aldermen's † wives had bonnets of velvet, large and ſhewy. A favorite covering for the head was the 'French hood,' which appears to have been a gauze or muſlin hood, ſhewing the hair on each ſide, and drawn from the back of the head down the forehead ‡. The 'Minever cap,' which was white and three-cornered, and whoſe peaks ſtood three inches above the head, was chiefly worn by citizens' wives. Chains and bracelets were ornaments uſed moſtly by women of rank.

Vaſt ruffs.

The ruffs, made of lawn and cambrick, were immoderately large, and ſtiffened with [40] yellow ſtarch. They reached to the upper part of

NOTES.

'Theſe are to pray you, &c. to macke hew and cry for a yonge ſtripling aged twenty-two years, with one doblet of yellow million fuſtion, the one half buttoned with peche coloured buttons, the other half laced downwards. One payer of peche coloured hoſe, laced with ſmall tawnye lace. A graye hat, with a copper edge rcund it; a pair of watched ſtockinges. He hath two clokes, the one of veſſey collor, garded with two yards of black cloth and twiſted lace of carnacyon collor, and lined with crimſone bayes; the other is a red ſhipp ruſſet colour, ſtriped about the cape; and down the fore face twiſted with two rows of twiſted lace; ruſſet and gold buttons afore and upon the ſholdier, being of the clothe itſelf, ſet with the ſaid twiſted lace, and the buttons of ruſſet ſilk and gold.'

[Antiqu. Repertory, Vol. II.

[39] About 1595 ſuch quantities of falſe hair were worn, that women were on the watch to ſeduce children who had fine hair to private places, that they might poll their locks.

[Stubs' Anatomie of Abuse.

'Stowe informs us that women's periwigs were firſt brought into England about the time of the maſſacre of Paris, A. D. 1572.' [Mr. Steevens' Notes on Timon of Athens.

'That beaver band, the colour of that periwig,
(A mad world, my maſters).'

[40] A Mrs. Dingen Van Pleſſe introduced both yellow ſtarch and the uſe of lawn for ruffs. It was ſo very fine that 'it became a bye-word,' ſays Stowe, "That ſhortly they would wear ruffes of a ſpider's web." Soon after the ladies began to ſend their daughters and kinſwomen to learn the art of ſtarching; ſhe received four or five pounds for teaching theſe to ſtarch, and twenty ſhillings for teaching them 'to ſeethe ſtarche.'

* See Frontiſpiece to Cary Earl of Monmouth's Memoirs.

† Strutt's Cuſtoms, &c. vol. iii. plate 12, fig. 5 and 9.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. plate 22, fig. 9.

the

the head behind, and the 'poking of them' gracefully was a moſt important attainment [41]. Cent. XVI.

The waiſt became enormouſly long; and the bodice or ſtays finiſhed with a moſt extended point in front at bottom. To ſet this deforming faſhion in a more glaring light, the upper part of the gown, near the ſhoulders, appears to be enlarged conſiderably by wool or other ſtuffing.

The fardingale, a Spaniſh petticoat, bulky over the hips, now went out of faſhion; it had probably been introduced during the connection of Philip and Mary; the moſt faſhionable ones were the Scottiſh fardingales. Howel intimates that this faſhion was invented to ſcreen unlicenſed pregnancy; and tranſlates the Spaniſh 'guard-infanta' by the term 'cover-infant;' probably an error, as 'infanta' in the Spaniſh tongue means 'princeſs.' Fardingale.

Of this part of female attire the humorous Heywood thus ſings:

'On the Faſhion of wearing Verdingales.

'Alas! poor verdingales muſt lie i' th' ſtreete;
To houſe them no doore i' th' citee's made meete.
Syns at our narrow doores they cannot win *,
Send them to Oxforde at Brode-gate to get in'.

Perfumed gloves, ornamented with tuftes of roſe-colored ſilk, were ſo much the delight of Elizabeth that ſhe would always be drawn with her favorite pair (preſented by Vere, Earl of Oxford, returned from Italy) on her hands. Silk ſtockings, too, came in with Elizabeth †; Mrs. Montagu, her ſilk-woman, having preſented her with a pair of black ſilk hoſe in 1560, ſhe would never wear cloth ſtockings again. Her father Henry had worn cloth hoſe, and her brother Edward; unleſs once when Sir Thomas Greſham gave him a pair of Spaniſh black ſilk. Knit ſtockings were firſt introduced to the Engliſh court by William, Earl of Pembroke. A pair had been preſented to him by William Rider, an apprentice near Gloves.

NOTES.

[41] The ill-natured Puritans of the day exult in picturing 'a ſhoure of raine to catch them (the wearers of ſuch ruffs) before they can get harbour; then theyre great ruffes ſtrike ſayle, and downe they falle, as diſh-clouts fluttering in the winde.'

* Go in.

† Howel's Hiſt. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

Cent. XVI. London-bridge, who made them in imitation of a pair brought from Mantua.

The pocket-handkerchiefs of the ladies were frequently wrought with gold and ſilver, and their ſhifts were richly embroidered [42]. The chopine [43] or chiopina is ſometimes mentioned; it was an Italian ſhoe, with a heel ridiculouſly high.

The travelling dreſs of a lady was a large cloke and a ſafe-guard [44] or huge outward petticoat.

Dreſs of Elizabeth. When Paul Hentzner ſaw Elizabeth (ſhe was in her 67th year) 'ſhe had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops. She wore falſe hair, and that red; her boſom was uncovered, as all the Engliſh ladies,' ſays Hentzner, 'have till they marry. She was dreſſed in white ſilk, bordered with pearls of the ſize of beans; and over it a mantle of black ſilk, ſhot with ſilver threads [45]; and, inſtead of a chain, ſhe had an oblong collar of gold and jewels *.

At her death, that lady had in her poſſeſſion, 3000 complete habits.

NOTES.

[42] In the old ballad of George Barnwell, it is ſaid of Milwood:

'A handkerchief ſhe had
All wrought with beaten gold;
Which ſhe to ſtay her trickling tears
Before her eyes did hold.

[Rel. of Ant. English Poetry.

And in the antient ditty of Lord Thomas and fair Annette, that lady ſays,

'My maids go to my dreſſing-room,
And dreſs me to my ſmock;
The one half is o' th' Holland fine,
The other o' needle wo'k.' [Strutt's Customs.

[43] 'As if her new chopines would ſcorn to bruiſe
A filly flower.' [Ram Alley, Act 5. Sc. 1.

[44] 'The gentlewomen in cloaks and ſafeguards.'

[Stage Direction. Merry Devil of Edmonton, Act 1.

'On with your cloak and ſafeguard, you arrant drab!' [Ram Alley, Act 1. Sc. 1.

[45] 'Wherever ſhe turned her face,' adds Hentzner, 'as ſhe went along, every one fell down on his knees;' her father had been treated with the ſame deference; James I. ſuffered his courtiers to omit it; one inſtance (among a thouſand) of the *beſt* of the Tudor's ſuperiority in deſpotiſm to the moſt imperious of the Stuarts. [Bacon Papers.

* Hentzner apud Dodſley, vol. ii. p. 274.

The

Cent. XVI. Scotland. Royal habits

The dreſs of Lord Darnley, as taken from an original painting by Vertue, dated 1563, conſiſts of a cloſe-bodied coat, covering his whole neck, with ſleeves ſtuffed at the ſhoulders like thoſe of Elizabeth's courtiers. He has a ſmall Spaniſh ruff, ſhort curled hair, and a jewel hanging from his neck as low as his ſtomach.

At the wedding of Queen Mary with Lord Darnley, 'ſhe had upon her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood,' which ſhe ſoon abandoned, and, 'being committed to her ladies, changed her garments *.'

Court dreſs.

David Rizzio, who was probably, as being often admitted to the company of the queen, a model of dreſs to the Scottiſh court, 'had upon his back, when he was ſlayn, a night-gown of damaſk, furred, with a ſattin doublet, and a hoſe of ruſſet velvet;' of theſe velvet hoſe he had twenty-eight pair in ſtore. 'We hear alſo,' ſays the letter writer, 'of a juill that he had hanging about his neck of ſome price,' &c. †

Dreſs of different ranks.

'The huſbandman of Scotland, the ſervants, and almoſt all the country,' ſays one who viſited that realm in 1598, 'did wear coarſe cloth, made at home, of grey or ſky color, and flat blew caps, very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in Engliſh or French cloth, of a pale colour, or mingled black and blew. The gentlemen did wear Engliſh cloth, or ſilke, or light ſtuffes, little or nothing adorned with ſilk lace, much leſs with lace of ſilver or gold. Gentlewomen married did wear cloſe upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone ſleeves, after the French manner, ſhort cloaks like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands about their necks. The un-married of all ſorts did go bare-headed, and wear ſhort cloaks, with moſt cloſe linen ſleeves on their arms, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior ſort of citizen's wives, and the women of the country, did wear cloaks of a coarſe ſtuff, of two or three colours in checker work, vulgarly called "Plodan".' The men, he adds, in general follow the French, and the women the German faſhion, with 'naked heads, and cloſe ſleeves on their arms ‡.'

* Robertſon's Hiſtory, Appendix, p. 26. † Ibid. p. 32.

‡ Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii, p. 179, 180.

The

Cent. XVI.

Of a rich farmer's wife.

The gayeſt dreſs of a conſiderable farmer's wife may be well made out from a poetic tale, ſuppoſed to be written by William Dunbar about the middle of the ſixteenth century.

'Scho caſtis on ane kyrtyl of fyne reid,
Ane quhyt curchey ſcho caſt upon hir heid;
Hir kyrtyl belt was ſilk and ſilver fyne,
With ane proud purs, and keyis gingling fyne;
On ilkane fyngar ſcho wars ringis tuo,
Scho was als proud as ony papingo.
And of ane burde of ſilk, richt coſtlie grein,
Her tuſche was with ſilver weil beſene,' &c. &c.

Modernized.

'In a rich ſcarlet robe her form ſhe dight,
While o'er her head ſhe caſt a hood ſo white.
A belt with ſilver wrought, her gown attended,
Whence a gay purſe and gingling keys depended.
Each taper finger two bright rings beſtride,
No plum'd maccaw can match the dame for pride.
A ſaſh of graſs-green ſilk ſurrounds her waiſt,
With high embroidery of ſilver grac'd,' &c. J. P. A.

Stephen Perlet, who travelled through Scotland in 1553, found no difference between the common people of England and of Scotland, as he expreſſes it, 'in dreſs, conditions, or ſtature *.'

England. Caroches.

Coaches and caroches are both mentioned as being in uſe. Though apparently ſynonymous, theſe were different [46] vehicles, the one larger than the other.

NOTES.

[46] 'May'ſt draw him to the keeping of a *coach*
For country, and caroch for London.' [GREEN'S "TU QUOQUE."
'In horſe-litters, coaches, or caroaches.'
[RAM-ALLEY, OR MERRY TRICKS, ACT 4, SC. 1.

* Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 236.

Coaches,

Coaches, it has already been ſaid, were introduced to England [47] by the Earl of Arundel. The novelty and convenience of the plan gave ſo much pleaſure to the people of fortune, that, in 1601, the number of them becoming enormous, an act was propoſed 'to reſtrayne the immoderate uſe of "Coches";' it failed however at the ſecond reading. But theſe luxurious machines were only uſed by the rich; and hackney coaches were not known till fifty years afterwards. Cent. XVI. Coaches.

Numbers of domeſtics were ſtill in requeſt, although retainers were not permitted. Numerous domeſtics.

'The Engliſh,' ſays Hentzner, 'are lovers of ſhew, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of ſervants, who wear their maſter's arms in ſilver, faſtened to their left arms *.'

The poſt-horſes of England aſtoniſhed the German traveller by their ſwiftneſs. 'Their bridles,' he obſerves, 'are very light, and their ſaddles little more than a ſpan over †.' Convenient travelling.

It has been ſaid before that the firſt general ſtatute for repairing the highways of England paſſed in 1555 ‡. Six more acts in Mary's reign, and nineteen in that of Elizabeth, on the ſame ſubject, prove the difficulty of bringing the highways into good order. Firſt ſtatute for mending highways.

NOTES.

[47] The following quotation from a late ingenious 'Inquiry into the Origin, &c. of Heraldry in England,' by Mr. Dallaway, deprives the earl of this ſpecies of merit, and carries the uſe of coaches kept by dignified clergymen, and painted, as now, with the arms which they could claim, back to A. D. 1327: 'Iſte tum abbas *ſuo curru honorificè ornato cum armis ejuſdem eccleſiæ depictis*, eum a caſtello de Berkeley adduxit, et ad monaſterium Glouc. eſt delatus.' This is taken from the manuſcript regiſter of the abbey of Glouceſter.

Taylor, the water poet, attributes the introduction of coaches, in 1564, to William Bloomer, a Dutchman, who became coachman to Queen Elizabeth. 'Indeed,' quoth Taylor, 'a coach was a ſtrange monſter in thoſe days, and the ſight of it put both horſe and foot into amazement. Some ſaid it was a great crab-ſhell brought out of China; and ſome thought it one of the Pagan temples in which the Cannibals adored the divell. But at laſt all theſe doubts were cleared up, and coach making became a ſubſtantial trade.

* Hentzner in Fug. Pieces, vol. ii. p. 300. † Ibid. p. 241.

‡ Stat. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 8.

No

Cent. XVI.

Commodious furniture.

No ſpecies of commodity was more apparent in England than that in the article of furniture, and particularly in what related to beds.

'Our fathers, yea and we ourſelves,' writes Harriſon, 'have lien full oft upon ſtraw pallets, on rough mats, covered only with a ſheat, under coverlets made of dogſwayne or hop-harlot, and a good round log laid under their heads inſteed of a bolſter or pillow. And if the good man of the houſe, within ſeven yeares after his marriage, purchaſed a mattereſs or a flock bed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt his head on, he thought himſelf as well lodged as the lord of the towne. As for ſervantes, ſeldome had they anie ſheat under their bodies to keepe them from the pricking ſtrawes that ran through the canvas of the pallet, and raſed their hardened hydes.' This, and the extreme ruſticity and deficience of all furniture, the obſervant hiſtorian contraſts with the 'great proviſion of tapeſtrie, Turkey worke, joined beds, with tapeſtrie and ſilk hangings,' &c. &c.

Engliſh inns deſcribed.

The Engliſh inns are ſpoken of with great approbation by Hentzner. Fynes Moryſon too, a traveller of eſtabliſhed veracity, makes their ſimple eulogy as follows:

*'As ſoone as a paſſenger comes to an inne, the ſervants run to him, and one takes his horſe and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him down and gives him meat. Another ſervant gives the paſſenger his private chamber, and kindles his fire; the third pulls off his bootes and makes them cleane; then the hoſt or hoſteſs viſits him; and if he will eate with the hoſte, or at a common table with others, his meale will coſt him ſixpence, or in ſome places but four pence; but if he will eate in his chamber he commands what meate he will according to his appetite; yea the kitchen is open to him to order the meate to be dreſſed as he likes beſte. After having eaten what he pleaſes, he may, with credit, ſet by a part for the next day's breakfaſt. His bill will then be written for him, and, ſhould he object to any charge, the hoſt is ready to alter it.'

Inns of Scotland.

The ſame traveller complains not of the inns in Scotland, but ſays, that 'the beds were like cupboards in the wall, and that they had only one ſheet, open at the ſides and top, and cloſed at the bottom;' viz. a long ſheet doubled over.

* Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 151.

On

On the intereſting ſubject of courtſhip, there appears a remark in a MS. belonging to the Harleian library, which poſſeſſes a delicacy which we unwillingly allow to the ſixteenth century: 'By the civil law, whatever is given "ex ſponſalitia largitate, betwixt them that are promiſed in marriage," hath a condition, for the moſt part ſilent, that it may be had again if marriage enſue not; but if the man ſhould have had a kiſs for his money he ſhould loſe one half of what he gave. Yet with the woman it is otherwiſe; for kiſſing or not kiſſing, whatever ſhe gave, ſhe may have it again *.' Cent. XVI. Courtſhip.

Among people of condition, weddings appear to have been ſolemnized with ſhew and gaiety. In the 'Silent Woman' of Ben Jonſon, Lady Haughty reproaches the bridegroom thus: 'We ſee no enſigns of a wedding here, no character of a bridale here. Where be our ſkarves and our gloves? I pray you give them us; let us know your bride's colours and your's, at leaſt.' Then ſhe proceeds: 'You to offend in ſuch a high point of ceremony as this! and let your nuptials want all marks of ſolemnity! What plate have you loſt to-day [48]! what gifts! what friends! and all through your ruſticity.' She adds, 'I intimate all your errors to you; no gloves, no garters, no ſkarves, no epithalamium, no maſque,' &c. &c. Weddings.

Of an inferior couple † we are told, 'the bride being attired in a gown of ſheep's ruſſet, and a kertle of fine worſted, her hair attired with a'billiment of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold hanging down behind her, which was curiouſly combed and plaited after the manner of thoſe days; ſhe was led to church between two ſweet boys, with bridelaces and [49] roſe- Inferior.

NOTES.

[48] Hence it ſeems to have been uſual to make preſents to the married pair, in proportion to the gay appearance of their wedding.

[49] Roſemary was ſuppoſed to ſtrengthen memory, and was not only carried at funerals, but worn at weddings. [MR. STEEVENS' NOTES ON HAMLET, Act 4, Sc. 5.

'Beſides, the ſame roſemary that ſerves for the funeral will ſerve for the wedding.'

[THE OLD LAW, Act 4, Sc. 1.

'*Phis.* Your maſter is to be married to-day?

Trim. Elſe all this roſemary is loſt.' [THE FAIR QUARREL, Act. 5, Sc. 1.

* Extract, apud Strutt's Cuſtoms, vol. iii. p. 155.

† Hiſt. of Jack of Newbury, 4to, chap. ii. not paged.

Cent. XVI.

mary tied about their ſilken ſleeves. There was a fair bride-cup [50] of ſilver, gilt, carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of roſemary, gilded very fair, hung about with ſilken ribbands of all colours.' Muſicians came next, then a groupe of maidens, ſome bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they paſſed on to the church.'

The thorough ruſtic wore, on his wedding day, 'a leather doublet with long pointes, and a pair of breeches pinn'd up like pudding-bags, with yellow ſtockings, and his hat turn'd up with a ſilver claſp on the leer-ſide *.'

Early marriages.

One might ſuppoſe, by the invectives uſed by a ſatirical writer †, againſt early marriages, that it was the cuſtom, among all ranks, to marry at an age ridiculouſly early [51]. But this is not confirmed by any of his co-temporaries.

Scotland.

Weddings free from ceremony.

In Scotland nothing could be freer from ceremony than a wedding. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote in an early part of the ſeventeenth century, ſays, 'It is not neceſſary that marriage ſhould be celebrated by a clergyman. The conſent of parties may be declared before any magiſtrate, or ſimply before witneſſes. And though no formal conſent ſhould appear, marriage is preſumed from the cohabitation, or living together at bed and board, of a man and a woman who are generally reputed huſband and wife. One's acknowledgement of his marriage to the midwife whom he called to his wife, and to the miniſter who baptized the child, was found preſumptive evidence of a marriage, without the aid either of cohabitation or of 'habite and repute ‡.'

NOTES.

[50] The cup had wine in it, which was to be drank in the church.

'And Peter, when we are at church, bring wine and cakes.'

[DEKKER'S SATIROMASTIX.

[51] 'You ſhall have every ſaucy boy of ten, fourteene, ſixteene, or twenty yeares of age, catch up a woman and marry her, without any feare of God at all, or reſpect had either to her religion, wiſdom,' &c. 'No, no, it maketh no matter for theſe things, ſo he have his prettie puſſie to huggle withal, for that is the only thing he deſireth.'

[ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

* Jonſon's Tale of a Tub. † Stubs' Anatomie of Abuſes, p. 65.

‡ Principles of Laws of Scotland, edit. 1764, p. 6.

Among

Among the cuſtoms of the ſixteenth century there was not one more prominent, nor more laſting, than that of ſmoking, or (as it was the mode to call it) *taking* tobacco. Cent. XVI. Tobacco.

This herb, introduced by the Spaniards to Europe about the middle of the age, was called, in France, 'Nicotiana,' from Nicot, the ambaſſador to Portugal *, who preſenting a ſpecimen of it to Catharine di Medicis, it gained the additional title of 'the queen's herb.'

It reached England in 1586, imported by the remains of Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate ſettlers in Virginia. Sir Walter himſelf was one of its firſt admirers, but for ſome time preſerved great ſecrecy in his attachment. By a ridiculous accident [52] the foible was diſcovered †; Sir Walter then 'took' tobacco publicly, and gradually it became a general favorite; and when Stowe, a few years after its introduction, wrote of it, 'it was commonly uſed by *moſt* men and *many* women;' yet the ſevere annaliſt calls it 'that ſtinking weed, ſo much abuſed to God's diſhonor.' James of Scotland deteſted the cuſtom, and it appears that his example and influence, together with the ſeverity of his ſarcaſms [53] on its followers ‡, prevented its obtaining many votaries in the North.

The taſte for tilts and touraments had not quitted England. A romantic compliment to Elizabeth contributed to its duration. Sir Henry Lee, knight of the garter, had vowed that he would, each year of his life, Tilting.

NOTES.

[52] Sir Walter, as his biographers relate, was enjoying his pipe in ſolitude, forgetful that he had ordered his ſervant to attend him with a goblet of ale. The faithful domeſtic ſuddenly entering the ſtudy, and finding, as he thought, his maſter's brains on fire, and evaporating in ſmoke and flame through his noſtrils, did his utmoſt to extinguiſh the conflagration, by emptying his goblet on Sir Walter's head; and, ruſhing out of the room, alarmed the family with an account of the frightful ſcene he had witneſſed. When, many years afterwards, the gallant knight's fate drew near, he ſmoked two pipes publicly on the ſcaffold.

[53] After the prolix monarch has given ſix copious reaſons why tobacco may be ſaid to reſemble the infernal regions, he adds, 'were I to invite the devil to a dinner he ſhould have theſe three diſhes; 1. a pig, 2. a poole of ling and muſtard, and 3. a pipe of tobacco for digeſture.' [APOPHTHEGMS.

* Chambers' Dictionary, Art. Tobacco. † Applebee's Journal, Sept. 18, 1731.

‡ Apophthegms of K. James, p. 5, printed 1671.

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until diſabled by age, preſent himſelf annually at the tilt-yard as his ſovereign's knight. This gave riſe to annual contentions in the liſts. Twenty-five of the firſt perſons in the nation, among whom were Lord Leiceſter, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, &c. formed a ſociety of arms. In 1590, Sir Henry Lee, yielding to age and infirmities, reſigned his honorable poſt, and ſolemnly inveſted the celebrated Earl of Cumberland with the envied dignity *. This was the laſt effort of expiring chivalry. The ſucceſſor of Elizabeth neither loved arms nor warlike ſports.

Pageants and ſhews of the moſt coſtly kind were the favorite amuſements of the court; nor had Elizabeth more amuſement in the ſights, than her ſubjects in the narration. The chronicles of Speed and Holingſhed are full of theſe pompous digreſſions, and the 'Princely pleaſures of Kenelworth caſtle' have found materials for a conſiderable book.

Elizabeth's more homely ſports.

The queen could however ſometimes deſcend to more trivial ſports, and could join the loweſt of her people in their taſte for the moſt barbarous of amuſements; but this was not until that period, when in the decline of life, ſhe wiſhed to ſeem juvenile, ſprightly, and healthful.

'Her majeſty,' ſays Rowland White in the Sidney Papers, '*ſays* ſhe is very well. This day ſhe appoints a Frenchman to doe feates upon a rope in the conduit court. To-morrow ſhe hath commanded the beares, the bull, and the ape, to be bayted in the tilt-yard; and on Wedneſday ſhe will have ſolemne dawncing [54].'

It

NOTES.

[54] Selden, in his Table Talk, thus deſcribes this amuſement: 'The court of England is much altered; at a *ſolemn dancing* firſt you had the grave meaſures, then the corantoes and the galliards, and this kept up with ceremony; and at length to Trenchmore † and the cuſhion dance. Then all the company dances, lord and lady, groom and kitchen maid, no diſtinction. So in our court, in Queen Elizabeth's time, gravity and ſtate were kept up; in King James's time, things were pretty well; but, in King Charles's time, there has been nothing but Trenchmore and the cuſhion dance; omnium gatherum, troly poly, hoity toity!' [ARTICLE, 'KING OF ENGLAND.'

Another more elegant dance, the La Volta, is thus painted by Sir John Davies in his 'Orcheſtra,' and may be ſuppoſed not unlike the German Walſe:

'Yet

* Pennant's London, p. 103.

† Or Frenchmore.

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It does not appear that Elizabeth copied her father in that warm attachment to hawking * which had nearly coſt him his life [55]. She hunted however ſometimes; and her preſence once at a chaſe, in her park at Oatlands, inſpired the under-keeper, John Selwyn, with ſuch activity, that, riding hard, and overtaking the ſtag, he ſprung from his horſe on the beaſt; and, after gracefully maintaining his poſition ſome time, he drew his ſword, and, being near the queen, plunged it in the throat of the animal †, ſo that it fell down dead at the feet of Elizabeth [56].

The ſports of the field were much followed by the nobility and gentry, but not with the ſame glee as when a prince was at their head. The taſte, as well as the ſexual propriety of Elizabeth, led her rather to patronize the gay ſplendor of pageants and ſpectacles, than the more maſculine perils of the chaſe.

But juſting in the liſts, pageants, and ſhows, hunting, hawking, &c. were the amuſements chiefly of the poliſhed ranks of ſociety. The middling and lower people were ſavage and inhuman in their ſports. Baiting of animals, and even more pointedly cruel [57] ſcenes, formed their chief pleaſures;

Sports of the lower claſs inhuman.

NOTES.

* Yet there is one, the moſt delightful kind,
A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,
Where, arm in arm, two dancers are entwin'd,
And whirl themſelves, in ſtrict embracements bound,
And ſtill their feet an anapeſt do ſound;
An anapeſt is all their muſic's ſong,
Whoſe firſt two feet are ſhort, the reſt are long.'

Look to Harrington's 'Orlando Furioſo,' for a more ludicrous exemplification of the La Volta. Book XV. Stanza 43.

[55] When, abſorbed in the purſuit of his ſport, he fell into a muddy ditch, and had nearly been ſtifled.

[56] Tradition and ſculpture unite to prove this feat of agility. On his monument, in the church of Walton, Surrey, John Selwyn is pourtrayed in the act of ſtabbing the beaſt. At his death, in 1587, he had five ſons and ſix daughters living.

[57] Paul Hentzner, a traveller frequently quoted in this work, after deſcribing the baiting of bulls and bears, adds, 'To this entertainment there often follows that of whipping a blinded bear; which is performed by five or ſix men, ſtanding circularly with whips, which they exerciſe on him without mercy, as he cannot eſcape from them becauſe of

* Hall's Union, fol. 139. B. † Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 27.

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pleaſures; until the refined amuſements of the drama, poſſeſſing themſelves by degrees of the public taſte, if they did not mend the morals of the age, at leaſt forced brutal barbarity to quit the ſtage. While it laſted it ſometimes met with ſharp reprimands from the ſatyriſts of the time; and Crowley, a poet of whom little is known, laſhes the imprudence rather than the cruelty of bear-baiting with ſome ſpirit.

Other ſports of the lower ranks.

The variegated perſecutions of the wretched bears were not, however, the only amuſements of the lower claſſes. There is extant * a licence dated 1572, permitting one John Swinton Powtter to uſe 'playes and games on nine ſeverall Sondaies;' and becauſe 'greate reſorte of people is lyke to come thereunto,' he is to have proper perſons to keep peace and quiet 'during the contynuance of ſuch playes and games,' ſuch as 'ſhotynge with the brode arrowe,' 'the leppinge for men,' 'the pytchynge the barre,' and the lyke.

In an old moralitie we find two or three other games of the ſixteenth century:

'Give them that which is meete for them—a racket and ball, &c.
'Playing at coytes or nine hooles, or ſhooting at buttes,' &c †.

But the games of the age ſeem to be moſt aptly thrown together by Randal Holme of Cheſter, who has included the ſports of the younger race; ſome of them are unintelligible:

Catalogue of ſuch ſports.

'And they dare challenge for to throw the ſledge;
To jumpe or lepe over ditch or hedge;
To wraſtle, play at ſtool-balle, or to runne;
To pitch the barre or to ſhote offe the gunne;

NOTES.

of his chain. He defends himſelf with all his force and ſkill, throwing down all thoſe that come within his reach, and are not active enough to get out of it; and tearing their whips out of their hands and breaking them. At this ſpectacle, and every where elſe, the Engliſh,' he adds, 'are conſtantly ſmoking tobacco.'

A much more harmleſs recreation we find recorded by the ſame writer. They are 'vaſtly fond of great noiſes that fill the ear, ſuch as the firing of cannon, drums, &c. So that it is common for a number of them that have got a glaſs in their heads, to go up into ſome belfry and ring the bells for hours together for the ſake of exerciſe.'

* Warton's Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 328, note e.
† Dodſley's Old Plays, vol. ii. New Cuſtom, Act 1. Sc. 1.

To

To play at loggets, nineholes, or ten pinnes; Cent. XVI.
To trye it oute at foteballe by the ſhinnes;
At ticke tacke, ſeize noddy, maw, or ruffe;
Hot-cockles, leape froggè, or blindman's buffe;
To drinke the halfer pottes, or deale att the whole canne;
To playe at cheſſe, or pue, and inke-horènne;
To daunce the morris, playe att barley breake;
At alle exploytes a man can thynke or ſpeake;
Att ſhove-grote, venter poynte, att croſſe and pyle;
Att "Beſhrewe him that's laſt att any ſtyle;"
Att lepynge ovir a Chriſtmàs bon fyer,
Or att the "drawynge dame owte o' the myre;"
At "Shoote cock, Greg'ry," ſtoole-ball, and what not;
Pickè-poynt, top, and ſcourge to make him hotte *.'

When we have added to theſe the games of which Richard Brome's Meriel † ſpeaks with ſuch pleaſure, viz. 'See my goſſip's cock to-day?' 'Mould cockle-bread,' 'Dance clutter de pouch and hannykyn booby,' and 'Binde barrels,' we ſhall probably know at leaſt the names of the favorite amuſements in the ſixteenth century. But the ſports of the 'Lord of Miſrule,' the 'Maie-games,' the 'Church-ales,' and the 'Wakes,' are ſtill wanting ere the catalogue be complete. The firſt-named of theſe was celebrated with a coſtly ſolemnity which proved at the ſame time its antiquity, and the favour in which it ſtood. The heads of each pariſh choſe the 'lord,' and he then appointed from 20 to 100 guardſmen. Each of theſe put on a livery of an uniform colour, and adorned himſelf with rings, baubles, and bells. With theſe comrades the Lord of Miſrule paraded, his band of muſic preceding, to the church (for Sunday was the favorite day for the proceſſion), and triumphed in drawing the attention of the congregation [58] from the preacher. The day was concluded with feaſting

NOTES.

[58] Nothing, the theatre excepted, galled the Puritan party ſo much as this wild and hardly defenſible ſport. Stubs employs a double portion of acrimony againſt it. 'Rich handkerchiefs in their hands, borrowed, for the moſt part, of their pretty Mopſies and loving Beſſies.' 'Then have they their hobby-horſes, their dragons, and other antiques, together

* MS. Harl. Libr. No. 2057, apud Strutt's Cuſtoms, &c. † Jovial Crew, Act 2. ſc. 1.

Cent. XVI. feasting and dancing. The 'Maie-games' were celebrated with somewhat more ceremony than in modern times; the Wakes, &c. are still in use, exactly as in the days of Elizabeth.

The stage. We now come to a species of amusement which furnished pleasure to all ranks; that of the stage. The mysteries and moralities have been spoken of in another section; their extravagances were too glaring even for the unpolished audiences of Elizabeth's age, enlightened as they began to be by printing and the reformation. These solemn absurdities sunk gradually into oblivion; although some of the least eccentric were performed by the children of St. Paul's school, after the company of parish clerks had given them up, as late as the year 1618.

When the regular dramatic pieces had once gained possession of the stage, their progress was rapid. The people hailed them as mines of pleasure, and were never satiated with the ores they produced.

The earliest patent for acting 'comedies, tragedies, enterludes,' &c. which Mr. Steevens (the most accurate and diligent of searchers into scenic antiquity, and to whose 'Prolegomena' the author owns with gratitude that he owes most of the following intelligence,) can produce, is dated in

Numerous theatres. 1574; yet, very early in the next century, at least fifteen licensed theatres [59] were open to the inhabitants of London.

The best plays (particularly those of Shakespeare) were acted chiefly at the 'Blackfryars' theatre, where were the most polished audiences, or at the 'Globe' on the Southern bank of the Thames, which lying close to the bear-garden, had the manners of its audience much contaminated by that

NOTES.

together with their baudie pipers and their thundering drummers, to strike up the devil's daunce withal.' 'Their pypers pyping, their belles jyngling, their handkerchiefs fluttering about their heads like madmen, their hobbie-horses and other monsters skirmishing among the throng,' &c. &c. &c. [Anatomie of Abuses.

[59] Besides these public exhibitions in the dramatic line, there were many noblemen who kept, or at least protected, companies of players that sometimes performed at their houses, and sometimes at the common theatres. Shakespear's Romeo and Juliet was acted by 'the Lord Hunsdon's servants' in 1596. Even as lately as the year 1715, Griffin's 'Injured Virtue, or the Virgin Martyr,' was advertised as 'acted at the Richmond Theatre, by the Duke of Southampton and Cleveland's servants.'

brutal

brutal neighbourhood. The 'Fortune' alſo was a large houſe [60]. That in Saliſbury-court was ſmall [61]. Cent. XVI. Size of theatres.

A flag was hoiſted on the front of each theatre, probably only during the performance.

The price of admittance to the beſt places at the ſuperior theatres was, as late as 1614, only one ſhilling; and at the inferior ones one penny or twopence would gain admiſſion to an indifferent place. Prices of places.

Some of the genteeleſt ſpectators, particularly the critics [62], ſat on the ſtage, and paid from ſix to twelve pence for their ſtools; they were attended by pages, who furniſhed them with pipes and tobacco; the ſtage was ſtrewed with ruſhes [63]. The curtain drew not up, but was drawn back on each ſide [64]. At the back of the ſtage there was a kind of gallery, eight or ten feet higher than the floor, whence the actors often ſpoke.

Whether or no there was a change of ſcenes is by no means a clear point. The humorous raillery of Sir Philip Sidney would lead us to ſuppoſe that there was none. 'Now,' ſays he, deſcribing the ſtate of the ſtage, 'you ſhall ſee three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we muſt believe the ſtage to be a garden. By and by we heare newes of a ſhipwracke in the ſame place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rocke. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monſter with fire and ſmoke; then the miſerable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While in Sir Philip Sidney's raillery.

NOTES.

[60] 'A roaring girl, whoſe notes till now ne'er were,
Shall fill with laughter our *vaſt theatre*.' [PROLOGUE TO THE ROARING GIRL.

[61] 'When other's fill'd rooms with neglect diſdain ye,
My *little houſe* with thanks ſhall entertain ye.'
[PROLOGUE TO TOTTENHAM COURT, ACTED AT SALISBURY COURT.

[62] 'And though you be a magiſtrate of wit, and *ſit on the ſtage* at Blackfriars to arraigne plaies,' &c. [PREFACE TO THE FIRST FOLIO EDITION OF SHAKESPEAR.

[63] 'On the verie *ruſhes* where the comedie is to daunce.'
[DECKER'S GULL'S HORN-BOOK.

[64] 'Now *draw* the curtaines for our ſcene is done.'
[EPILOGUE TO TANCRED AND GISMUNDA.

Cent. XVI. the mean time two armies fly in, repreſented with four ſwords and two bucklers; and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field*.'

It appears probable that the deficiency of ſcenes was ſupplied by the names of each place being written in large characters of the ſtage on each change [65].

Lights. The ſtage was lighted with branches like thoſe now hung in churches.

Muſic. Before the exhibition began, three flouriſhes, ſoundings [66], or pieces of muſic were played; and muſic was likewiſe played between the acts. The inſtruments chiefly uſed were trumpets, cornets, and hautbois.

The perſon who ſpoke the prologue was uſhered in by trumpets, and uſually wore a long black velvet cloak [67]. An epilogue was not looked on as a neceſſary appendage to a play.

Perukes and maſques. Perukes and maſques were part of the ſtage paraphernalia, and the female parts were performed, during the firſt hundred years of the Engliſh ſtage, by young men †.

Habits mean. The ſtage dreſſes were but indifferent; thoſe even at the Globe and at Blackfriars were ſcantily furniſhed [68].

One dramatic piece compoſed the whole entertainment of the day.

The amuſements of the audience before the play began were various; ſome read or played at cards; others drank ale and ſmoked tobacco.

NOTES

[65] 'What child is there that coming to a play, and ſeeing *Thebes* written upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes.

[66] 'Come, let's but think ourſelves what may be found
To deceive time with till the *ſecond ſound*.' [NOTES FROM BLACKFRIARS, 1617.

[67] 'As he
That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,
With a ſtarch'd face and ſupple leg, has ſpoke
Before the plays this twelvemonth."

[68] 'O curioſity! You come to ſee who weares the new ſuit to day, &c. &c. what king playes without cuffes and his queen without gloves; who rides poſt in ſtockings and dances in boots,' &c. [INDUCTION TO 'JONSON'S STAPLE OF NEWS.'

* Defence of Poeſie, 1595, Sign. H 4. † Prolegomena to Shakeſpear, p. 29.

Plays,

Plays, in the early days of the drama, began about one [69] in the afternoon, and lasted generally about two hours. Cent. XVI. Hours of acting early.

Although there were no newspapers, yet the play-bills were visible everywhere; and the play, with all the circumstances of its horrors or its gaieties, was brought before the public eye upon posts [70] and public places.

When an author sold his play to the stage, the customary price was twenty nobles*, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. On the first day of a new piece the price of admission was raised [71]. Price of a play.

Dramatic poets had entrance to the theatres gratis [72].

The custom of passing a final sentence† on a play on its first exhibition began with the theatres, and the assistance of catcalls [73] was even then invoked by the critics. Catcalls.

Plays were performed on Sundays [74] only, for some time; but after 1679 they were acted on Sundays and other days indiscriminately‡. Acting on Sundays.

Such was the state of the English stage at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It flourished apparently; but it had for its foes a race

NOTES.

[69] 'Fuscus doth rise at ten, and at eleven
He goes to Gyl's, where he doth eat till *one*,
Then sees a play.' [EPIGRAMS BY SIR J. DAVIES.

[70] 'Master Field the player riding fast up Fleet-street was called to by a gentleman, and asked "what was the play?" He, angry at being stopped for such a trifle, cried, "You may see it on every post." "Cry you mercy!" said the gentleman, "I took *you* for a post, you rode so fast.'

[TAYLOR, THE WATER POET'S 'WIT AND MIRTH.'

[71] 'So when the Fox had ten times acted been,
Each *day* was *first*, but that 'twas cheaper seen.'

[VERSES BY J. MAYNE, TO THE MEMORY OF BEN JONSON.

[72] 'They grace you with a chayre *upon the stage*,
And *take no money of you*, nor your page.' [NOTES FROM BLACKFRIARS, 1617.

[73] Decker, in his 'Gull's Hornbook,' advises the snarling critic to '*whew*' at the children's action, to whistle at the songs, and to *mew* at the passionate speeches.'

[74] 'And seldom have they leisure for a play
Or masque except upon God's holiday.'

* Prolegomena, p. 43. † Ibid. p. 46 ‡ Ibid. p. 34.

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of men, ſtern, inflexible, and unforgiving; who, by inceſſant obloquy and reproach (not always unmerited), purſued it firſt to unpopularity, and at length to annihilation.

Manners of the theatres reprehenſible.

The prejudices of the Puritans againſt dramatic entertainments were from the beginning very ſtrong, and not altogether ill-founded, if we may truſt to the repreſentation of Stowe, Holingſhed, &c. The licentiouſneſs of the ſtage was indeed ſo great, that it became neceſſary (after the lord-mayor and other magiſtrates had in vain tried to reform it) to obtain an order of the queen and council to mark the proper reſtrictions for the conduct of the actors. 'But,' ſays Stowe, 'theſe orders were not ſo well obſerved as they ſhould be; the lewd matters of plays increaſed,' and they were thought dangerous to religion, the ſtate, honeſty of manners, and alſo for infection in the time of ſickneſs. On theſe accounts they were afterwards, for ſome time (within the limits of the city of London), totally ſuppreſſed *. This ſuppreſſion was probably very ſhort.

In another place he acrimoniouſly remarks of the theatres,

'Here maids and good citizens' children were inveigled and allured to private and unmeet contracts; here were publicly uttered popular and ſeditious matters; unchaſte, uncomely, and unſhamefaced ſpeeches; and many other enormities.' And again,

'The people aſſembled at the *whore*-ater (the *the*-atre I would ſay) were ſo amazed that they made haſte to be gone.' Thus wofully and puritanically puns the well-meaning Holingſhed, ſpeaking of the ſhock of an earthquake felt at London in 1580 †. But theſe cenſures were candid and gentle compared to thoſe which abounded in the treatiſes of the day [75].

NOTES.

[75] 'If,' ſays one of the moſt acrid, 'you will learne falſhood and coſenage; to deceive and to play the hypocrite; to cog, to lie, and falſifie; if you will learne to jeſt, to laugh, to ſleere, to grinne, to nodde and mowe; to play the vice, to ſweare, teare, and blaſpheme both heaven and earth; if you will learne to become a baud, uncleane, to devirginate maides, to deflioure honeſt wives; if you will learne to murther, ſlay, picke, ſteal, rob and rove; if you will learne to play the whoremaſter, the glutton, drunkard, or inceſtuous perſon, &c. &c. &c. you neede go to no other ſchool.'

[Stubs' Anatomie of Abuses.

* Survey of London, Book V. p. 246.

† Holingſhed, 1311, 30.

In

In a pamphlet printed in 1649 is the earlieſt notice of the young company of comedians formed of the royal choriſters. It is called the 'Children of the Chapel, ſtript and whipt,' and ſays, 'Plaies will never be ſuppreſt while her majeſtie's unfledged minions flaunt it in ſilkes and ſattens. They had as well be at their Popiſh ſervice in the divell's garments.' The work proceeds with language ſtill more ſcurrilous. Cent. XVI. Company of young comedians.

If we are to judge of the attachment of the Scottiſh gentry to the ſports of the field, by the number of laws made to ſecure their game, it muſt be great indeed, ſince the prohibitory acts paſſed by the legiſlature, during the latter half of the ſixteenth century, are numerous and ſevere. One of the earlieſt promulgated in the infancy of Queen Mary, A. D. 1555 *, very rationally forbids the treading down fences, young wood, corn, &c. and directs that no partridge ſhould be killed before St. Michael's day. Scottiſh ſports.

The laſt act of the prohibitory kind, before the acceſſion of James to the Engliſh crown, is found in 1690 †. It is remarkably minute, and deſcribes by name nineteen ſorts of game which are neither to be bought or ſold on penalty of one hundred pounds. It cloſes with a limitation as to the time of beginning 'to eate moor poute, or partridge poute;' before which period 'for youth neither are they habite to give paſtime, and for quantity can be no wiſe ane great refreſhment.' Game acts.

Barclay, in his treatiſe 'Contra-Monarchomachos,' gives an intereſting account of a coſtly hunting match contrived in 1563 by the Earl of Athol (a prince of the blood-royal), for the amuſement of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Two thouſand highlanders were employed to drive all the deer from the countries around; and two thouſand red deer, beſides roes and fallow deer, and *ſome wolves*, were brought together. The leading ſtag of the herd, taking fright, burſt through the crowd, and was followed by the whole corps of animals. Several of the highlanders were wounded, and two or three ſlain outright. The rear, however, of the herd being cut off, there fell 360 deer, five wolves, and ſome roes. Royal chaſe. Dangerous.

The traditional tales of Robin Hood had paſſed the borders, and ſupplied the Scots with a ſport probably too riotous to be licenſed; ſince we find a ſevere act made againſt all ſuch as ſhall 'chuſe or be choſen Robin Robin Hood.

* Stat. 51, Parl. 6 Marie. † Stat. 23, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.

Hude

Cont. XVI. Hude or Little John, Abbot of Unreaſon, or Queen of the May [76].' Women were, by the ſame ſtatute, forbidden to 'make perturbation about ſummer trees ſingand,' on pain of being 'taken, handled, and put upon the auck-ſtule *.'

Game of Golf. The game of 'Golf' appears to be peculiar to the Scots †, and to have been of very antient practice among them. Even as early as A. D. 1457, there was a law enacted ‡ to reſtrain that game, and foot ball, as leſſening the attention to archery. It is played commonly on rugged broken ground, covered with ſhort graſs and bents, in the neighbourhood of the ſea-ſhore. A field of this ſort is, in Scotland, called 'Links.' The game is generally played in parties of one or two on each ſide. Each party has an exceedingly hard ball, ſomewhat larger than a hen's egg; this they ſtrike with a ſlender and elaſtic club, about four feet long, which is made heavy by an addition of lead. A ball ſtruck by this club will fly 200 yards; and the game is gained by the party which can, with the feweſt ſtrokes, direct the ball to a mark or hole in the ground.

Dramatic amuſements. Theatrical repreſentations, chiefly drawn from the Scriptures, had been as frequent in Scotland as in the South; they had deſcended thence to ſubjects of a more familiar kind, which were brought forward with the moſt groſs indelicacy [77]. The place where theſe performances were exhibited was

NOTES.

[76] In 1561, the men of Edinburgh were ſo much diſguſted with the prohibition of this favorite ſpectacle, that they flew to arms, robbed paſſengers, reſcued a comrade condemned to death, and broke in pieces the gibbet on which he was to have ſuffered; confined their magiſtrates in the tolbooth, and in the end obtained an indemnity by force. It is probable that this riotous game continued unmoleſted, ſince the General Aſſembly, in 1592, complain of the profanation incident to the Sabbath, by 'making of Robin Hood.'

[77] A MS. comedy, written by Sir David Lyndſay, was preſerved in the extenſive collection of the late Mr. Garrick. The ſubject was, the ingenuity of a wanton wife and her gallants in outwitting the jealouſy of a huſband, aided by a foreign precaution. This groſs plot was treated with conſiſtent indelicacy; the huſband, however, after much ſuſpicion, ſatisfied of his wife's chaſtity, cloſes the drama thus:

'By my good faith, Beſs, that is true,
That I ſuſpected you, ſore I rue;

I trow

* Stat. 61, Parl. 20 Jac. VI. † Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 360.
‡ Stat. 64, Parl. 14 Jac. II.

was called 'the Play-field.' Few towns of note were without them; that of Edinburgh was at the 'Greenside well,' that of Coupar, in Fife, was on their Caſtle-hill *.' Cent. XVI.

One of the firſt operations of the reformers was to prohibit all plays which were founded on Scriptural ſtories †; and, when they gained more power in the cabinet, as well as over the minds of their hearers, they aboliſhed all kind of dramatic entertainments. But this gloomy ceſſation laſted not long; James VI. tired of the ungracious reſtriction, determined to gratifie his taſte for the ſtage, and wrote to Elizabeth for a company of Engliſh comedians. Pleaſed to have the power of obliging him, ſhe ſent inſtantly a detachment from her own players. In vain did the clergy menace the ſtrangers with excommunication. The king ſupported the actors, and reprimanded the petulance of the preachers; and, the love of pleaſure ſuperceding the dread of clerical cenſure, the theatre was crowded every evening. Little more is heard of theſe emigrants, ſo that it is probable that they returned to London, when their royal patron took poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne.

Aboliſhed by the reformers.

Favored by James VI.

At the cloſe of this volume, when hiſtory is haſtening to a new and ſtill more poliſhed period, let a moment's grateful recollection be given to the liberal ſpirit which enlightened the ſixteenth century. An æra which reſcued literature from oblivion, and the arts from neglect, and which

NOTES.

I trow there be no man in Fife
That ever had ſo good a wife.
My own ſweetheart, I hold it beſt
That we ſit down and take our reſt.'

The prologue to this play is ingeniouſly contrived to act as a play-bill for the next performance. It ſays,

'Our purpoſe is, on the ſev'nth day of June,
(a) If weather ſerve, and we have reſt and peace,
We ſhall be ſeen into our playing place,
In good array, about the hour of ſeven,' &c. &c.

(a) By the ſecond line it may be obſerved that the piece was performed 'ſub dio' in the open air, and that probably the ſcene of acting was not totally out of the reach of civil commotion.

* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 76. † Book of Univerſal Kirk, p. 145, 161.

relieved

Cent. XVI. relieved a large diſtrict of Europe from fetters, forged by ſuperſtition, and riveted by ambition. It has brought forward the good fortune of the German Charles and his ſon Philip, which added the continent of America to their vaſt dominions in Europe; the generous fervor of the Gallic Francis, vying with the taſte and bounty of Leo X. in the protection of arts, and the encouragement of their profeſſors; the perſevering intrepidity of Guſtavus Vaſa, which redeemed Sweden at the ſame time, from the tyranny of the Roman pontiff, and of the inhuman Chriſtiern of Denmark; the ferocious valor of the Ruſſian John Baſilowitz (himſelf a groſs barbarian), emancipating his countrymen from the yoke of the Tartars, ſtill leſs civilized than the men of Ruſſia; and, laſtly, in England, it has ſhewn the impetuous caprice of Henry VIII. the honeſt zeal of Edward, and the ſteady policy of Elizabeth, form and perfect a reformation in religion, on principles ſo rational as to have produced a reſpected and venerable ſyſtem, remaining firm and unſhaken to the preſent day, and acknowledged (even by the general foes of epiſcopacy) to be the moſt moderate of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE following extract is taken from a very antient dramatic piece, entitled 'Ludus Coventriæ, ſive Ludus Corporis Chriſti;' and will give ſome idea of the 'Myſterie' ſo much followed by the firſt and rude admirers of the ſtage.

In one of the ſcenes the angels appear ſurrounding the celeſtial throne, and ſinging Holy! Holy! Holy! &c. &c. &c.

Then ſays Lucifer,

'To who's worſhyp ſynge ye thys ſonge?
To worſhyp Godde, or to reverence mee?
But * ye worſhyp mee, ye doo mee wronge,
For I am the worthieſt that ever may bee.'

The angels reply,

'Wee worſhip Godde, of myhte moſt ſtronge,
Whych has formèd both us and thee;
Wee may never worſhyp hym too longe,
For hee's moſt worthy of mageſtee.
On knees to God we falle;
Our Lorde worſhip wee,
In no wyſe honowr thee;
A gretter Lord may never none bee
Than he that made us alle.'

* Except.

Lucifer now aſſerts his own importance; and, to evince his power, ſits down on the throne of his Maker. A chorus of evil angels ſings,

'Goddes myhte wee forſake,
For more worthy wee thee take;
Thee to worſhip, honor wee make,
Ande falle downe at thy fete.'

The Supreme being then enters, and, after a menacing ſpeech, exiles the impious ſpirit, and thoſe who took his part, to the infernal ſhades *.

No. II.

THE catalogue beneath is copied from 'a very merie and pythie commedie,' entitled 'The longer thou liveſt, the more Fool thou art.' It comprehends, probably, nearly all the beginnings and burthens of the favorite ballads during the reigns of Edward VI. Mary I. and Elizabeth.

'Here entreth Moros, counterfayting a vaine geſture and a fooliſh countenance, ſynging the foote of many ſonges, as fooles are wont.

Moros. "Brome, Brome, on Hive-hill;
The gentle Brome on Hive-hill;
The Brome ſtands on Hive-hill-a."

"Robin, lende me thy bowe, thy bowe,
Robin lende me thy bowe-a."

"There was a mayde come out of Kent,
Deintie love, Deintie love.
There was a mayde come out of Kent,
Daungerous bee.
There was a mayde come out of Kent,
Faire and proper, ſmalle and gent,
As ever upon the ground ywent,
For ſo ſhould it bee."

* MS. in Cotton Library, apud Strut's Cuſtoms, part iii. p. 138.

"By

" By a banke as I lay, I lay,
Muſing on thingès paſt, heyho!"

" Tom ò Lyn and his wyfe, and his wyfe's mother,
They went o'er a bridge all three together;
The bridge was broken, they all fell in,
The devill go with all, quoth Tom ò Lin."

" Martin Swart and his men, Sodledum, Sodledum,
Martin Swart and his men, Sodledum Bell."

" Come over the bourne, Beſse! my pretty little Beſse!
Come o'er the bourne, Beſse, to me."

" The white dove ſate on the caſtle wall,
I bende my bowe, and ſhoot her I ſhall;
I put her in my glove, ſeathers and all."

" I layde my bridle upon a ſhelfe;"
If you will any more, ſing them yourſelf.

Moros proceeds, after an interruption,

'I have twenty moe ſongs yet, a fonde woman to my mother,
As I war wont in her lappe to ſit, ſhe taught me theſe and many other.
I can ſing a ſong of " Robin Redbreaſt,"
And " My little pretie Nightingale."
" There dwells a jollie for'ſter here by the Weſt,"
And "I come to drinke ſome of your Chriſtmas ale."
When I walk by myſelf alone, it doth me good my ſongs to render,
Such prettie thinges would ſoon be gone, if I ſhould not ſometime them remember.'

Moros, after another interruption, ſays,

'Before you go let's have a ſonge, I can reach up to ſolfa and paſt."

Idleneſs. 'Thou haſt ſonges good ſtore, ſing one,
And we three the foote will beare.'

Moros. 'Let me ſtudy, it will come anone,
Pe pe, la, la, la, it is too hye there.'

After ſome tuning (not without humor), Moros ſings,

'I have a pretie titmouſe
Come picking on my toe;'

Chorus. 'Goſſupe, with you I purpoſe
To drinke before I goe.'

Moros. 'Little pretie nightingale, amonge the braunches green,'

Chorus. 'Geve us of your Chriſtmaſſe ale, in honor of St. Ste'en.'

Moros. 'Robin Redbreaſte, with his notes,
Singing alofte in the quere,'

Chorus. 'Warneth to get you freeze cotes,
For winter draweth nere.'

Moros. "My bridle lyeth on the ſhelfe."
'If you will have any more
Vouchſafe to ſing it yourſelfe,
For here you have all my ſtore.'

Wrath. 'A ſong much lyke th' author o'th' ſame,
It hangeth together like fethers in winde.'

Moros. 'This ſong learned I of my dame,
When ſhe taught me muſtard-ſede to grinde *.'

Add to theſe what follow from the 'Letter deſcribing the Pleaſures of Kenelworth Caſtle.' 'Sa wo is me begon, Molly lo.' 'Over a whinny Meg, Hey ding-a-ding.' 'My bony one gave me a bek,' &c. &c.

No. III.

THE following ſtanzas taken from a ſatirical ballad, written by the acute Sir Richard Maitland, will enable the reader to form ſome idea of the miſeries ſuſtained by the induſtrious and pacific inhabitants of the Northern counties of each ſiſter-kingdom, before the acceſſion of James of Scotland

* Apud 'A Diſſertation on Antient Songs and Muſic.' Printed A. D. 1792. London.

to

to the Engliſh crown. The humane and patriotic bard condeſcends to mention, by their ‘ nick-names,’ the moſt celebrated among theſe ſons of rapine.

‘ Thay leif richt nocht quhairever thay ga;
Thair can na thing be hid thame fra;
For gif men wald
Thair houſis hald, then waxe thay bald,
To burn and ſlae.
The thief that ſteals and turſis hame *,
Ilk ane of them has ane to-name †;
“ Will of the lawis,” “ Hob of the ſchawis,” to make bare wawis ‡,
They think no ſhame.

Thay ſpuilzie § puir men of their pakis ‖,
Thay leve them nocht on bed or bakis,
Baith hen and cok, with reel and rok, the “ Landis Jok,”
All with him takis.

They leif not ſpendil, ſpone nor ſpit,
Bed, bolſter, blanket, ſark, nor ſheit;
John of the Parke, rypis ¶ kyſte and arke, for all ſik warke
He is richt meit.’

No. IV.

THE eccentric ſong beneath is given as a ſpecimen of thoſe compoſitions which offended Mary Queen of Scots, and brought on ‘ all ballads, rhimes,’ &c. &c. a ſevere prohibition by ſtatute **.

‘ With hunts up, with hunts up,
It is now perfect day;
Jeſus our king is gone a hunting,
Who likes to ſpeed they may.

* Bundles up ſtolen goods. † Nick-name. ‡ Walls. § Spoil or plunder.
‖ Packs, goods. ¶ Breaks open cheſt and box. ** Stat. Parl. 5, cap. 27, Qu. Marie.

An

An curſed fox, lay hid in rocks,
This long and many a day,
Devouring ſheep, while he might creep,
None might him ſhape away.

It did him good to lap the blood
Of young and tender lambs;
None could him miſs, for all was his,
The young ones with their dams.

The hunter's Chriſt, that hunts in haſte,
The hounds are Peter and Paul;
The Pope is the fox, Rome is the rocks
That rubs us on the gall.

That cruel beaſt, he never ceaſt,
By his uſurped power,
Under diſpence, to get our pence,
Our ſouls to devour.

Who could deviſe ſuch merchandiſe
As he had there to ſell,
Unleſs it were proud Lucifer,
The great maſtèr of hell.

He had to ſell the Tantonie bell,
And pardons therein was,
Remiſſion of ſins, in old ſheep-ſkins,
Our ſouls to bring to grace.

With bulls of lead, white wax and red,
And other whiles in green,
Cloſed in a box, this uſed the fox,
Such poultry was never ſeen.'

No. V.

EPITAPH, written by James VI. on his Chancellor, Sir John Maitland, of Lethington:

'Thou, paſſenger, that ſpies with gazing eyes,
This trophie ſad of death's triumphant dart,
Conſider, when this outward tomb thou ſees,
How rare a man leaves here this earthly part;
His wiſdom, and his uprightneſs of heart;
His piety; his practice of our ſtate;
His quick engine *, ſo verſt in every art,
As equally that all were in debate.
Thus juſtly hath his death brought forth of late
An heavy grief to prince and ſubjects all
That vertue love, and vice do bear at hate,
Though vitious man rejoices at his fall.
So for himſelf moſt happy did he die †,
Though for his prince it moſt unhappy bee.'

No. VI.

THE following animated deſcription of an inhuman ſport ‡ appears in a letter to Mr. Martin, a mercer in London, by an officer attendant on the court,

NOTES.

* Ingene, ingenuity.

† Pronounced, in Scotland, 'dee.'

‡ The following ſpirited cenſure on bear-baiting was written by one Crawley, an unpoliſhed, and almoſt unknown, bard of Elizabeth's age:

'What folly is this? to keep with dangèr
A great maſtive dog, and a fowle ouglie bear.
And to this an end, to ſee them two fight,
With terrible tearings, a ful ouglie ſight!

And

court, 'on the Soomer's Progreſt,' A. D. 1575. The work is very ſcarce, and has, beſides its vivacity, an additional merit; as it preſents the reader with the true London dialect and orthography at that period:

'Well, Syr, the beerz wear brought foorth into the court, the dogs wear ſet too them, to argu the pointz cum face to face. They had learn'd counſel alſo a'both partis. Very feers both t'one and t'other, and eager in argument. If the dog in pleadyng woold pluk the bear by the thrate, the bear with travers woold claw him again by the ſcalp. *Confeſs* an he liſt, but *avoyd* a'coold not, that waz bound too the bar. Thearfore thus, with fending and prooving, with plucking and tugging, ſkratting and bytyng, by playn tooth and nayll, a' t'one ſide and t'oother, ſuch expens of blood and leather waz thear between them, as a month's licking, I ween, will not recoover.

NOTES.

And methinkes thoſe men are moſt fooles of all,
Whoſe ſtore of money is but veri ſmall;
And yet everi Sunday they wil ſurely ſpend
One peny or two, the bearwards living to mend!
At Paris-Garden, each Sunday, a man ſhall not fail
To find two or three hundred for the bearward's vail.
One halfp'ny a piece they uſe for to give,
When ſome have not more in their purſe I believe:
Well! at the laſt day their conſcience will declare,
That the poor ought to have al thàt they may ſpare;
If you therefore give to ſee a bear fight,
Be ſure God his curſe upon you will light!'

It fell out, not long after the ſpecies of prophetic warning, given in the laſt line, was publiſhed, that the whole building fell down at the time of a baiting, and on a Sunday. The exultation of the Puritan 'Stubs,' on this event, is equally uncharitable and boundleſs. He records with triumph the *death* of ſeven, and the *wounds* and *bruiſes* of near 300 ſpectators. 'Some,' ſays he, 'had their brains daſhed out, ſome their heads alto quaſhed, ſome their legges broken, ſome their armes, &c. This heavie judgement the Lord ſent down from heaven to ſhowe,' &c. &c. [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

Had the fanatics of the day pointed their cenſures at the inhumanity practiſed on the poor, over-matched bear, their ſcurrility might have had ſomewhat to plead in its excuſe; but a cataſtrophe at a dramatic theatre, which bruiſed and maimed many, is related with equal joy; and even the graceful, and generally innocent, exerciſe of dancing, is ſtyled 'the noble ſcience of heathen devilrie;' and the cenſures which follow this denunciation are much too groſs for a decent hiſtorian to inſert.

It

'It waz a ſport very pleazaunt of theeze beaſtz, to ſee the bear with his pink nyez leering after hiz enmie'z approch; the nimbleneſs and wayt (waiting) of the dog too to take hiz avauntage; and the fors and experiens of the bear agayn to avoyd the aſſault. If he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woold pynch in anoother, too get free; that if he wear taken onez, than, what ſhyft with bytyng, with clawyng, with roryng, toſſing, and tumblyng, he woold woorke too wynde hymſelfe from them. And when he was loſe, to ſhake his ears twyſe or thryſe with the blud and ſlaver about his fizhamy, waz a matter of a goodly releef,' &c.

No. VII.

THOSE who wiſh to know the height to which the love of pageants and ſhews was carried in the reign of Elizabeth, may conſult a treatiſe, entitled 'The Princely Pleaſures of Kenelworth Caſtle.' There were on the pool (now no more) floating iſlands, the lady of the lake, Tritons riding on mermaids eighteen feet long, plays, bear-baiting, running at quintain, &c. There was Arion on a huge dolphin; a bridge ſeventy feet long and twenty wide, built on purpoſe for the queen; and all the Pagan deities, with ſuitable preſents. Nor was Elizabeth ungrateful for theſe ſhowy homages; ſhe knighted ſome friends of Leiceſter, and ſhe conferred on Kenelworth a weekly market and a yearly fair.

An entertainment made for her at Norwich, in 1578, was profuſely magnificent. Some parts of it were eccentric. Mercury paraded before her in a 'coch, the whole whereof was covered with birds and naked ſpirits, hanging by the heeles in the aire, and cloudes cunningly painted out, as though by ſome thunder-cracke they had been ſhaken and tormented.'

The patience of the queen muſt have been great if ſhe lent her ear to the diffuſe compoſition of the Norfolk bards. Their ſongs were moral and

loyal, but they were very prolix. They honored their ſovereign by praiſing chaſtity. Some of their verſes were not contemptible; for inſtance,

'Lewd life is laugh'd to ſcorne,
And put to great diſgrace;
In hollow caves it hides the head,
And walks with muffled face.

Found out, 'tis pointed at,
A monſter of the minde;
A canker'd worme, that conſcience hates,
Which ſtrikes clere ſenſes blinde.'

The good-natured reader will be ſorry to hear that a thunder-ſtorm deſtroyed the fineſt part of the pageant, and that the city of Norwich was half ruined by the loſs of 'velvets, ſilks, tinſels, and cloth of golde.' The chronicler * ſpeaks feelingly, as he was wet to the ſkin, he tells us, on the occaſion.

* Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1287.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM